OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF THE

DOMINION OF CANADA

THIRD SESSION—THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT

10 GEORGE V, 1919

IN TWO VOLUMES

Volume I; Pages 1-992 Volume II; Pages 993-2011

VOLUME CXXXIX

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE FIRST DAY OF SEPTEMBER TO THE TENTH DAY OF OCTOBER, 1919, INCLUSIVE.

OTTAWA
J. DE LABROQUERIE TACHÉ
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1920

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN

P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.

AT THE OPENING OF THE

THIRD SESSION OF THE THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT

1919

THE MINISTRY

First Minister, Secretary of State for External Affairs	Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
Minister of Trade and Commerce	Rt. Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster, P.C., G.C.MG., B.A., D.C.L., LL.D.
Minister without Portfolio	*Hon. Francis Cochrane.
Minister of Justice and Attorney General	Hon. Charles Joseph Doherty, K.C., D.C.L., LL.D.
Minister of Railways and Canals	Hon. John Dowsley Reid, M.D.
Minister of Overseas Military Forces from Canada in the United Kingdom	Hon. Sir Albert Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.
Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment	Hon. Sir James Lougheed, K.C.M.G., K.C.
Secretary of State and Minister of Mines	Hon. Martin Burrell.
Postmaster General	Hon. Pierre Edouard Blondin.
Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs	Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C., B.A.
Minister of Marine and Fisheries and Minister of the Naval Service	Hon. Charles Colquhoun Ballantyne.
Minister of Public Works	Hon. Arthur Lewis Sifton.
Minister of Immigration and Colonization	Hon. James Alexander Calder.
President of the Privy Council and Minister of Health	Hon. Newton Wesley Rowell, K.C.
Minister of Militia and Defence	Major-General Hon. Sydney Chilton Mewburn.
Minister without Portfolio	Hon. Alexander Kenneth Maclean, K.C.
Minister of Labour	Hon. Gideon Decker Robertson.
Minister of Finance	Hon. Sir Henry Lurnley Drayton, K.C.
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. Simon Fraser Tolmie, V.S.
Solicitor General	Hon. Hugh Guthrie, K.C.
Parliamentary Secretary for the Department of Militia and Defence	Lieut-Colonel Hugh Clark.
Parliamentary Secretary for External Affairs	F. H. Keefer, K.C.
Parliamentary Secretary for the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment	Vacant.

* Deceased, September 22.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker.....Hon. EDGAR N. RHODES, K.C., B.A., LL.B.

Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees.....GEORGE H. BOIVIN, K.C., B.A.

Clerk of the House.....W. B. NORTHRUP, K.C., M.A.

Serjeant at Arms.....Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. BOWIE.

Editor of Debates.....THOMAS P. OWENS.

Associate Editor of Debates.....A. C. CAMPBELL.

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French : J. O. Marceau, Marcel Gabard.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON OFFICIAL REPORT OF DEBATES :

Messieurs : Ballantyne, Burnham, Chabot, Devlin, Elkin, Foster (Sir George), Kay, Lemieux, McKenzie, McLeod, Marcil (Bonaventure), Munson and Richardson.

Chairman : R. L. Richardson.

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Third Session—Thirteenth Parliament.

1919

ALLAN, GEORGE WILLIAM—Winnipeg, S. Riding.
AMES, SIR HERBERT BROWN, Kt.—St. Antoine.
ANDERSON, ROBERT KING—Halton.
ANDREWS, GEORGE WILLIAM—Winnipeg Centre.
ARCHAMBAULT, JOSEPH—Chambly and Vercheres.
ARGUE, IRA EUGENE—Swift Current.
ARMSTRONG, JOHN A. MACDONALD—York, N. Riding.
ARMSTRONG, JOSEPH EMMANUEL—Lambton, E. Riding.
ARTHURS, JAMES—Parry Sound.

BALDWIN, WILLIS KEITH—Stanstead.
BALLANTYNE, Hon. CHARLES COLQUHOUN—St. Lawrence-St. George.
BALL, ROBERT JAMES—Grey, Southeast Riding.
BÉLAND, Hon. HENRI SÉVÉRIN—Beauce.
BEST, JOHN—Dufferin.
BLAIR, WILLIAM JOHN—Battle River.
BLAKE, MATTHEW ROBERT—Winnipeg, N. Riding.
BOIVIN, GEORGE HENRY—Shefford.
BOLTON, FERRIS—Lisgar.
BONNELL, SAUL—Kootenay, E. Riding.
BORDEN, Rt. Hon. SIR ROBERT LAIRD, G.C.M.G.—King's (N.S.).
BOURASSA, JOSEPH BOUTIN—Levis.
BOWMAN, JAMES—Huron, N. Riding.
BOYCE, GEORGE—Carleton.
BOYER, GUSTAVE—Vaudreuil-Soulanges.
BOYS, WILLIAM ALVES—Simcoe, S. Riding.
BRIEN, JOHN WESLEY—Essex, S. Riding.
BRISTOL, EDMUND—Toronto Centre.
BROUILLARD, JOSEPH OVIDE—Drummond and Arthabaska.
BUCHANAN, WILLIAM ASBURY—Lethbridge.
BUREAU, JACQUES—Three Rivers and St. Maurice.
BURNHAM, JOHN HAMPDEN—Peterborough, W. Riding.
BURRELL, Hon. MARTIN—Yale.
BUTTS, ROBERT H.—Cape Breton South and Richmond.

CAHILL, FRANK S.—Pontiac.
CALDER, Hon. JAMES ALEXANDER—Moosejaw.
* CALDWELL, THOMAS WAKEM—Victoria and Carleton.
CAMPBELL, J. A.—Nelson.
CANNON, LUCIEN—Dorchester.
CARDIN, PIERRE JOSEPH ARTHUR—Richelieu.
CASGRAIN, PIERRE FRANCOIS—Charlevoix-Montmorency.
CASSELMAN, ORREN D.—Dundas.
CHABOT, JOHN LEO—Ottawa.
CHAPLIN, JAMES DEW—Lincoln.
CHARLTON, WILLIAM ANDREW—Norfolk.
CHARTERS, SAMUEL—Peel.
CHISHOLM, ALEXANDER W.—Inverness.
CLARK, HUGH—Bruce, N. Riding.
CLARK, MICHAEL—Red Deer.
CLARKE, WILLIAM A.—Wellington, N. Riding.
CLEMENTS, HERBERT SYLVESTER—Comox-Alberni.
†COCHRANE, Hon. FRANCIS—Timiskaming.
COCKSHUTT, WILLIAM FOSTER—Brantford.
COOPER, RICHARD CLIVE—Vancouver, S. Riding.
COPP, ARTHUR BLISS—Westmorland.
COWAN, WALTER DAVY—Regina.
CRERAR, Hon. THOMAS ALEXANDER—Marquette.
CRONYN, HUME—London.
CROTHERS, Hon. THOMAS WILSON—Elgin, W. Riding.
CROWE, SANFORD JOHNSTON—Burrard.
CRUISE, ROBERT—Dauphin.
CURRIE, JOHN ALISTER—Simcoe, N. Riding.

d'ANJOU, JOSEPH EMILE STANISLAS EMMANUEL—Rimouski.
DAVIDSON, AVARD LONGLEY—Digby and Annapolis.
DAVIS, FRED LANGDON—Neepawa.
DÉCHÊNE, AIMÉ MIVILLE—Montmagny.
DELISLE, MICHEL SIMEON—Portneuf.
DEMERS, MARIE JOSEPH—St. Johns and Iberville.
DENIS, JEAN J.—Joliette.
DESAULNIERS, ARTHUR L.—Champlain.

* By-election. Introduced November 8 (p. 1940).
† Deceased, September 22.

DESLAURIERS, HERMAS—St. Mary.
DEVLIN, EMMANUEL B.—Wright.
DOHERTY, Hon. CHARLES JOSEPH—St. Ann.
DOUGLAS, JAMES McCRIE—Strathcona.
DOUGLAS, JOHN C.—Cape Breton South and Richmond.
*DRAYTON, HON. SIR HENRY—Kingston.
DUFF, WILLIAM—Lunenburg.
DUTREMBLAY, PAMPHILE REAL—Laurier-Outremont.

EDWARDS, JOHN WESLEY—Frontenac.
ELKIN, STANLEY EDWARD—St. John City and Counties of St. John and Albert.
ETHIER, JOSEPH ARTHUR CALIXTE—Laval-Two Mountains.
EULER, WILLIAM D.—Waterloo, N. Riding.

FAFARD, J. FERNAND—L'Islet.
FIELDING, Hon. WILLIAM STEVENS—Shelburne and Queen's.
FINLEY, ALBERT ERNEST—Souris.
FONTAINE, JOSEPH ELOI—Hull.
FORTIER, HYACINTHE ADELARD—Labelle.
FOSTER, Rt. Hon. SIR GEORGE EULAS, G.C.M.G.—Toronto, N. Riding.
FOSTER, THOMAS—York, E. Riding.
FOURNIER, C. A.—Bellechasse.
FRASER, EVAN E.—Welland.
FRIPP, ALFRED ERNEST—Ottawa.
FULTON, FREDERICK JOHN—Cariboo.

GAUTHIER, LOUIS JOSEPH—St. Hyacinthe-Rouville
GAUVREAU, CHARLES ARTHUR—Temiscouata.
GERVAIS, THEODORE—Berthier.
GLADU, JOSEPH ERNEST OSCAR—Yamaska.
GLASS, SAMUEL FRANCIS—Middlesex, E. Riding.
† GOULD, OLIVER ROBERT—Assiniboia.
GREEN, ROBERT FRANCIS—Kootenay, W. Riding.
GRIESBACH, WILLIAM ANTROBUS—Edmonton, W. Riding.
GUTHRIE, HON. HUGH—Wellington, S. Riding.

HALLADAY, HOWARD H.—Bow River.
HAROLD, JOHN—Brant.
HARRISON, CHARLES ROBERT—Nipissing.
HARTT, THOMAS A.—Charlotte.
HAY, THOMAS—Selkirk.
HENDERS, RICHARD COE—Macdonald.
HEPBURN, WILLIAM BERNARD RICKART—Prince Edward.
HOCKEN, HORATIO CLARENCE—Toronto, W. Riding.
HUGHES, Hon. SIR SAM, K.C.B.—Victoria.
HUNT, AYLMER BYRON—Compton.

JACOBS, SAMUEL WILLIAM—George Etienne Cartier.
JOHNSTON, J. FRED—Last Mountain.

KAY, WILLIAM FREDERIC—Missisquoi.
KEEFER, FRANCIS HENRY—Port Arthur and Kenora.
KEMP, Hon. SIR EDWARD, K.C.M.G.—Toronto East.
§KENNEDY, JOHN WILFRID—Glengarry and Stormont.
KENNEDY, WILLIAM COSTELLO—Essex, N. Riding.
** KING, HON. W. L. MACKENZIE—Prince (P.E.I.)
KNOX, ANDREW—Prince Albert.

LAFORTUNE, DAVID ARTHUR—Jacques Cartier.
LALOR, FRANCIS RAMSEY—Haldimand.
LANCTÔT, ROCH—Laprairie and Napierville.
LANG, NORMAN—Humboldt.
†† LAPOINTE, ERNEST—Quebec, East.
LAPOINTE, LOUIS AUDET—St. James.
LAVIGUEUR, HENRI E.—Quebec County.
LEDUC, J. ALFRED—Westmount-St. Henry
LEGER, AUGUSTE THEOPHILE—Kent (N.B.)
LEMIEUX, Hon. RODOLPHE—Maisonneuve, Gaspe.
LESAGE, JOSEPH EDMOND—Hochelaga.
LOGGIE, WILLIAM STEWART—Northumberland (N.B)
LONG, CHARLES EDWIN—North Battleford.

MACKIE, HENRY ARTHUR—Edmonton, E. Riding.
MACKIE, HERBERT J.—Renfrew, N. Riding.
MACLEAN, Hon. A. K.—Halifax.
MACLEAN, WILLIAM FINDLAY—York, S. Riding.
MACNUTT, THOMAS—Saltcoats.
MCCOIG, ARCHIBALD BLAKE—Kent, (Ont.)
MCCREA, FRANCIS N.—Sherbrooke.
MCCURDY, FLEMING BLANCHARD—Colchester.
MCGIBBON, PETER—Muskoka.
MCGIBBON, PETER ROBT.—Argenteuil.
MCGREGOR, ALEXANDER—Pictou.
MCINTOSH, JOHN CHARLES—Nanaimo.
MCISAAC, JAMES—Kings, (P.E.I.)
MCKENZIE, DANIEL D.—Cape Breton North and Victoria.
MCLEAN, HUGH HAVELOCK—Royal.
MCLEOD, HARRY FULTON—York-Sunbury.
MCMASTER, ANDREW ROSS—Brome.
MCQUARRIE, WILLIAM GARLAND—New Westminster.
MAHARG, JOHN A.—Maple Creek.
MANION, ROBERT JAMES—Ft. William and Rainy River.
MARCIL, Hon. CHARLES—Bonaventure.
MARCILE, JOSEPH EDMOND—Bagot.
MARSHALL, DAVID—Elgin, E. Riding.
MARTIN, PETER FRANCIS—Halifax.
MAYRAND, HORMISDAS—Maskinonge.
MEIGHEN, Hon. ARTHUR—Portage la Prairie.
MERNER, JONATHAN JOSEPH—Huron, S. Riding.
MEWBURN, Hon. SYDNEY CHILTON—Hamilton, E. Riding.
MICHAUD, PIUS—Restigouche and Madawaska.
MIDDLEBRO, WILLIAM SORA—Grey, N. Riding.
MOLLOY, JOHN PATRICK—Provencher.
MORPHY, H. B.—Perth, N. Riding.

* By-election. Introduced October 21 (p. 1176).
† By-election.
§ By-election. Introduced November 6 (p. 1812).
** By-election. Introduced October 23 (p. 1276).
†† Represented Kamouraska until October 14 (p. 994). Took seat for Quebec East Nov. 5 (p. 1748).

MOWAT, HERBERT MACDONALD—Parkdale.
MUNSON, CHARLES ARTHUR—Northumberland, (Ont.)
MURPHY, Hon. CHARLES—Russell.
MYERS, EDWARD THOMAS WORDON—Kindersley.

NESBITT, EDWARD WALTER—Oxford, N. Riding.
NICHOLSON, DONALD—Queen's, (P.E.I.)
NICHOLSON, GEORGE BRECKEN—Algoma, E. Riding.

PACAUD, LUCIEN TURCOTTE—Megantic.
PAPINEAU, LOUIS JOSEPH—Beauharnois.
PARDEE, FREDERICK FORSYTH—Lambton, W. Riding.
PARENT, GEORGE—Quebec, W. Riding.
PAUL, WILLIAM JAMES—Lennox and Addington.
PECK, CYRUS WESLEY—Skeena.
PEDLOW, ISAAC ELLIS—Renfrew, S. Riding.
PELLETIER, FRANCOIS JEAN—Matane.
PORTER, EDWARD GUSS—Hastings, W. Riding.
POWER, CHARLES GAVAN—Quebec, S. Riding.
PREVOST, JULES EDOUARD—Terrebonne.
PROULX, EDMOND—Prescott.

REDMAN, DANIEL LEE—Calgary, E. Riding.
REID, Hon. JOHN DOWSLEY—Grenville.
REID, JOHN FLAWS—Mackenzie.
RHODES, Hon. EDGAR N.—Cumberland.
RICHARDSON, ROBERT LORNE—Springfield.
ROBB, JAMES ALEXANDER—Chateauguay-Huntingdon.
ROSS, DUNCAN CAMPBELL—Middlesex, W. Riding.
ROWELL, Hon. NEWTON WESLEY—Durham.

SAVARD, EDMOND—Chicoutimi-Saguenay.
SCOTT, FRANK STEWART—Waterloo, S. Riding.
SEGUIN, PAUL ARTHUR—L'Assomption-Montcalm.
SEXSMITH, JOHN ALBERT—Peterborough, E. Riding.
SHAW, HUGH MURRAY—Macleod.
SHEARD, CHARLES—Toronto ,S. Riding.
SIFTON, Hon. ARTHUR LEWIS—Medicine Hat.
SIMPSON, THOMAS EDWARD—Algoma, W. Riding.
SINCLAIR, JOHN EWEN—Queen's, P.E.I.
SINCLAIR, JOHN H.—Antigonish and Guysborough.
SMITH, WILLIAM—Ontario, S. Riding.
SPINNEY, EDGAR KEITH—Yarmouth and Clare.
STACEY, FRANK BAINARD—Fraser Valley.
STEELE, MICHAEL—Perth, S. Riding.
STEVENS, HENRY HERBERT—Vancouver, Centre.
STEWART, JOHN A.—Lanark.
STEWART, THOMAS JOSEPH—Hamilton, W. Riding.
SUTHERLAND, DONALD—Oxford, S. Riding.

THOMPSON, ALFRED—Yukon.
THOMPSON, RICHARD FREDERICK—Weyburn.
THOMPSON, THOMAS HENRY—Hastings, E. Riding.
THOMSON, LEVI—Qu'Appelle.
TOBIN, EDMUND WILLIAM—Richmond and Wolfe.
TOLMIE, Hon. SIMON FRASER—Victoria City.
TRAHAN, ARTHUR—Nicolet.
TREMAIN, HADLEY BROWN—Hants.
TRUAX, REUBEN E.—Bruce, S. Riding.
TUDHOPE, JAMES BROCKETT—Simcoe, E. Riding.
TURGEON, ONESIPHORE—Gloucester.
TWEEDIE, THOMAS MITCHELL MARCH—Calgary, W. Riding.

VERVILLE, ALPHONSE—St. Denis.
VIEN, THOMAS—Lotbiniere.

WALLACE, THOMAS GEORGE—York, W. Riding.
WHIDDEN, HOWARD PRIMROSE—Brandon.
WHITE, Hon. SIR THOMAS, K.C.M.G.—Leeds.
WHITE, WILLIAM HENRY—Victoria, Alta.
WIGMORE RUPERT WILSON—St. John City and Counties of St. John and Albert.
WILSON, GORDON CROOKS—Wentworth.
WILSON, JAMES ROBERT—Saskatoon.
WRIGHT, H. O.—Battleford.

DOMINION OF CANADA

THIRD SESSION—THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME CXXXIX

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OF THE

OFFICIAL REPORT

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DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

Constituencies of the House of Commons

Third Session—Thirteenth Parliament.

1919

ALGOMA, EAST—George Brecken Nicholson.
ALGOMA, WEST—Thomas Edward Simpson.
ANTIGONISH AND GUYSBOROUGH—John H. Sinclair.
ARGENTEUIL—P. Robert McGibbon.
ASSINIBOIA—Oliver Robert Gould.

BAGOT—Joseph Edmond Marcile.
BATTLEFORD—Henry Oswald Wright.
BATTLE RIVER—William John Blair.
BEAUCE—Hon. Henri Sévérin Béland,
BEAUHARNOIS—Louis Joseph Papineau.
BELLECHASSE—C. A. Fournier.
BERTHIER—Theodore Gervais.
BONAVENTURE—Hon. Charles Marcil.
BOW RIVER—Howard Haden Halladay.
BRANDON—Howard Primrose Whidden.
BRANT—John Harold.
BRANTFORD—William Foster Cockshutt.
BROME—Andrew Ross McMaster.
BRUCE, NORTH—Hugh Clark.
BRUCE, SOUTH—Reuben E. Truax.
BURRARD—Sanford Johnston Crowe.

CALGARY, EAST—Daniel Lee Redman.
CALGARY, WEST—Thomas Mitchell March Tweedie
CAPE BRETON NORTH AND VICTORIA—Daniel D. McKenzie.
CAPE BRETON SOUTH AND RICHMOND—John C. Douglas, Robert H. Butts.
CARIBOO—Frederick John Fulton.
CARLETON—George Boyce.
CHAMBLY AND VERCHERES—Joseph Archambault.
CHAMPLAIN—Arthur L. Desaulniers.
CHARLEVOIX-MONTMORENCY—Pierre Francois Casgrain.
CHARLOTTE—Thomas A. Hartt.
CHATEAUGUAY-HUNTINGDON—James Alexander Robb.
CHICOUTIMI-SAGUENAY—Edmond Savard.
COLCHESTER—Fleming Blanchard McCurdy.
COMOX-ALBERNI—Herbert Sylvester Clements.
COMPTON—Aylmer Byron Hunt.
CUMBERLAND—Hon. Edgar N. Rhodes

DAUPHIN—Robert Cruise.
DIGBY AND ANNAPOLIS—Avard Longley Davidson.
DORCHESTER—Lucien Cannon.
DRUMMOND AND ARTHABASKA—Joseph Ovide Brouillard.
DUFFERIN—John Best.
DUNDAS—Orren D. Casselman.
DURHAM—Hon. Newton Wesley Rowell.

EDMONTON, EAST—Henry Arthur Mackie.
EDMONTON, WEST—William Antrobus Griesbach.
ELGIN, E. RIDING—David Marshall.
ELGIN, W. RIDING—Hon. Thomas Wilson Crothers.
ESSEX, N. RIDING—William Costello Kennedy.
ESSEX, S. RIDING—John Wesley Brien.

FORT WILLIAM AND RAINY RIVER—Robert James Manion.
FRASER VALLEY—Frank Bainard Stacey.
FRONTENAC—John Wesley Edwards.

GASPE—Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux.
GEORGE ETIENNE CARTIER—Samuel William Jacobs.
GLENGARRY AND STORMONT—John Wilfrid Kennedy
GLOUCESTER—Onesiphore Turgeon.
GRENVILLE—Hon. John Dowsley Reid.
GREY, N. RIDING—William Sora Middlebro.
GREY, SOUTHEAST RIDING—Robert James Ball.
HALDIMAND—Francis Ramsay Lalor.
HALIFAX—Hon. A. K. Maclean, Peter Francis Martin.

HALTON—Robert King Anderson.
HAMILTON, E. RIDING—Hon. Sydney Chilton Mewburn.
HAMILTON, W. RIDING—Thomas Joseph Stewart.
HANTS—Hadley Brown Tremain.
HASTINGS, E. RIDING—Thomas Henry Thompson.
HASTINGS, W. RIDING—Edward Guss Porter.
HOCHELAGA—Joseph Edmond Lesage.
HULL—Joseph Eloi Fontaine.
HUMBOLDT—Norman Lang.
HURON, N. RIDING—James Bowman.
HURON, S. RIDING—Jonathan Joseph Merner.

INVERNESS—Alexander W. Chisholm.

JACQUES CARTIER—David Arthur Lafortune.
JOLIETTE—Jean J. Denis.

*KAMOURASKA—Ernest Lapointe.
KENT, N.B.—Auguste T. Leger.
KENT, ONT.—Archibald Blake McCoig.
KINDERSLEY—Edward Thomas Wordon Myers.
KING'S, N.S.—Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden, G.C.M.G.
KING'S, P.E.I.—James McIsaac.
KINGSTON—Hon. Sir Henry Drayton.
KOOTENAY, E. RIDING—Saul Bonnell.
KOOTENAY, W. RIDING—Robert Francis Green.

LABELLE—Hyacinthe Adelard Fortier.
LAMBTON, E. RIDING—Joseph Emmanuel Armstrong.
LAMBTON, W. RIDING—Frederick Forsyth Pardee.
LANARK—John A. Stewart.
LAPRAIRIE AND NAPIERVILLE—Roch Lanctôt.
L'ASSOMPTION-MONTCALM.—Paul Arthur Séguin.
LAST MOUNTAIN—John Frederick Johnston.
LAURIER-OUTREMONT—Pamphile Real DuTremblay.
LAVAL-TWO MOUNTAINS—Joseph Arthur Calixte Ethier.
LEEDS—Hon. Sir Thomas White, K.C.M.G.
LENNOX AND ADDINGTON—William James Paul.
LETHBRIDGE—William Asbury Buchanan.
LEVIS—Joseph Boutin Bourassa.
LINCOLN—James Dew Chaplin.
LISGAR—Ferris Bolton.
L'ISLET—J. Fernand Fafard.
LONDON—Hume Cronyn.
LOTBINIERE—Thomas Vien.
LUNENBURG—William Duff.

MACDONALD—Richard Coe Henders.
MACKENZIE—John Flaws Reid.
MACLEOD—Hugh Murray Shaw.
MAISONNEUVE—Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux.
MAPLE CREEK—John Archibald Maharg.
MARQUETTE—Hon. Thomas Alexander Crerar.
MASKINONGÉ—Hormidas Mayrand.
MATANE—François Jean Pelletier.
MEDICINE HAT—Hon. Arthur Lewis Sifton.
MEGANTIC—Lucien Turcotte Pacaud.
MIDDLESEX, E. RIDING—Samuel Francis Glass.
MIDDLESEX, W. RIDING—Duncan Campbell Ross.
MISSISQUOI—William Frederic Kay.
MONTMAGNY—Aimé Miville Déchêne.
MOOSEJAW—Hon. James Alexander Calder.
MUSKOKA—Peter McGibbon.

NANAIMO—John Charles McIntosh.
NEEPAWA—Fred Langdon Davis.
NELSON—J. A. Campbell.
NEW WESTMINSTER—William Garland McQuarrie.
NICOLET—Arthur Trahan.
NIPISSING—Charles Robert Harrison.
NORFOLK—William Andrew Charlton.
NORTH BATTLEFORD—Charles Edwin Long.
NORTHUMBERLAND, N.B.—William S. Loggie.
NORTHUMBERLAND, ONT.—Charles Arthur Munson.
ONTARIO, N. RIDING—
ONTARIO, S. RIDING—William Smith.
OTTAWA—Alfred Ernest Fripp, John Leo Chabot.
OXFORD, N. RIDING—Edward Walter Nesbitt.
OXFORD, S. RIDING—Donald Sutherland.

PARKDALE—Herbert Macdonald Mowat.
PARRY SOUND—James Arthurs.
PEEL—Samuel Charters.
PERTH, N. RIDING—Hugh Boulton Morphy.
PERTH, S. RIDING—Michael Steele.
PETERBOROUGH, E. RIDING—John Albert Sexsmith.
PETERBOROUGH, W. RIDING—John Hampden Burnham.
PICTOU—Alexander McGregor.
PONTIAC—Frank S. Cahill.
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE—Hon. Arthur Meighen.
PORT ARTHUR AND KENORA—Francis Henry Keefer.
PORTNEUF—Michel Siméon Delisle.
PRESCOTT—Edmond Proulx.
PRINCE ALBERT—Andrew Knox.
PRINCE EDWARD—William Bernard Rickart Hepburn.
PRINCE, P.E.I.—Hon, W. L. Mackenzie King.

PROVENCHER—John Patrick Molloy.

QU'APPELLE—Levi Thomson.
QUEBEC COUNTY—Henri E. Lavigueur.
† QUEBEC, EAST—Ernest Lapointe.
QUEBEC, SOUTH—Charles Gavan Power.
QUEBEC, WEST—George Parent.
QUEEN'S, P.E.I.—Donald Nicholson, John Ewen Sinclair.

RED DEER—Michael Clark.
REGINA—Walter Davy Cowan.
RENFREW, N. RIDING—Herbert John Mackie.
RENFREW, S. RIDING—Isaac Ellis Pedlow.
RESTIGOUCHE AND MADAWASKA—Pius Michaud.
RICHELIEU—Pierre Joseph Arthur Cardin.
RICHMOND AND WOLFE—Edmund William Tobin.
RIMOUSKI—Joseph Emile Stanislas Emmanuel d'Anjou.
ROYAL—Hugh Havelock McLean.
RUSSELL—Hon. Charles Murphy.

ST. ANN—Hon. Charles Joseph Doherty.
ST. ANTOINE—Sir Herbert Brown Ames, Kt.
ST. DENIS—Alphonse Verville.
ST. HYACINTHE-ROUVILLE—Louis Joseph Gauthier.
ST. JAMES—Louis Audet Lapointe.
ST. JOHN CITY AND COUNTIES OF ST. JOHN AND ALBERT—Stanley Edward Elkin, Rupert Wilson Wigmore.
ST. JOHNS AND IBERVILLE—Marie Joseph Demers.
ST. LAWRENCE-ST. GEORGE—Hon. Charles Colquhoun Ballantyne.
ST. MARY—Hermas Deslauriers.
SALTCOATS—Thomas MacNutt.
SASKATOON—James Robert Wilson.
SELKIRK—Thomas Hay.
SHEFFORD—George Henry Boivin.

* Until October 14 (pp. 994, 1748). † From Novêmber 5 (pp. 994, 1748).

SHELBURNE AND QUEEN'S—Hon. William Stevens Fielding.
SHERBROOKE—Francis N. McCrea.
SIMCOE, E. RIDING—James Brockett Tudhope.
SIMCOE, N. RIDING—John Allister Currie.
SIMCOE, S. RIDING—William Alves Boys.
SKEENA—Cyrus Wesley Peck.
SOURIS—Albert Ernest Finley.
SPRINGFIELD—Robert Lorne Richardson.
STANSTEAD—Willis Keith Baldwin.
STRATHCONA—James McCrie Douglas.
SWIFT CURRENT—Ira Eugene Argue.

TÉMISCOUATA—Charles Arthur Gauvreau.
TERREBONNE—Jules-Edouard Prevost.
THREE RIVERS AND ST. MAURICE—Jacques Bureau.
*TIMISKAMING—Hon. Francis Cochrane.
TORONTO, CENTRE—Edmund Bristol.
TORONTO, EAST—Hon. Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.
TORONTO, NORTH—Rt. Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster, G.C.M.G.
TORONTO, SOUTH—Charles Sheard.
TORONTO, WEST—Horatio Clarence Hocken.

VANCOUVER, CENTRE—Henry Herbert Stevens.
VANCOUVER, SOUTH—Richard Clive Cooper.
VAUDREUIL-SOULANGES—Gustave Boyer.
VICTORIA, ALTA.—William Henry White.
VICTORIA, ONT.—Hon. Sir Sam Hughes, K.C.B.
VICTORIA AND CARLETON, N.B.—Thomas Wakem Caldwell.
VICTORIA CITY, B.C.—Hon. Simon Fraser Tolmie.

WATERLOO, N. RIDING—William D. Euler.
WATERLOO, S. RIDING—Frank Stewart Scott.
WELLAND—Evan E. Fraser.
WELLINGTON, N. RIDING—William Aurelius Clarke.
WELLINGTON, S. RIDING—Hon. Hugh Guthrie.
WENTWORTH—Gordon Crooks Wilson.
WESTMORLAND—Arthur Bliss Copp.
WESTMOUNT-ST. HENRY—Joseph Alfred Leduc.
WEYBURN—Richard Frederick Thompson.
WINNIPEG, CENTRE—George William Andrews.
WINNIPEG, NORTH—Matthew Robert Blake.
WINNIPEG, SOUTH—George William Allan.
WRIGHT—Emmanuel B. Devlin.

YALE—Hon. Martin Burrell.
YAMASKA—Joseph Ernest Oscar Gladu.
YARMOUTH AND CLARE—Edgar Keith Spinney.
YORK, E. RIDING—Thomas Foster.
YORK, N. RIDING—John Alexander Macdonald Armstrong.
YORK, S. RIDING—William Findlay Maclean.
YORK, W. RIDING—Thomas George Wallace.
YORK-SUNBURY—Harry Fulton McLeod.
YUKON—Alfred Thompson.

* Deceased, September 22.

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

Monday, September 1, 1919.

The Parliament which had been prorogued from time to time to the 1st day of September, 1919, met this day at Ottawa for the despatch of business.

The House met at Three o'clock, the Speaker in the Chair.

Mr. Speaker read a communication from Mr. Arthur F. Sladen, Deputy of the Governor General's Secretary, announcing that His Excellency the Governor General would proceed to the Senate Chamber at 3 p.m., on this day, for the purpose of formally opening the session of the Dominion Parliament.

A message was delivered by Colonel Ernest J. Chambers, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, as follows:

Mr. Speaker, His Excellency the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of this honourable House in the Chamber of the honourable the Senate.

Accordingly the House went up to the Senate Chamber.

And the House being returned to the Commons Chamber:

VACANCIES.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the House that during the recess I received communications from several members, notifying me that the following vacancies had occurred in the representation, viz:

Of William Folger Nickle, Esq:. Member for the Electoral District of Kingston, by resignation;

Of Simon Fraser Tolmie, Esq., Member for the Electoral District of Victoria City, consequent upon the acceptance of an office of emolument under the Crown, to wit: the office of Minister of Agriculture;

Of John Gillanders Turriff, Esq., Member for the Electoral District of Assiniboia, consequent upon being summoned to the Senate;

Of the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, G.C.M.G., Member for the Electoral District of Quebec, East, by decease;

Of Joseph Read, Esq., Member for the Electoral District of Prince, (P.E.I.), by decease;

Of Hon. Frank Broadstreet Carvell, Member for the Electoral District of Victoria and Carleton, consequent upon the acceptance of an office of emolument under the Crown.

I accordingly issued my several warrants to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery to make out new writs of election for the said electoral districts respectively.

OATHS OF OFFICE.

Bill No. 1, respecting the Administration of Oaths of Office, introduced and read the first time.—Sir George Foster.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the House that when the House did attend His Excellency the Governor General this day in the Senate Chamber, His Excellency was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament. To prevent mistakes, I have obtained a copy, which is as follows:

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

In this, his first visit to our Dominion, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at once renews happy associations with his comrades of the Canadian army, and at the same time undertakes the important duty of making himself acquainted at first hand with the resources and development of our country, and with the ideals and aspirations of our people. The warm and sincere welcome which everywhere greets him is an assurance that the ties which unite our country with the Motherland and the other dominions in a great community of nations were never closer or firmer than they are to-day.

The urgency of proceeding immediately to the consideration of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany, signed at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, has compelled me to summon you to renewed labours which I trust will not be of long duration.

My advisers are of the opinion that this treaty ought not to be ratified on behalf of

Canada without the approval of Parliament. Authenticated copies will be placed before you without delay for your consideration.

In addition you will be asked to direct your attention to other measures, including those rendered immediately necessary by the approaching return of peace and by the terms of the Peace Treaty.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

Estimates will be laid before you making such financial provision as may be required in connection with the Peace Treaty and for other purposes.

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

For more than five years the world has endured the devastation and horror of war forced upon it by an intolerable spirit and purpose of aggression. Fortunately our country has been spared the desolation and ruin which have been inflicted upon many other nations; but our participation in the war has involved heavy burdens and vast sacrifices which our people have borne with an unflinching spirit. With reverent thankfulness we realize that the world emerges victorious from its long struggle against the forces of barbarous militarism and savage aggression. The labours of reconstruction may be difficult and even painful; and we must undertake them with the same united resolve and inflexible purpose as sustained our efforts during the years of conflict. To you and to the great nation whose affairs are committed to your charge, I bid God-speed in all your endeavours.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (for Sir Robert Borden): I beg to move, seconded by the hon. Mr. Reid, that the Speech of His Excellency the Governor General to both Houses of Parliament be taken into consideration on Tuesday next.

Motion agreed to.

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEES.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER moved:

That a Special Committee be appointed to prepare and report, with all convenient speed, lists of members to compose the Select Standing Committees of this House under Rule 10, said committee to be composed of Messieurs Reid (Grenville), McKenzie, Calder, McCoig, Middlebro and Robb, and that that portion of Rule 10 limiting the number of members of the said committee be suspended in relation thereto.

Motion agreed to.

REPORT.

Joint report of the librarians of Parliament.—Mr. Speaker.

DEPUTY SERJEANT-AT-ARMS.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the House that the Serjeant-at-Arms, with my approval has appointed Louis Charles Panet, Esquire, to be his deputy during the present session of Parliament.

On motion of Sir George Foster, the House adjourned at 3.27 p.m.

Tuesday, September 2, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND.

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT IGNACE PADEREWSKI.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to communicate to the House a cablegram which I have just received from the President of the Republic of Poland. The text is in French, and I shall ask the Assistant Clerk to read it; in the meantime I have a translation, which is as follows:

Varsovia, Poland, September 2nd, 1919.

To the Speaker,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

In the solemn moment when the first stone of the new Canadian Parliament building is laid, I have the honour to express to you, on behalf of free and resurrected Poland, my most hearty wishes for the prosperity of Canada during the era of peace inaugurated by the Paris conference. We are deeply convinced that the bonds of amity which united our soldiers on the field of battle will be more and more tightened in the pacific task undertaken for the good of our nations and the happiness of humanity.

I. J. Paderewski.

The Assistant Clerk read, in French, the communication as follows:

Varsovie, Septembre 2, 1919.

The Speaker, House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

Au moment solennel où est posée la première pierre du nouveau Parlement Canadien, j'ai l'honneur de vous exprimer, au nom de la Pologne ressuscitée et libre, mes voeux les plus chaleureux pour la prospérité du Canada durant l'ère de paix inaugurée par la Conférence de Paris. Nous sommes profondément convaincus que les liens d'amitié qui ont réuni nos soldats au champ de bataille, se resserreront de plus en plus dans l'oeuvre pacifique pour le bien-être de nos nations et le bonheur de l'humanité.

I. J. Paderewski.

THE PEACE TREATY.

DOCUMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE BY THE PRIME MINISTER.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, owing to a misunderstanding yesterday I did not have an opportunity of laying upon the table of the House certain documents relating to the Treaty of Peace. However, I took it upon myself to suggest that they should be distributed, and I understand that notice has

been sent to each member of the House and that several members have availed themselves of the opportunity to secure copies. There is at least one copy for each member of the House and for each member of the Senate, and, I think, a small surplus; but the supply is very limited and I hope that the demands of hon. members will be kept within the narrowest possible bounds.

I lay upon the table of the House the following documents:

1. Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany, signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919.

2. Protocol supplementary to the Treaty of Peace, signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919.

3. Agreement between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire and France and Germany with regard to the military occupation of the Territories of the Rhine, signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919.

4. Declaration by the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France with regard to the occupation of the Rhine Provinces, June 16, 1919.

5. Reply of the Allied and Associated Powers to the Observations of the German delegation on the conditions of Peace, June 16, 1919.

6. Treaty of Peace between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and Poland, signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919.

The documents which I have laid upon the Table and the copies which are available for distribution have been procured from the Government of the United Kingdom. It was understood that a considerable supply had been prepared for the use of Parliament and for other purposes in Great Britain, and so we availed ourselves of the opportunity to get a sufficient number of copies.

There are two authentic texts of the Treaty, one in French and the other in English. Through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Milner, I endeavoured to procure from the Government of France five hundred copies of the French text of the Treaty. I was unable to do so; the best that I could accomplish was to procure one copy in French of each of the documents to which I have referred.

I lay upon the table of the House, therefore, the following documents:

The English and French texts of the Treaty of Peace.

The protocol, in French and in English.

The agreement respecting the military occupation of the Rhine territories, in French and in English.

The letter to the president of the German delegation covering the reply of the Allied and Associated Powers, in French and in English.

The Treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, and Poland, signed at Versailles on the 28th of June, 1919, in French and in English.

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEES.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: The name of Mr. Meighen was inadvertently omitted from the Special Committee appointed to prepare and report, with all convenient speed, lists of members to compose the Select Standing Committees of this House under Rule 10. I now move:

That the name of the Hon. Mr. Meighen be added to the Special Committee appointed to prepare and report, with all convenient speed, lists of members to compose the Select Standing Committees of this House under rule 10.

Motion agreed to.

CANADIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

OVERSEAS PAY LISTS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Sir SAM HUGHES (Victoria): I desire to draw the attention of the Minister of Militia to an article which appeared in the Ottawa Citizen of this morning regarding a statement made by Mr. McMillan, a son of our old friend who formerly occupied a seat in this House, to the effect that there are on the pay lists the names of 30,000 soldiers who never enlisted and who cost the country $30,000,000. I do not believe there is any truth in this statement, but I would ask the minister if his attention has been drawn to it.

Major General MEWBURN (Minister of Militia): My first knowledge of the matter was when I read the article this morning. I cannot believe there is any truth in it, and, in my opinion, it is entirely erroneous.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH.

ADDRESS IN REPLY MOVED BY MR. WHIDDEN, SECONDED BY MR. MCINTOSH.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the speech of His Excellency the Governor General at the opening of the session.

Mr. HOWARD PRIMROSE WHIDDEN (Brandon) rose to move that a humble

Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, to offer the thanks of this House to His Excellency for the gracious speech which he has been pleased to make to both Houses of Parliament. He said:

Mr. Speaker, in rising to move the Address I desire to express my appreciation of the privilege afforded me of participating in the discussion of matters so vital as those which will be under review during the present session.

The speech from the Throne is memorable alike for its brevity and the special features which give it its real character and significance. We are gathered here in Special Session mainly to consider and to ratify, as the representatives of the Canadian people, the Treaty of Peace, the signing of which on June 28 last at Versailles brought to an end the most terrible and cruel war in history.

But before making any further reference to this duty which lies before us, I desire to refer to what has already been so appropriately brought to our attention, viz: the presence in this country of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. That he has already won the genuine esteem and affectionate regard of our people in those communities fortunately honoured by his visit, is so apparent that we are accepting it with unqualified satisfaction and delight.

That his coming is most timely all will agree. Following across the Atlantic many of those with whom he had been associated on the Western Front and by whom he was considered a most worthy comrade, his visit makes possible the further friendships and the maturing of the understandings which are mutually helpful and important at the present hour. The new world adventured forth in time of war and joined the old in common cause, and in doing so found across the seas common ideals, institutions and ruling sentiments; now the old land, by its representative, fares forth in time of peace, and there is soon discovered by him common ideals, institutions and sentiments among the people with whom for a time he associates himself. We were in reality but new-world Britons over there; he is in reality but an old-country Canadian here. It is probably not going too far to say that more than any other the present royal visitor has caught the Canadian spirit and so is best able to interpret to us the deeper meaning of the essential British spirit.

But there is something more than this. The Prince of Wales in Canada to-day is interpreting, perhaps unconsciously to himself, the significance and advantage of British traditions and institutions, and this comes at a time when Canadians are more conscious than ever before of their own nationhood and possible destiny. Significant indeed, is it not, that so full a response should be given by such democratic people to such a democratic Prince, himself the product of the most democratic Empire the world has ever known?

We in Canada do well not to forget that we are heirs as well as conquering pioneers and that to-morrow as well as yesterday we shall find a complete freedom and a complete national life most easily possible with an ever rejuvenated mother and constantly developing sisters in the great Britannic family of nations. The meaning for both stability and progress in our growing Canadian life of the debt we owe to the past, our connections in the present, and our possible alliances in the future, cannot be over valued. We do well to move with steady steps in all the advance that is made in the coming days.

This will doubtless be known in coming years as the "Peace Treaty Session." Copies of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany are now before us. It is for us to consider intelligently and with as broad an outlook as we can command the essential items in this great document. Already we have learned from the press its more important features. Making peace is a stern business, and of necessity there are in this Treaty stern requirements. When we recall the methods and the madness of the enemy we will not fail to realize that severe treatment is not only natural but right.

My task to-day does not include reference to special articles or sections. The Prime Minister will undoubtedly condense and interpret for us the outstanding parts of the Treaty.

However, I would like to emphasize in a general way the meaning of this Treaty for the world and for Canada. It marks the guaranteed end of the most terrible war the world has known. Devastation, destruction and death have been so common for five years that we can scarcely realize they are no longer with us. Freedom, Right, Civilization itself, were about to be destroyed. This document says they are to continue. The weak and the small were about to be thrown to the wolves; this Treaty says they will have a chance to survive among the fittest. The safety of the world is once more made secure. Permanent peace is made possible in this Treaty by the

special covenant of the League of Nations. Provision for this league is the result of the most earnest efforts ever made to win a lasting peace. It is the expression primarily of the best thought of the leading minds of English-speaking statemen. Many of us here have looked for the perfecting of some such plan. While its every detail may not command a perfectly unanimous assent, the central idea must have our undivided endorsation and continued support.

The very fact that the Canadian Parliament is considering this Peace Treaty is itself an evidence that another stage in the fuller development of national life has been reached; and while many influences have been working to this end we do well not to forget the important part played by our own Prime Minister in realizing much of the progress made in this direction.

The war is over. Victory was hard to win, but as the grand "old Tiger of France" has put it, "It is harder to win peace than to win war." May Canadians never be behind in performing their full share in order that an unbroken peace for the world may be realized.

The labours of war are over; the settling of peace is well nigh accomplished, but as the speech from the Throne suggests, the painful work of reconstruction is just begun. In some respects by far the most difficult task is the one now committed to our hands. Are we to fail in the undertaking, or are we once more to be among the victors? It depends upon the decisions now reached, and enterprises undertaken by the Canadian people themselves. If we enter upon "the piping times of peace" merely with a view to making the new era one of barbarously splendid material prosperity we will undoubtedly lose. If, on the other hand, we take up the labours of reconstruction as a necessary part of the renewing and rebuilding not only of our own country but of the whole world, we must just as surely win.

David Lloyd George has said that one of the real aims of the war has been to "get a new world." We need to get a new Canada, rightly set in a new world. If this is to be realized there must be a larger recognition of the strength there is in unity of spirit, inflexibility of purpose, and loftiness of national and individual aim. If these were so readily possible in war, why not in times of peace? Our people responded nobly in a thousand ways. A wonderful willingness to co-operate possessed us. Unflinching determination that the right should conquer held us steadily to our job. Surely this can continue now that the war is over, and yet it will be more difficult to secure in a continued way in times of peace and of new prosperity than during the trying period when the foe was ready to leap upon us.

If we are to carry on the rebuilding of the nation we must in some way secure not only the rights of those who have been deprived of them in large measure hitherto, but there must also be a wider recognition of right as necessarily regnant in every relationship that exists throughout the entire Dominion.

The present class consciousness which characterizes much of our Canadian life at the present time is but the product of causes definite though complex, and very naturally does it emphasize its rights and its claims. But I dare to predict, Sir, that the coming corporate national consciousness will be more mindful of the rights of all for the sake of all than ever in the past of our nation's history. Industrial unrest will not give way to better conditions until this is so. There must be a coming together of all parties concerned, a better understanding of each other, and a greater willingness on the part of each to give place to the simple claims of the other group. But this end will not accomplish what is needed, nor will it ever come to stay, until there is a larger appreciation of the dominance which righteousness should have in all that we now call our Canadian life. Let drastic legislation be enforced to stop profiteering and to secure fairplay all round. But, at the same time, let there be a rapid and widespread acceptance of those splendid ideals and virtues for the perpetuation of which sixty thousand Canadians laid down their lives. Let those ideals and virtues permeate the lives of those who are now going to live for Canada, just as they permeated the lives of those who have died for us. They sacrificed their all in order that law might of natural consequence not only be enacted but kept as the very expression of our national conception of life, and that truth and justice might prevail in our land. Further, Mr. Speaker, I think it is implied in the speech of His Excellency that if the task of reconstruction is to be well done, there is need for a truer understanding between the different sections of Canada. Provincial boundaries are a convenient device, and they have their interesting historic associations; but Chinese walls are antiquated, and, indeed, are but the evidence of fear, suspicion or intolerance. Let there

be no Chinese walls separating any parts of Canada. They do not give any guarantee of a healthy spirit actuating the body politic. Healthy rivalry as between province and province, east and west, always has its rightful place and will always continue. But sectionalism should give way to the advent of a truer national viewpoint and a sense of that dominion wide brotherhood which was so noticeable during the five years when we had a common foe to fight and a common cause to bind us together.

The problem of re-absorbing the returned soldier is not so much economic and social as it is ethical and national. What Canada needs to take seriously to-day is not so much the re-assimilation of the returned soldier as an assimilation of that ideal and spirit which lead our men to spring to the colours and to live or die for freedom and for the flag, that liberty might still be ours, to be preserved as the priceless legacy of generations yet unborn. We have been well told by some of the strongest of the leaders in our Canadian army on their return to us that we need not be afraid of the returned soldier. This is quite true. The returned soldiers, it is said, belonged to us and will very soon find their place once more in the land they call their own. I agree with that; but I believe that we should go even further and say: "Do not be afraid of that high spirit of devotion which took our soldiers overseas and carried them through all the privations and dangers and cruelties of the most frightful war ever fought." Let us make that spirit of devotion our own. We would do well to remember the words of Abraham Lincoln, which are applicable to us at present: "It is for us, the living, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced;" and I am satisfied, Sir, as I believe we all are, that it is in proportion as we take up the cause and incorporate in ourselves the spirit of those men who went and conquered the enemy, and whom we are proud to have back in our midst, that we shall attain a happy goal. When those who are returning join with us in the dedication of our national life to the making of a greater and better Canada than existed a decade ago, we shall achieve results that would not have been thought possible, at least in our lifetime. If the Canadian people will do this, all the sacrifices and all the cost will not have been in vain, and Canada, standing as she does to-day at the very gateway of her destiny, will enter upon an era of real prosperity and achievement of which the greatest of our many great national fathers scarcely dared dream. I am sure that if Canadians will harken to the new watch cry and will accept the new challenge flung down by those who will never speak to us again in audible tones, and by those, also, who have returned to represent the fallen, as they represented all of us in their going, we shall see in the northern half of this continent a nation with a character, and one that in actual achievement will in the coming day shine conspicuously among the nations that have made this world great and good for all the peoples of the earth.

Mr. JOHN CHARLES McINTOSH (Nanaimo, B.C.): Mr. Speaker, I have the honour to second the motion of the hon. member for Brandon (Mr. Whidden). To me the honour is somewhat onerous, lacking as I do experience in Parliamentary life, and I trust that the House will be patient with me in view of this circumstance. Since last session there have been several changes in the ministry. The House, I think, will join with me in expressing regret at the loss of the great and talented services as Minister of Finance, of Sir Thomas White. He gave his services freely to his country at great personal sacrifice to himself. The life of Sir Thomas White should be a model and an inspiration to the boyhood of Canada. Reared upon a farm with a widowed mother to support, and being charged with the responsibility in early life of the management of that farm, he had great difficulty in obtaining the education which is at the command of most boys. He worked, and worked hard to acquire the education which has enabled him to take such a brilliant part in the affairs of Canada. His success from the very beginning was mostly the result of personal effort; the money necessary to enable him to pursue his studies at the university and the law school was obtained by working as a newspaper man and in other capacities. Therefore, I repeat that the life of Sir Thomas White and the industry and perseverance with which he applied himself to the attainment of the objects before him should serve as a model to the boyhood of Canada.

His place in the Government has been taken by Sir Henry Drayton who has made such a brilliant record for himself as chairman of the Dominion Board of Railway Commissioners and I doubt not that the great ability which he has brought to the discharge of the important duties of that

office will characterize the discharge of his new duties as Minister of Finance.

The portfolio of Agriculture has been bestowed upon my hon. friend from Victoria City (Mr. Tolmie). This appointment, I am sure, is one which will have the approval of all the people of Canada as it certainly has the approval of the people of British Columbia. The hon. the Minister of Agriculture is a true farmer. He is a farmer not only in the theoretical sense, but he is an actual farmer. He not only performs manual labour upon his own farm but he has received an education along technical lines in agriculture. The hon. the minister's merits are of no mean character; he has attained to a position of eminence in the agricultural world particularly with regard to live stock. He has long been looked upon as one of the great authorities in North America and that recognition is of such a character that in the United States of America his opinions and decisions are continuously reported in the official bulletins.

The people of Canada will, I am sure, share the sorrow of the people of the sister Dominion of South Africa in the loss of that great empire statesman, Sir Louis Botha. Although formerly an enemy he gave his life to the promotion of those great ideals and principles upon which the British Empire is founded.

This, to my mind, is one of the most momentous and historical sessions of our Canadian Parliament, called as it primarily is to ratify the Treaty of Peace which has just been signed by the representatives of our Government who were delegates to the conference held for the purpose of formulating that treaty. It is a fitting epitome of the great work done by the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), who has given his life and his talents to his country and whose name will go down to posterity with the names of other Canadian statesmen such as Sir John A. Macdonald, and the late lamented and much revered Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

It is momentous also from the fact that to-day His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, heir to the British Crown, is in our midst, and has performed the historic ceremony of laying the corner stone of the tower of the newly reconstructed Houses of Parliament. It is but right and proper that this should be so, as his grandfather, the late, revered King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, performed a similar ceremony when these buildings, the first houses of Parliament of the new Confederation of Canada, were constructed. We welcome him here to-day even as the people of that day welcomed his ancestor. The ties which bind the hearts of the Canadian people to the Throne of Great Britain were never so strong as they are to-day. Though they be but ties of loving sentiment, fine as silk, yet they are stronger than the toughest bands of steel. His Royal Highness has all the lovable qualities of his grandfather which so endeared him to his people. The son of a great ancestor of his, then Prince of Wales, greatly loved by the English people of that day for his soldierly qualities, was called Edward, the Black Prince; our Prince, showing soldierly qualities in no less degree, is equally well beloved of his people as Edward the White Prince. His admiration for our soldiers while in France was shown by his presence for two months with them while in the field fighting for freedom. May his life long be spared to his fellow countrymen, and when the time comes that he be King, may he rule long and wisely.

That the Prince has the right ideal was, I think, shown by a statement which was made the other day by him. He said:

> The splendid services of the British Dominions in the war have given them a new prestige among the peoples of the world, and they have established their status as self-governing nations once and for all.

In June 1535 a Norman Frenchman, an adventurous seaman named Jacques Cartier, sailed from the seaport of St. Malo, and gave Canada to the world. This has been well described by that brilliant and talented statesman, the late Thomas D'Arcy McGee in the following lines:

> In the seaport of St. Malo, 'twas a smiling morn in May,
> When the Commodore, Jacques Cartier, to the westward sailed away
> In the crowded old cathedral all the town were on their knees
> For the safe return of kinsmen from the undiscovered seas.

Some three hundred and seventy-nine years later when the vengeful Germans broke through Belgium into fair France the prayers of the people of France were answered. Canada saved France from destruction and helped save the civilization and liberty of the world from German aggression and tyranny. So long as the tongue of man is capable of utterance, so will the brave deeds of the Canadian Army Corps be spoken of in tones of admiration. Their deeds are imperishable and indelibly

imprinted upon the pages of history in letters of the blood which they so freely shed in France and Flanders.

The Canadian Army Corps was no ordinary army corps, but an army in very truth, greater in point of numbers than any corps in the British service, and let it be said with pride, never under strength. Canada not only gave to the world a brave and effective fighting force, but gave also what was even more rare, a great and successful leader in the person of Sir Arthur Currie. No army corps commander stood higher in the estimation of those great leaders, Marshal Foch and Sir Douglas Haig, than Sir Arthur Currie, and deservedly so. Sir Arthur Currie is no creature of fortunate circumstances, no accidental genius. His success was the result of many years of hard work on military lines performed long before the war. Of this I can speak with knowledge, as he was a fellow-citizen of mine in British Columbia for some twenty years. No work on military technique was too formidable for him to peruse and master. Military work was his one great obsession, and how well for his country did it prove.

Although the Peace Treaty has not yet been laid before the House, it is so much a matter of record and discussion the world over that it would here seem permissible to discuss some of its salient features.

There was some slight criticism when the Right Hon. the Prime Minister and his colleagues attended the Peace Conference. This criticism was never justifiable. The war as waged by Great Britain and the Dominions was not a war of aggression, was not for lust of conquest, but for the liberty and civilization which we value so highly. When the call came, Canada, as well as the Motherland, was ready to defend the right. If with this noble object in view we expended the best of our blood and much of our treasure, so was it right that we should be called with the other powers into conference as to the terms that the defeated enemy should receive. Surely it goes to the very root of our political liberties that as to the expenditure of money we should be represented, and it is a stronger reason when we give our best blood. We have been well and ably represented at the conference by the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, and the world has given him due credit for his great work there. The result of the work of the conference will shortly be before us.

I would like to place some of the salient features of the Treaty before the House.

It defines the boundaries of a new Germany shorn of its ill-fated military prestige.

To France has been given back that which was forced from her fifty years ago, the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

The new found freedom of the Polish people is made effective by the return of the territory so long held in subjugation by Germany, Austria and Russia, and an outlet to the sea given them.

A new independent state has been created as Czecho-Slovakia, and the necessary territory for the self-determination of the future of these people ceded by Germany.

The boundaries of a new Belgium are delineated, and a new system of government formulated for Luxembourg and the Saar basin.

The people of Northern Schleswig are to be given the right of self-determination ruthlessly withheld from them by the Germans since 1866.

German-Austria is to be recognized by this new Germany as an autonomous and independent state, and thus separated from unscrupulous German influence and control.

The colonial possessions of Germany the world over have departed from her pernicious control to the several powers subject to the mandate of the League of Nations, our sister Dominion, that of Australia, having control of certain island territory adjacent to her shores.

Germany's army and her armaments are restricted, making her harmless from a military point of view.

Those persons, including the ex-Kaiser, who are responsible for this horrible war, or who have committed offences against international law, are to be placed on trial for their acts before special tribunals representative of the powers.

Reparation must be made by Germany for the ruin and distress she has caused.

Certain ports, railways, rivers and canals are to be internationalized.

Guarantees are arranged for the due carrying out by Germany of her treaty arrangements so that the future peace of the world may be assured.

These are shortly, the main features of the Treaty. The great outstanding fact is that Germany is shorn of her proud boast and vain ambition of "Germany over all." It was her lust of conquest and desire to put into being this selfish ambition which has caused the unutterable distress throughout the world.

Of all the countries that participated in the war Canada should recover the most quickly. A country of great area, greater in territory than that of the United States

and Alaska together, she is a vast reservoir of raw material for which the world hungers and cries out. The conversion of these resources into marketable products and their sale will soon create a vast trade, and only by the creation of this trade can we effectually carry the financial burden which the war has placed upon our shoulders. This, however, is dependent upon industrial peace. Industrial peace can only be obtained by legislation and regulation in a remedial way for the protection of the worker, the creator of all real and true wealth.

This was recognized by the great powers in the Peace Conference, and incorporated in the Treaty.

At page 193 of the Treaty, being part XIII relating to labour, the preamble reads:

Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled;

And an improvement of those conditions is urgently required; as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures;

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries; etc.

To this declaration Canada is a consenting party. The general principles embodied in this part of the treaty are the result of the work of the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden. His was the mind which conceived this portion of the treaty; his was the hand that wrote the words, and too great credit cannot be given him for the work that he has done along these lines.

The motion of the Prime Minister which put into effect these principles at the Peace Conference is incorporated in the treaty as Article 427, which is to be found at page 204. It reads as follows:

The High Contracting Parties, recognizing that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance, have framed, in order to further this great end, the permanent machinery provided for in section 1 and associated with that of the League of Nations.

They recognize that differences of climate, habits and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that labour should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labour conditions which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following seem to the High Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance:

First: The guiding principle above enunciated that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second: The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third: The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth: The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth: The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth: The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh: The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth: The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth: Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

These are the principles laid down by the conference in regard to labour and included in the Peace Treaty. I say that labour should have no fear of the mind that conceived these principles; labour should have no fear of the hand that wrote the words embodying these principles; labour should have no fear of the personality that brought these principles into being. On the contrary the foundations laid by Sir Robert Borden at the Peace Conference will be the beginning of a new era for labour in Canada—the Prime Minister's work on these lines, when brought into effect in Canada by legislation, as I feel sure it will be shortly, will, to my mind, be the saving of our country from industrial unrest.

The necessity for this legislation is self-evident. The report of the Industrial Relations Commission shows this very clearly, and their recommendations will, I feel sure, be immediately given effect to by necessary legislation brought before this House when the work of the Industrial Congress which has been called together is finished.

Organized labour is playing the game, even as they so manfully placed the game in their participation in the war. Of the great army which Canada sent overseas to put into effect the great principle of right, seventy per cent came from the ranks of labour. True organized labour still contends for right. They are rapidly casting off the false Bolsheviki doctrine advocated by the One Big Union, which is declining as rapidly as it rose. They still, however, have their objectives, and their principal objectives are just and laudable ones. Chief among them are statutory regulation of hours of labour, establishment of minimum wage, insurance against unemployment and insurance against old age. The first two objectives are dealt with in the treaty and no one can justly deny the right of labour to receive these rights.

We are told by scientists that two great basic and primal instincts survive in the human race to-day. One is the instinct of self-preservation. It is deeply implanted in all of us. The margin of safety to the worker—what is necessary to maintain life—is miserably small. The nightmare of unemployment is ever before him—the great and constant fear that he and his dependents may feel the gnawing canker of actual want. This calamity must be provided against by the State and that constant fear removed from the mind of labour.

The men leading organized labour are safe and sane men; I have sat in council with them in my own constituency and in the city of Victoria. Their mentality is sound, and they are certain of the justice of their demands. I would like to see labour represented in this House; I do not think it is to the credit either of the people of Canada or of our present system of representation that the condition in this regard should remain as it is. It seems to my mind an anomaly that the great proportion of our population occupying the ranks of labour should be without direct representation in Parliament. Not only is it their right that they should have that representation, but it would make for the safety and stability of our nation.

I am glad to know that the Board of Commerce is performing the functions for which it was created, and I trust that its powers may be amplified if found necessary.

The fundamental cause of the extraordinarily high cost of living is undoubtedly the lack of production during the war and the destruction of so much material wealth throughout the world. This condition, however, has been aggrevated by the selfish greed of those who took advantage of the opportunities which the war afforded them. This is something which should be strongly repressed; I trust that the work of the newly-created Board of Commerce will be effective in curbing this menace.

The high cost of living bears harshly upon the worker. It may be said that wages have advanced concurrently with the increase in the cost of living. That is not strictly true, because the increase in wages generally takes place a considerable time after increases in the prices of commodities necessary to life are made effective.

Then again, if unemployment takes place or there is only intermittent or casual employment, suffering is sure to ensue. The great fear of actual want is more oppressive than ever before upon the mind of the worker.

The dean of all newspaper men, Colonel Henry Watterson, fondly as "Marse Henry," the friend of men of letters and the companion of statesmen, in his reminiscences now being published, declares civilization to be balanced on the edge of a precipice, either to go upwards to higher things or to go down to a thousand years of barbarism. I do not agree with this. Civilization must be ever upward, no downward plunge awaits it. It should, however, be our constant care to guard against any retrograde movement by taking care of conditions as they arise and not allow irritation to grow into open discontent. I have every faith in the mental stability of the Canadian people to safely override any storm which may arise.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, I am sure that, having in view the purpose for which this Parliament is summoned, no hon. member on this side of the House will have any fault to find with the text of the speech from the Throne. I am further sure that no hon. member will have any fault to find with the speeches made by the mover and seconder of the Address in reply to the speech from the Throne. For many years I have had the pleasure of being in this House, and I have listened to

many speeches of a like character. We always, on occasions of this kind, look forward to good speeches, carefully prepared and well delivered, and if I may be permitted, let me assure the hon. gentlemen who have performed the duty of moving and seconding the address this afternoon, that their speeches rank well and equal to the best of those which have graced the traditions of the past. I have always been proud of being a native of that little province where the mayflower blooms beneath the snow down by the roaring Atlantic, and I have further reason for being prouder to-day that we claim as a Nova Scotian the hon. gentleman who moved the Address. While I must confess I am not sure of the homeland of the hon. gentleman who seconded the Address, his attainments and his name would justify the presumption that he is a Nova Scotian, and until there is evidence to the contrary, I shall ask the House to believe that he is.

I am sure that we are very much pleased and edified by the very learned manner in which the hon. gentleman dealt with the various subjects implied in the speech from the Throne and also in the duty for which we are called here to-day. But it is not my purpose, nor will the occasion on which I arise in the arrangement which appears to be understood, between both sides of this House permit me to say very much at present on the Address or on the speeches which have just been delivered. I have nothing in any way controversial to say in regard to those speeches. The hon. gentleman who moved the Address spoke eloquently, and I am sure feelingly and conscientiously about the great blessing of unity not only between separate nations but within individual nations themselves. If he has ever felt any lack of unity or has ever seen any signs or evidences of lack of unity in this country, I am sure his great ability as a Canadian, as a member of this House and as a gentleman will come to his aid in trying to stamp out any spirit of that kind which he may meet with in this House, and I will advise my good friend to begin with that very excellent work at Jerusalem.

Let me hasten to associate hon. gentlemen on this side of the House and the Liberal party generally with the kindly reference made in the speech from the Throne to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The Canadian people, and indeed the British people at large have a right to expect and do expect great and splendid things from the Prince of Wales who will in due course and we hope in the dispensation of Providence, one day be the Sovereign of this great country. Without wishing to approach anything like exaggeration I may say that our highest expectations have been more than realized in the person of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. We pride ourselves upon being a democratic country; we pride ourselves upon having our very life, politically and otherwise, based upon the sound principles of democracy, freedom, justice and right, and we have every reason to hope and believe, aye, Sir, we are sure, that we have in the person of the Prince of Wales a gentleman who understands those principles and who, during his future career will do much towards supporting those ideas and placing them on a surer and wider foundation than they ever have been in the past. When the day comes in due course and in the dispensation of Providence that he shall become King and Emperor of this great country, he will, I am sure, from his education, his training, and his contact with the people of Canada, be fully equipped for carrying forward the great heritage handed down to him by those who have preceded him on the glorious throne of Great Britain. We all wish His Royal Highness the greatest possible happiness in his trip through Canada, a safe return to the motherland, and all happiness and prosperity during his career as Prince of Wales and as our future King.

The Treaty to which reference has been made by the hon. gentlemen who moved and seconded the Address will no doubt occupy the centre of the stage during this session and will in due course receive the careful consideration of the members of the Government as well as of hon. members on both sides of the House. From the observations made by the hon. gentlemen who moved and seconded the Address, particularly by the mover, it appears, and we believe there are in that treaty terms which may possibly change the conditions and status which have hitherto existed between this great country of ours and the motherland. If any action of this House is to have for its purpose or effect the changing of our relations with the mother country, the changing of the constitutional status of Canada, we shall have, indeed, to be very careful as to how we deal with such questions. This is a democratic country; this is a country in which we profess to act along the lines suggested by the free will of the people as expressed at the polls. This matter of changed relations between Canada and the mother country has never been submitted to the Canadian people and if this Treaty

has for its purpose the making of any such change without its being submitted to the people, we should move with the greatest possible care and caution. I am sure that such a spirit will animate every member of this House and of the Government in dealing with this question.

I suggested a moment ago that it was not my purpose for the present to go fully into this discussion, but I thought it well to make these observations at this stage, as I have it in view to move the adjournment of the debate in a few moments.

It has been arranged with the Prime Minister that the discussion on the Address shall not proceed for the moment, as he is anxious to bring forward some business in connection with the Treaty, and, of course, we are only too glad to facilitate this important business. I now beg to move that the debate be adjourned.

Motion agreed to.

Sir SAM HUGHES (Victoria): Might we have some intimation when the debate will be resumed ?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Very soon, I think. There is a matter of urgency on which I desire to speak. With the permission of the House I should like this afternoon to take the resolution which is to be found on page ii of the Votes and Proceedings, and which reads as follows, with the addition of two words which were accidentally omitted:

Resolved, that it is expedient that Parliament do approve of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany (and the Protocol annexed thereto), which was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth day of June, nineteen hundred and nineteen, a copy of which has been laid before Parliament, and which was signed on behalf of His Majesty, acting for Canada, by the plenipotentiaries therein named, and that this House do approve of the same.

I beg to move for the leave of the House to proceed now with this resolution, which in the ordinary course could not be taken until to-morrow.

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers and St. Maurice): May I ask whether this resolution involves a full discussion of the Treaty which has been laid on the Table to-day?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Certainly.

Mr. BUREAU: I might remark that I have not had an opportunity of reading the Treaty, except such parts of it as were published in the newspapers; and I think most of my fellow-members are in the same position. We could hardly have an intelligent discussion until we have had an opportunity of studying the Treaty. I understood that this resolution was put on the Order Paper to give the Prime Minister an opportunity to make a statement, and that after the statement had been made the debate would be adjourned until hon. members had had an opportunity of studying the Treaty.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I think it would be only reasonable, if hon. gentlemen desire it, that the debate should be adjourned after I make my statement. On the other hand, I think the statement which I shall make to the House may possibly be of some assistance in giving to hon. gentlemen a conception of the salient points of the Treaty, and especially as they affect the interests of this country. It was really with that idea I proposed to take this resolution this afternoon. I shall be quite agreeable to whatever my hon. friends on the other side may desire as to to adjourning the debate after I have made the statement.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria)): I am sorry I omitted to say that the Prime Minister agreed this morning to adjourning the debate after he had made his statement.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (South York): I think a large number of copies of the Treaty should be printed and distributed for the use not only of members of this House, but of the Canadian public. I do not think it would take a great deal of space to incorporate it in Hansard. At all events, the Treaty and the associated documents should be printed immediately so that the members of this House and the public may become acquainted with the real issues involved.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I have not had the privilege of reading the resolution or the Treaty, except as it appeared in the papers. I do not know what the object of the resolution may be. I cannot find it in the Votes and Proceedings. I think in all fairness to members on both sides of the House some notification should have been given, so that we would have known this was coming up. Is it the intention that the Prime Minister's statement shall conclude the debate?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I have already explained that I desire to make a statement which I thought might be helpful to members of the House in grasping the salient points of the Treaty, and that immediately after I have made the statement the debate may

be adjourned if any hon. gentleman so desires.

Sir SAM HUGHES: That is this debate?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Yes.

Mr. J. ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Vercheres): I understood the Prime Minister to say that there was only one copy of the Treaty in French. Would it be possible to have further copies printed for distribution to hon. members?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: If hon. gentlemen desire it, it can be done; it may take a little time. I might explain that it was impracticable to translate the Treaty into French and have it printed, for the reason that it would not be authentic. There were two authentic originals, one in English and one in French. The French text arrived only two days ago, and therefore could not be printed in time. If we had attempted to translate it after we had received the English copy of the Treaty, we would have had two French versions, probably differing somewhat from each other, and that was not desirable.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): One would have been in Parisian French.

Mr. BUREAU: And the translation might have in it the patois.

THE PEACE TREATY.

RESOLUTION APPROVING OF THE TREATY MOVED BY THE PRIME MINISTER.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): I beg to move the following resolution:

Resolved, that it is expedient that Parliament do approve of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany (and the Protocol annexed thereto), which was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth day of June, nineteen hundred and nineteen, a copy of which has been laid before Parliament, and which was signed on behalf of His Majesty, acting for Canada, by the plenipotentiaries therein named, and that this House do approve of the same.

He said: Mr. Speaker, we are still too near to the tremendous and terrible events through which the world has passed since August five years ago to realize fully their supreme significance in the world's history and their all-compelling influence upon the future destiny of humanity. The conflicts of a thousand years fade into relative insignificance when compared with this struggle in which for one or another purpose the entire manhood, and more than that, the entire womanhood, of the belligerent nations were engaged. This war numbers its dead by millions and its maimed and wounded by tens of millions. It surpassed all previous conflicts in the extraordinary extent to which applied science and the control of mankind over the mighty forces of nature were brought into play for purposes of destruction. It overthrew and destroyed the most formidable and highly organized military power known in the world's history; it crumbled thrones and sent kings and princes wandering as outcasts far from the places they once occupied; it tested as never before the courage and self-control of all the nations; and finally it seemed to shake the very foundations upon which organized society has slowly, and as we thought securely, established itself during a score of centuries.

It was a war not of armies but of nations; and yet if we mistake not it was something more. If we cannot perceive in its genesis an inevitable clash between two strongly opposed and mutually destructive ideals and in its issue the triumph of reasoned justice and ordered liberty, if, out of its limitless sacrifice, mankind may not gain redemption from such unendurable horrors in the future, where can we see one ray of hope to lighten the pathway that lies before the nations?

We are assembled to consider terms of Peace which were presented to Germany after many anxious months of study and debate. Including the British Dominions, who were given in the Peace Conference a place commensurate with the part they had taken in the war, there were thirty-two nations assembled on the 6th day of May last in the secret Plenary Session of the Peace Conference at which those terms were unanimously adopted. I do not claim that there was no hesitation or even that there was no protest. Probably there was not a single nation whose representatives were absolutely satisfied with every disposition contained in the Treaty. I do not except the representatives of Canada from that sweeping assertion. But there was the great outstanding fact that thirty-two nations of varying and sometimes conflicting ideals and aspirations, widely divergent in status, in power and in political development, and separated sometimes by ancient antagonisms and long-standing jealousies, did finally give their undivided assent to a treaty which, whatever its imperfections may be, was designed in all sincerity to assure the future peace of the world.

Whatever doubt may exist in other cases, it is unquestionable that this Treaty should be submitted to Parliament for its consideration and approval before ratification on behalf of Canada takes place. The formal ratification is of course in the name of the Sovereign; but in giving that ratification on behalf of Canada, His Majesty necessarily acts at the instance of his constitutional advisers in this country. We gave our pledge to submit this Treaty to Parliament before ratification, and that pledge is now fulfilled. There is the greatest urgency for securing ratification at the earliest possible moment. The period within which Germany shall carry out many of her undertakings under the terms of the Treaty, dates from the period of ratification by three of the Allied Powers. The words of the Treaty in that regard are as follows:

A first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up as soon as the Treaty has been ratified by Germany on the one hand, and by three of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers on the other hand.

From the date of this first proces-verbal the Treaty will come into force between the High Contracting Parties who have ratified it. For the determination of all periods of time provided for in the present Treaty this date will be the date of the coming into force of the Treaty.

It is anticipated that two other of the powers referred to will ratify within a very short time and we have been urgently requested to use every possible expedition in having the Treaty considered by the Parliament of Canada. I hope, therefore, that the resolution which I propose may be passed, if the House approves, with the least possible delay. The Bill, which makes provision for carrying into effect the terms of the Treaty so far as Canada is concerned, will afford the opportunity for such further debate as may be desired.

Before proceeding to give a brief summary of the Treaty, which has been laid upon the table of the House, it is fitting to recall for a moment the dark days through which we passed in the years that are behind us, to remember that irretrievable disaster seemed more than once to wait on the threshold of the allied nations, and to acknowledge our profound thankfulness that the peace we are now to consider is founded upon victory and not upon defeat; fitting, also, to renew and emphasize our grateful acknowledgment of the indomitable valour of the allied armies which made that victory possible, and to recall with solemn pride the glorious achievements of our own heroic army.

[Sir Robert Borden.]

Speaking of the general aspects of the Treaty, I do not deny that its terms are severe and even stern; but, stern as they are, they do not fill the measure of the crime which brought horror and disaster upon humanity. The military autocracies of the Central Powers were undoubtedly the immediate instruments that brought the scourge of this war upon mankind. But can we forget, ought we to forget, that so long as the fortunes of war seemed to smile upon them, the policy of world domination which forced this war commanded the approval and support of the enemy nations? Those who have passed from the inconceivable devastation and destruction of France and Belgium to the smiling and untouched countryside of Germany are not wont to regard the terms of this Treaty as unduly severe.

Coming more in detail to its terms, it defines the boundaries of Germany, restoring to France the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which were torn from her nearly half a century ago, and to the newly established Polish republic the large and important territories acquired by Germany through the dismemberment of that country. The intermixture of German and Polish races in the eastern portions of the former German Empire necessitated elaborate and complex provisions, establishing Dantzig as a free city and giving to the inhabitants of certain districts the right to determine by vote their future national status. Territory of less extent and importance has been ceded by Germany to the new Czecho-Slovak state.

The Treaty also revises the boundaries of Belgium and establishes a new system of government for Luxemburg and the Saar basin. Possible additions of territory to Denmark are provided for, and Germany has been placed under obligation to recognize the independence of German-Austria. Germany has been deprived of all her colonial possessions. She has been subjected to severe restrictions as to the armaments which she shall be allowed to maintain on land, on sea, or in the air. Tribunals have been created for the trial of persons upon whom rests the primary responsibility for the war, or who have committed acts in violation of the laws and usages of war. To the extent of her resources Germany has been required to undertake reparation and restitution for the destruction and ruin which her mad ambition has occasioned. The Treaty provides for international control of certain ports, railways, rivers, and canals. It em-

bodies elaborate financial and economic provisions to which further reference will be made, and finally it establishes guarantees for the execution of the Treaty and for assuring the future peace of the world.

So far as Alsace Lorraine is concerned there is little need of argument. Those provinces, predominantly French in sentiment and thoroughly desirous of remaining French in their national status, were wrested by force and against their will from France fifty years ago. This barbarous and historic injustice has now been redressed and the lost provinces are once more joined to their parent state. The Allied Nations—I shall use the term "Allied" for brevity in speaking of the Allied and Associated Powers—have also made good to the people of Northern Schleswig the promise which Prussia gave in 1866 and which ever since has been constantly violated. These people will now have the opportunity of expressing by a free vote their desire for reunion with their motherland.

The emancipation of Poland and its establishment as a free and independent nation with access to the sea, have commanded the approval of the world. The difficulties in securing such a delimitation of territory as would afford access to the sea and at the same time would not do violence to national affiliations and sentiments were extreme; and they have involved very elaborate and complicated provisions, which have received the closest study and consideration, which may not prove completely satisfactory in their operation, but which, on the whole, are the best that could be devised. In this as in every instance adequate safeguards have been provided for protecting the rights of minorities and assuring to them freedom of conscience and security of person and property.

In all his systematic destruction of property and of all indicia of civilization and progress, the German was never more thorough than in the ruin which he wrought on the coal fields of Northern France. It was the definite and fixed purpose of the German Government so to paralyze French industry by confiscation or destruction of industrial plants and by the wanton ruin of French coal fields, that French industry could never again raise its head in competition with Germany. No one would question the need of both restitution and punishment for such crimes. The means and the method were the subject of long debate and grave consideration. Finally the coal fields of the Saar Basin which has hitherto been German territory, have been placed under a commission to be appointed by the League of Nations which will in effect govern the district for fifteen years. Necessary safeguards have been provided for assuring to the people their religious liberty, their language and their schools. The coal fields are placed at the disposition of France. At the end of fifteen years the people are to determine by plebiscite whether they desire to remain under the League of Nations or to be transferred to France or to Germany. In the latter case the French mines within the district will be transferred to Germany upon the payment of suitable compensation to be credited on the reparation account.

The provisions for the destruction of Heligoland and for the internationalization of the Kiel canal are obviously just and I need not dwell upon them.

To deprive Germany of her entire colonial empire was a stern though just measure. The world's future peace imperatively demanded this action. No effective attempt at colonization had been made by the Germans; their purpose was purely exploitation and commercial advantage. They had been guilty of barbarous and relentless cruelty and oppression in their dealings with the natives. There was abundant evidence, especially in German Southwest Africa, that the native tribes who had shown themselves friendly to the Allies would have been exterminated if German power had been again restored. And there was no illusion as to the future policy of Germany if these colonies should be retained. Strongly fortified naval bases at strategic points with all the facilities for a submarine warfare far beyond anything hitherto attempted would have been established within a few years. In their confident anticipation of victory the public men of Germany were perfectly candid as to other future intentions. German organization would be equal to the task of training, disciplining and arming vast bodies of native troops by whose aid the entire African continent could be subdued and whose power might even be brought to bear in other theatres of war. So Germany was called upon to renounce her colonial possessions in favour of the Allied Powers. But the Allied nations have placed upon themselves a self-denying ordinance under which these territories are to be developed in the interest and for the benefit of the world at large and especially of the races

which inhabit them. Until such races are capable of self-government the territories in question are to be administered by Mandatory Powers subject to the supervision and control of the League of Nations.

The financial clauses embodied in Part IX of the treaty contain provisions respecting the allocation of the debt of the German Empire as it stood on August 1, 1914, among the powers to which German territory is ceded. It is provided that France in respect of Alsace and Lorraine shall be exempt from any such payment, inasmuch as in 1871 Germany refused to undertake any portion of the burden of the French debt. In respect of former German territories to be administered by a Mandatory under Article XXII of the League of Nations Covenant, neither the territory nor the Mandatory Power is to be charged with any portion of the debt of the German Empire or states. The remaining dispositions of Part IX are chiefly in aid of the general provisions for reparation which are set forth in Part VIII and to which further reference will be made.

The Economic clauses embodied in Part X of the treaty are very elaborate and I shall attempt no more than a short summary. They entitle the Allied Nations to most favoured nation treatment in respect of customs duties and in respect of natural products and manufactured articles exported from German territory to any of the allied countries. They contain provisions to prevent unfair competition by Germany. They declare that Germany shall not subject the nationals of the Allied Powers to any prohibition, regulation, restriction or tax in regard to the exercise of occupations, professions, trade or industry which shall not be applicable to all aliens; and they make provision as to the continuation of certain international conventions and agreements. Section III of Part X contains elaborate dispositions as to the collection and payment of debts due from or to German nationals to or from the nationals of any of the allied states.

The user of and the rights in ports, waterways and railways wholly or partly within the territory of the former German empire is regulated by elaborate provisions which are set forth in Part XII of the treaty and which do not seem to require special observation.

Apart from the security afforded by the Covenant of the League of Nations, safeguards against future aggression on the part of Germany are established in Part V which places severe restrictions upon the military and naval power of that country.

[Sir Robert Borden.]

It is provided that within a very short time the German army shall be reduced to not more than one hundred thousand men who are to be recruited by voluntary enlistment for a term of twelve years. Germany undertakes to abolish compulsory military service. The treaty imposes a definite limit to the amount of arms, munitions and materials which she is permitted to maintain. No arsenals or factories for the production of munitions of war except such as are approved by the Allied Powers are permitted. All warlike material, arms and munitions of war in excess of certain stipulated quantities are to be handed over to the Allied Powers. The manufacture, importation and use of poisonous gases and other similar barbarous devices are prohibited. All fortifications except on the southern and eastern frontiers are to be dismantled. The German navy is to be reduced to very small proportions as set out in article 181 of the treaty. The total personnel of the navy is restricted to 15,000 and is to be maintained only by voluntary enlistment. The building and maintenance of submarines are prohibited. On the North sea and on the Baltic, the naval fortifications are to be dismantled and no military or naval air services are permitted. The fulfilment of these stipulations is to be ensured by the appointment of Inter-Allied Commissions of Control to which the German Government shall give all necessary facilities for the accomplishment of their missions. There is an express provision that within three months after the treaty comes into force the German laws must be modified and maintained by the German Government in conformity with the stipulations which I have summarized.

I come now to the provisions for reparation which demand a somewhat fuller explanation. They are set forth in Part VIII of the treaty. In the first place the Allied and Associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts the responsibility, of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies. Then follows the recognition by the Allied Governments that the resources of Germany are not adequate to make complete reparation. Germany therefore is required and undertakes to make compensation for all damage done to the civilian populations of the Allied Powers and their property. The amount of compensation so payable is defined in a series of schedules or annexes according to cer-

tain enumerated categories of damage. It covers damage of every character to property by bombardment whether from land, sea or air; it embraces pensions to naval and military victims of the war, including members of the Air Force, whether mutilated, wounded, sick or invalided, and to the dependents of such victims. The amount due to the Allied Governments will be calculated for each of them as being the capitalized cost of such pensions and compensation at the date when the treaty is ratified and on the basis of the scale in force in France at that date. It is obvious that the scale of compensation payable by Germany in respect of pensions must be uniform, and the French scale was accepted as a fair basis by the other Allies. The amount eventually payable by Germany and the method by which she shall pay are to be determined by a Reparation Commission which is to be set up by the Allied Powers, and which is invested with very wide authority in dealing with the general question and interpreting the provisions of the treaty with respect thereto. Special provision is made for the reimbursement to Belgium of all sums borrowed by her from the Allied Governments up to the date of the armistice.

Article 235 provides that Germany shall pay in such instalments and in such manner, whether in gold, commodity, ships, securities or otherwise, as the Reparation Commission may fix during 1919, 1920 and the first four months of 1921, the equivalent of twenty billion gold marks. Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the Armistice shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw material as are deemed essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations for reparation may also be paid out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned towards liquidation of the amounts due for reparation. Germany is also to deposit bonds by way of security and in acknowledgement of her debt as follows: First, to be issued forthwith twenty billion marks gold bearer bonds payable not later than May first, 1921, without interest. Second, a further issue of forty billion marks gold bearer bonds bearing interest for five years at 2½ per cent and thereafter at 5 per cent. Third, a further instalment of forty billion marks gold five per cent bearer bonds, the time and mode of payment of principal and interest to be determined by the Commission. The entire obligation of Germany as fixed by the Commission shall be discharged within thirty years from May first, 1921, according to a schedule of payments which the Commission is to draw up. All reparation payments received from Germany are to be distributed among the Allied nations upon an equitable basis and in accordance with the amount of their respective claims.

Part VII of the Treaty provides for penalties and its provisions may be summarized as follows: The Allied Powers publicly arraign William the Second of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties. A special tribunal will be constituted to try him, composed of five judges, one appointed by each of the five Allied Powers, who will address a request to the Government of the Netherlands for the surrender of the ex-Emperor in order that he may be put on trial. Further, the German Government recognizes the right of the Allied Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war. Such persons if found guilty, shall be sentenced to punishments laid down by law. The German Government agrees to hand over to the Allied Powers all persons charged with having committed such acts.

As far back as the dawn of history men have been conscious of the evils of war, and from the earliest times war-wearied nations have held high hopes of a future in which war should cease. Such to-day is the universal aspiration of mankind. That aspiration is founded not only upon ideals of liberty and justice, but upon the instinct of self-preservation. No continent and no nation can hope to hold itself aloof from the varied and vast activities of the world. Nature's forces are at the command of mankind, and modern means of transportation and communication have made every nation a near neighbour of every other. The first line of defence of any country may be on some far-off continent or distant ocean. There is an established community of national life throughout the world. The enthronement and enforcement of international law must rest upon the faith of the nations, just as ordered liberty and justice within each state depend upon the public opinion of its people. Upon each nation is imposed a responsibility commensurate with its power and influence. Unless that responsibility is accepted and fulfilled the peace of the world cannot be maintained. At Paris the representatives of thirty-two nations took upon themselves the task of establishing upon just ideals a league for the enforcement of international right and

for the prevention of future war, so far as that may be humanly possible. Since the terms of the Covenant were made public some months ago they have been subjected in each country to keen analysis and sometimes to fierce criticism. No one would pretend that the Covenant is a perfect instrument or that it affords an absolute guarantee against future wars. Its most sanguine advocates have made no such claim. Above all waves of criticism stands the solid rock of a Covenant founded upon the solemn and unanimous affirmation of thirty-two of the world's nations that not force but right and justice shall be the arbiter of international disputes, that war is not a reasonable, just or recognized method of determining controversies between States, and that each of the thirty-two signatory nations binds itself to the maintenance and enforcement of these eternal principles.

No nation shall resort to the arbitrament of arms until its quarrel has been submitted to the Council of Nations or to an international court of justice. Any nation failing to respect this just obligation is subject in the first place to be treated as an international outlaw and placed under a commercial and economic ban. Thereafter it is liable to such punishment through naval and military measures as may compel an observance of the obligation imposed upon it by the Covenant. The League of Nations further contemplates effective provisions for preventing trade with uncivilized races in noxious drugs, intoxicating liquor and munitions of war. It is to establish safeguards against the white slave traffic. It provides effective means for that direct and intimate consultation and discussion which are so necessary for a true understanding and settlement of international difficulties. The Canadian delegates took exception both in form and in substance to certain of its original provisions. Our views were set forth in a confidential memorandum which I circulated to the members of the Commission who drafted the Covenant and to the representatives of the five great Allied Powers. Many of our objections were met in the revised draft; and as to the others we felt that important as we regarded them, they ought not to be accounted of moment in comparison with the supreme purpose embodied in the Covenant.

Side by side with the Covenant stand the provisions of the Labour Convention. It was my privilege to attend the earlier meetings of the Commission which framed the articles on that subject now embodied in Part XIII of the treaty. At one of these meetings the preamble of the Labour Convention was framed. It is as follows:

Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required; as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures;

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following.

Subsequently I was charged with the duty of bringing together representatives of the important industrial powers and of endeavouring to reconcile certain divergences of view in respect of the affirmation of general principles which have already been under discussion in this House. Those principles were adopted upon my motion at the Peace Conference in the following form:

The High Contracting Parties, recognizing that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance, have framed, in order to further this great end, the permanent machinery provided for in Section I and associated with that of the League of Nations. They recognize that differences of climate, habits and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that labour should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labour conditions which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following seem to the High Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance:

First: The guiding principle above enunciated that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second: The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third: The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth: The adoption of an eight hours day of a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth: The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth: The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh: The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth: The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth: Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the High Contracting Parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations; and that, if adopted by the industrial communities who are members of the League, and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage-earners of the world.

These general principles and the recital above quoted constitute together a basis upon which international regulation of labour conditions shall proceed. Upon them the Magna Charta of labour throughout the world will be founded in the years to come.

The Labour Convention provides that the original members of the League of Nations shall be the original members of the Labour Convention.

It provides for a permanent organization consisting of a general conference of representatives of the adherent nations and of an international labour office controlled by a governing body. Each adherent nation is entitled to send four representatives to the general conference which is to be held at least once in each year. Of these representatives two shall be government delegates and two others shall be delegates representing respectively the employers and the work people. The conference is entitled to frame proposals which may take the form of a recommendation to be submitted to the adherent nations or of a draft international convention for ratification by each such nation. It is incumbent upon each government concerned to place any such proposal before the proper legislative authority for its consideration. There are also provisions for inquiry into any alleged grievance or injustice. The first meeting has been convened for the 29th of October next and it is to be held at Washington.

The immense labours and responsibilities which devolved upon the British Plenipotentiaries, and especially upon Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour, can only be realized by those who were intimately associated with them in the labour of the Peace Conference. When the time comes for a fuller history of the events at Paris between the middle of January and the end of June, there will be an even warmer appreciation and recognition of their service to the Empire and to the world. Nor should I omit a tribute to the representatives of the other Dominions, with whom the Canadian delegates always worked in absolute co-operation and understanding.

It was my privilege to have very intimate relations with General Botha, whose service to his country and to the whole Empire has been so splendid and so conspicuous and whose loss is universally deplored.

I desire further to place on record also my grateful acknowledgment of the invaluable assistance of those of my colleagues who were associated with me in the representation of Canada at the Conference; also to my colleagues in Ottawa with whom we were in very close communication on questions of doubt or difficulty.

I should not omit to mention the valuable assistance which my colleagues and I received from Mr. Lloyd Harris, Chairman of the Canadian Mission in London; Mr. Frank P. Jones, Vice-Chairman of the Canadian War Trade Board; and Dr. James W. Robertson as representative of the Department of Agriculture. During a portion of the time Mr. P. M. Draper aided us with useful advise and suggestions respecting labour questions. The services of Lieutenant Colonel Oliver Mowat Biggar, Judge Advocate General, and Mr. Loring C. Christie, Legal Adviser of the Department of External Affairs, were especially notable. They filled highly important positions on several committees of the Peace Conference and discharged responsible duties in connection with the British Empire delegation. Their services received very warm appreciation from Sir Ernest Pollock, Solicitor General of England, and from Sir Maurice Hankey, British Secretary General of the Peace Conference.

I now come to consider the character of the representation secured by Canada at

the Conference, her position as a signatory of the Treaties concluded there, and her status as a member of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Convention. Early in the war it had been announced in the various Parliaments of the Empire that the Dominions would be fully consulted concerning the terms of peace. The sessions of the Imperial War Cabinet held in the spring of 1917 and in the summer of 1918 afforded in a certain measure the means for the carrying out of this understanding. Before leaving Great Britain for Canada on the 17th August, 1918, I had been actively engaged as a member of a committee of the Imperial War Cabinet, the constitution and purpose of which were somewhat notable. This committee had its genesis in a very frank and full discussion which I initiated in the Imperial War Cabinet immediately after my arrival in June, 1918. The whole issue involved was relegated for consideration to a committee consisting of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, General Smuts representing General Botha. The committee called into consultation the Secretary of State for War, the Chief of the General Staff and the highest military experts from the more important theatres of war. Its duty was to determine what further effort was necessary to win the war according to the views of these experts, who were also asked to express their opinions as to the place where and the time when the supreme effort should be made and the conditions under which it should be attempted. An elaborate report was prepared which, however, was superseded within a few weeks by the rapid and wholly unexpected march of events.

Shortly before the armistice the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom strongly urged that I should arrive in London as soon as possible and with three of my colleagues I left Ottawa on the 8th November last. The status of the Dominions at the Peace Conference came immediately into question and was the subject of earnest discussion. Various methods, which it is not necessary to explain, were suggested. In the end I proposed that there should be a distinctive representation for each Dominion similar to that accorded to the smaller Allied powers, and in addition that the British Empire representation of five delegates should be selected from day to day from a panel made up of representatives of the United Kingdom and the Dominions. This proposal was adopted by the Imperial War Cabinet. Early in December preliminary conversations on the making of peace took place in London between representatives of the British Empire, of France and of Italy, and the proposal which I had already put forward was accepted in principle. The Preliminary Peace Conference began at Paris on January 12, 1919, and the question of procedure, including that of representation, was immediately taken up by the representatives of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, afterwards commonly known as the Council of Ten. At first strong objection was made to the proposed representation of the British Dominions. Subsequently there was a full discussion in the British Empire delegation, at which a firm protest was made against any recession from the proposal adopted in London. In the end that proposal was accepted.

The adoption of the panel system gave to the Dominions a peculiarly effective position. At plenary sessions there were sometimes three Canadian plenipotentiary delegates, two as representatives of Canada and one as representative of the Empire. Moreover, throughout the proceedings of the Conference the Dominion delegates, as members of the British Empire delegation, were thoroughly in touch with all the proceedings of the Conference and had access to all the papers recording its proceedings. This enabled them effectively to watch and check those proceedings in the interest of their respective Dominions and placed them in a position of decided advantage. Dominion ministers were nominated to and acted for the British Empire on the principal Allied commissions appointed by the Conference from time to time to consider and report upon special aspects of the conditions of peace. The Canadian ministers acted as the principal representatives of the British Empire on these commissions as follows:

Commission on Greek Questions, Sir Robert Borden (Vice-Chairman).

Economic Commission, Sir George Foster (Vice-President).

Commission on the International Control of Ports, Waterways and Railways, Hon. A. L. Sifton (Vice-President).

Sub-Commission on Pre-War Contracts, Hon. C. J. Doherty (Chairman).

Supreme Economic Council, Sir George Foster, with Mr. Sifton and Mr. Doherty as alternates, was on the panel from which the British Empire representation was chosen from time to time.

On several occasions I was charged with the duty of attending as one of the British Empire representatives on the Council of Five. Mr. Lloyd George called upon me to put forward before the Council of Four the British Empire case in respect of the clauses

on economic questions, on the International Control of Ports, Waterways and Railways and on Submarine Cables. During the last month of my stay in Paris I acted regularly as Chairman of the British Empire delegations in the absence of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, whose duties as a member of the Council of Four constantly prevented his attendance.

It is desirable to note an important development in constitutional practice respecting the signature of the various Treaties concluded at the Conference. Hitherto it has been the practice to insert an article or reservation providing for the adhesion of the Dominions. In view of the new position that had been secured and of the part played by Dominion representatives at the peace table we thought this method inappropriate and undesirable in connection with the Peace Treaty. Accordingly I proposed that the assent of the King as High Contracting Party to the various Treaties should in respect of the Dominions be signified by the signature of the Dominion plenipotentiaries, and that the preamble and other formal parts of the Treaties should be drafted accordingly. This proposal was adopted in the form of a memorandum by all the Dominion Prime Ministers at a meeting which I summoned, and was put forward by me on their behalf to the British Empire delegation, by whom it was accepted. The proposal was subsequently adopted by the Conference and the various Treaties have been drawn up accordingly so that the Dominions appear therein as signatories, and their concurrence in the Treaties is thus given in the same manner as that of other nations.

This important constitutional development involved the issuance by the King, as High Contracting Party, of Full Powers to the various Dominion Plenipotentiary Delegates. In order that such powers issued to the Canadian Plenipotentiaries might be based upon formal action of the Canadian Government, an Order in Council was passed on April 10, 1919, granting the necessary authority. Accordingly I addressed a communication to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom requesting that necessary and appropriate steps should be taken to establish the connection between this Order in Council and the issuance of the Full Powers by His Majesty so that it might formally appear of record that they were issued on the responsibility of the Government of Canada.

The new and definite status of the Dominions at the Peace Conference is further manifested in the constitution of the League of Nations. Since they had enjoyed the same status at the Peace Conference as that of minor powers, we took the ground that the Dominions should be similarly accepted in the future international relationship contemplated by the League. The League of Nations' Commission, while inclined to accept this in principle, did not at the outset accept all its implications as was apparent in the first draft of the Covenant. This document, however, was professedly tentative. The Dominions' case was pressed, and in the final form as amended and incorporated in the Treaty of Peace with Germany, the status of the Dominions as to membership and representation in the Assembly and Council was fully recognized. They are to become members as signatories of the Treaty, and the terms of the document make no distinction between them and other signatory members. An official statement as to the true intent and meaning of the provisions of the Covenant in that regard was secured by me and is of record in the Archives of the Peace Conference.

A similar question arose in respect of the constitution of the International Labour Organization. Corresponding to the Council of the League there is a Labour Governing Body consisting of delegates nominated by a limited number of governments. The original form of the Labour Convention did not adequately recognize the status of the Dominions and at the Plenary Session of April 11, 1919, when a resolution was proposed that the Peace Conference approve of the Draft Convention, I moved that the resolution be amended by adding a provision which authorized the Drafting Committee to make such amendments as were necessary to have the Convention conform to the League of Nations in the character of its membership and in the method of adherence. As a result the Labour Convention was finally amended so that the Dominions were placed on the same footing as other members of the International Labour organization, becoming eligible like others for selection to nominate their Government Delegates to the Governing Body.

I hope the House will realize that the recognition and status accorded to the British Dominions at the Peace Conference were not won without constant effort and firm insistence. In all these efforts the Dominions had the strong and unwavering support of the British Prime Minister and his colleagues. The constitutional structure of the British Empire is imperfectly

understood by other nations, even by a nation so closely allied in kinship, in language and in the character of its institutions as the United States of America. Such lack of comprehension need excite no surprise because the association between the Mother Country and the great self-governing Dominions has been for years in a condition of development and that development is not yet complete. The future relationship of the nations of the Empire must be determined in accordance with the will of the Mother Country and of each Dominion in a constitutional conference to be summoned in the not distant future. Undoubtedly it will be based upon equality of nationhood. Each nation must preserve unimpaired its absolute autonomy, but it must likewise have its voice as to those external relations which involve the issue of peace or of war. So that the Britannic Commonwealth is in itself a community or league of nations which may serve as an exemplar to that world-wide League of Nations which was founded in Paris on the 28th of last June. On behalf of my country I stood firmly upon this solid ground; that in this, the greatest of all wars, in which the world's liberty, the world's justice, in short the world's future destiny were at stake, Canada had led the democracies of both the American continents. Her resolve had given inspiration, her sacrifices had been conspicuous, her effort was unabated to the end. The same indomitable spirit which made her capable of that effort and sacrifice made her equally incapable of accepting at the Peace Conference, in the League of Nations, or elsewhere, a status inferior to that accorded to nations less advanced in their development, less amply endowed in wealth, resources and population, no more complete in their sovereignty and far less conspicuous in their sacrifice.

I commend this Treaty to the consideration and approval of the Canadian Parliament, claiming not indeed that it has no imperfections, but that it does in truth embody terms consistent with honour and justice and that the most earnest endeavour of those who framed it was to ensure the future peace of the world.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queen's): Might I ask the right hon. gentleman to supplement the very interesting, instructive, and helpful statement he has given by answering a question I am about to put, and which I hope he will regard as reasonable. I should be glad to have his opinion as to what will be the consequences of refusal or failure on the part of the Parliament of Canada to ratify the Treaty. In what manner, and in what degree would the interests of Canada, of the Empire, and the world be affected?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: The failure of Parliament to ratify this Treaty would, of course, involve the fate of the Government which presents it to Parliament for ratification.

Hon. Mr. FIELDING: I had not that in mind.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: That is what would be involved, and then it would devolve upon my hon. friend, or those associated with him, if they should occupy the Treasury Benches, to answer the question which he has just now asked.

Hon. Mr. FIELDING: I had not that in mind at all. The fate of one Government or of one party is a small thing in the presence of the story of the League of Nations. My question was not, how will it affect the fate of hon. gentlemen on that side or this, but what effect will it have upon the interests of Canada and the interests of the Empire? What would be the consequences as affecting any one of the nations concerned in this matter? What difference does it make to us, the Empire, or the world, if we never ratify the Treaty at all?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: It makes this difference: Canada would stand out of and apart from the rest of the Empire ratifying the Treaty. It would virtually, I think, commit Canada to such absolutely independent action, that she could not be regarded in the future as acting in co-operation with the other nations of the Empire.

Hon. Mr. FIELDING: Would not Canada, as a part of the Empire, be affected in all her international affairs by the ratification of His Majesty the King and the British Parliament?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: His Majesty the King and his advisers have recognized the right of this Parliament to express its opinion upon this Treaty. I made that pledge to Parliament, and the British Government have been informed of that pledge. They recognize the situation, and they are not disposed to deal with this Treaty, so far as Canada is concerned, apart from the approval of the Canadian Parliament.

Hon. Mr. FIELDING: Will the right hon. gentleman bring down any papers that will

show that the British Government have said they would not ratify this Treaty without the consent of this Parliament. He has made a statement to that effect, and I hope he will bring down the papers showing the foundation for it.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I did not say there were papers. The subject was discussed. There may be papers or there may not. I am stating to the hon. gentleman an absolute fact as to which I hope he will not doubt my word. I tell him that it is recognized by the ministers of the Crown of Great Britain that this Treaty must be submitted to the Canadian Parliament for its approval, and that we desire, we insist, upon the judgment of the Canadian Parliament in regard to it before we advise the King on behalf of Canada that the Treaty should be ratified.

Hon. Mr. FIELDING: Of course, I accept without any hesitation any statement my right hon. friend may make. While there may be no question as to the right and desirability of our approving of the Treaty, my question was, what would be the consequences to us, to the Empire, or to the world, if we did not approve, and my right hon. friend has shown us no more serious consequences than that we might have a change of Government.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I beg my hon. friend's pardon. He has forgotten what I said a moment ago. Failure to ratify the Treaty would involve very serious consequences indeed.

Hon. Mr. FIELDING: What are they?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: The consequence would be that Canada would stand out of a Treaty of Peace accepted by the Empire.

Hon. Mr. FIELDING: Would we be at war?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I have already said what in our opinion our status would be in that case. If my hon. friend means that, notwithstanding the arrangements which have been made, the conventions which have become recognized, the status which has been accorded to the Dominions during recent years, we are still subject to have this Treaty ratified by His Majesty on behalf of Canada whether the Parliament of Canada is willing to ratify it or not, then I tell him he is dealing in ancient history and that his ideas should advance with the progress of recent years.

Hon. Mr. FIELDING: I was not making any statement, advancing any argument, or contending anything. I was asking for information, and I have got it.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend may have only asked a question, but the implication which he made was very plain to every hon. member, and will be readily understood by the people of this country. His suggestion was that ratification by the Parliament of Canada is merely a farce, that the Government of the United Kingdom possesses such constitutional right in respect of this Dominion that they can impose their will upon us without regard to this Parliament. I repeat that if such is the opinion of the hon. member he is thinking in terms of a hundred years ago and not of to-day.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I have no desire to enter into any little difference that may have arisen, but is it not a fact that by refusing to ratify the treaty, it would not be a case of Great Britain imposing her will upon us, but we would not be imposing our will upon Great Britain? Is it not essential that we should ratify the treaty in order to strengthen the hand of Great Britain?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Yes, if we are to stand for co-operation and in union with the rest of the Empire.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): I do not wish to be understood as speaking to this resolution. I think it was understood that when the Prime Minister had made his statement an arrangement would be made as to when the discussion should be resumed. Copies of the treaty have been, or are about to be, distributed, and it has been suggested to me that we should have an opportunity of studying both the treaty and the right hon. gentleman's speech. The treaty is a voluminous document and it will take considerable time to digest it. I think it would be time well spent and would expedite the business of the House if the right hon. gentleman would allow us a fair amount of time to consider the terms of the treaty and his own address.

Mr. BUREAU: Adjourn for a week.

Mr. McKENZIE: If the House should continue sitting it would be difficult for members to give their attention to the consideration of the Treaty, and I suggest to the Prime Minister that there should be an adjournment of the House for a sufficient time to enable us to consider the Treaty and also his own observations upon it.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): I would support the request of the leader of the Opposition. The ratification of this Treaty is a matter of grave importance and we must be given an opportunity to consider it in all its bearings. By Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, if we ratify the Treaty we assume an obligation to guarantee the territorial integrity of thirty-two nations, and it is essential that we should know just what this obligation implies in respect of each nation. We cannot bind Canadian lives and Canadian money for many years to come without a clear knowledge of what we are doing. Having had this Treaty and all these papers in our possession only two days, it is but fair that we should be afforded some time adequately to consider the subject.

Mr. WILLIAM FINDLAY MACLEAN (York South): This very question which is raised by my hon. friend (Mr. Lapointe) is the question over which great discussion is now taking place in the United States, namely, our commitment under Article 10 for all time to certain obligations. As a nation on the American continent, we do commit ourselves for all time to embark upon wars waged in Europe to maintain the integrity of all other nations that are parties to the League of Nations. I think, therefore, that the question is entitled to the fullest consideration in this House, and that the people of Canada ought to know what we are commiting ourselves to in regard to practically all the future wars of the world.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I might remind hon. gentlemen that the Covenant of the League of Nations was printed and distributed in this Parliament, I believe, last session. Hon. members ought therefore to be fairly familiar with it by this time if they are ever going to be familiar with it.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Was it not amended?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Not in any material way.

Sir SAM HUGHES: It was amended.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I do not think it was materially amended. Does my hon. friend (Mr. McKenzie) suggest that we should adjourn the House altogether or proceed with the debate on the Address?

Mr. McKENZIE: My suggestion is that we adjourn the House altogether so that members may devote their entire attention to the consideration of the Treaty.

Mr. LUCIEN CANNON (Dorchester): May I ask the Prime Minister if the original text of the Treaty is in English or French?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Both texts are authentic.

Mr. CANNON: If the original was in both languages, does not the Prime Minister think it fair that every member of the House should have a copy of both originals? Whether my information is correct or not, I learn from the papers that at the time of the signing of the Peace Treaty the delegates discovered that there had been big mistakes and that the two texts, English and French, were not absolutely identical. As a result of that discovery there was delay, and experts had to revise the texts to make them correspond. In this House, where there are both French and English members, it would be only fair, before we are called upon to decide whether or not we should ratify the Treaty, that we should be provided with both versions in order that we might be in the best position to understand exactly what we have to consider.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I do not think my hon. friend will have any difficulty in comprehending the Treaty in either language. I should have had it printed in French if it had been available earlier, but the French text arrived only two days ago, and therefore there has been no opportunity to print it, and indeed there is now only one copy available. I thought that it might be utilized on the table of the House for the purpose of reference in case any hon. gentleman desired to assure himself of the exact terms of the Treaty in both languages, and that with that safeguard we might proceed with the Treaty without waiting for it to be printed.

Mr. McKENZIE: How long will it take to have copies made of the authentic document which we have? We do not run any risk in making copies of the authentic text, and that should not take very long.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am not sure about that. It contains over two hundred pages and I do not think it could be completed without considerable delay. There are copies in English available for all members, and one copy in French available for reference.

Mr. CANNON: I wish the Prime Minister to bear in mind that, according to our Constitution, members of this House cannot be called upon to vote on any measure unless it is submitted in both languages. When a Bill is before the House it is presented in both languages; otherwise it cannot be read

a second time. This is a measure of far more importance than any other that has been submitted to the House, and it is unfair to ask the French members from Quebec, who are not all quite conversant with English, to come to a reasoned decision on such an important and momentous document as this when they have not the opportunity of reading it in their own language.

Sir HERBERT AMES: The revised draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations, printed in both French and English and known as sessional paper 93B, of last session, has been available for several months, and any member can get a French or English copy of the Covenant by sending to the Distribution Office.

Mr. SPEAKER: This discussion is technically not in order, but owing to the importance of the subject I have not felt disposed to interrupt it. We cannot, however, have a debate within a debate. It should be determined whether the present debate ought to be adjourned or not.

Mr DEVLIN: Any member can raise a point of order on the subject, and it is well to let it go on as it is.

Mr. CANNON: I have not had an answer from the Prime Minister, and I wish to say that if the resolution is brought in again and a French text is not placed in the hands of every member of the House, I will raise a point of order, and, according to the rules, it will be sustained.

Mr. McKENZIE: I beg to move, seconded by the hon. member for Shelbourne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding), that the debate be adjourned.

Motion agreed to.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am content to adjourn over to-morrow until Thursday at three o'clock, and I hope my hon. friends will be prepared to go on then. Meantime, I shall communicate with the leader of the Opposition. With the consent of the House I will move that when the House adjourns this day it stand adjourned until Thursday at three o'clock.

Mr. BELAND: What will be the order of business on that day? Will it be the debate on the Address or the debate on the resolution?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Just as my hon. friends prefer. I should prefer to go on with this.

Mr. BELAND: I think it would be preferable to go on with the Address.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I will confer with my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition.

Motion agreed to

On motion of Sir Robert Borden, the House adjourned at 5.55 p.m. until Thursday at 3 p.m.

Thursday, September 4, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

INTERNAL ECONOMY COMMISSION.

Mr. SPEAKER: I beg to present a communication from His Excellency the Governor-General approving of a Minute of the Privy Council appointing Hon. Martin Burrell, Secretary of State; Hon. John Dowsley Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals; Hon. J. A. Calder, Minister of Immigration and Colonization; and Hon. A. L. Sifton, Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue, to act with the Speaker of the House of Commons as commissioners for the purpose, and under the provisions, of the eleventh chapter, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1906, entitled, "An Act Respecting The House of Commons."

REPORTS AND PAPERS.

Copy of despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 7th August, 1919, relative to a resolution of this House with respect to the conferring of titles of honour on British subjects resident in Canada.—Sir Robert Borden.

THANKSGIVING DAY ACT.

Mr. ISAAC E. PEDLOW (Renfrew South) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 2, respecting Thanksgiving Day.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: What is the purport of the Bill?

Mr. PEDLOW: As the House is well aware, this Bill was introduced by me at the last session of this Parliament, and on its first reading on the 9th of April last, I explained its purport. The Bill has a two-fold object; first, to set aside Armistice day as a day of special thanksgiving in the years to come and as a perpetual memorial of the victorious conclusion of the world-war; second, to establish a set day each year on a certain day of the week in the month of November, so that the commercial life of the country will not be unduly disturbed by the uncertainty of the date as has been the case heretofore. It is not my intention at the present time to explain at greater length the provisions of

the Bill or the reasons for it. I will take opportunity to do so on the second reading.

Motion agreed to, and the Bill read the first time.

INTERPRETATION ACT AMENDMENT.

Hon. CHARLES J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved for leave to introduce Bill to amend the Interpretation Act.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Explain.

Mr. DOHERTY: The purport of this Bill is simply to make provision that the rules of the Interpretation Act shall apply to the interpretation of Orders in Council. I may say that under the War Measures Act an Order in Council was passed making that provision, and as that Order in Council will lapse within a reasonable period of time, it is thought advisable to make the provision generally applicable.

Mr. SPEAKER: Has the hon. gentleman a copy of the Bill?

Mr. DOHERTY: It has been printed, but it is not here at the moment.

Motion stands.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by asterisks.)

NAVAL DECORATIONS.

Mr. GAUVREAU:

1. Is the Government aware that not a single one of our young men, who enlisted voluntarily either in the Imperial Navy, or in the Canadian Naval Reserve, has received any decoration, reward or recognition for the services rendered during the entire period of the war?
2. In the affirmative, does the Government intend calling the attention of the British Admiralty to the fact and asking for an official statement in that regard?

Major-General MEWBURN:

The Government has no complete record of the Canadians who enlisted in the Imperial Navy. It is, however, aware that decorations have been awarded to Canadians serving in the Imperial Navy for meritorious conduct and distinguished services.

The members of the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve who have qualified for the 1914-15 Star, for the War Badge, for the British War Medal and the Allies' Medal will receive these decorations as soon as they are issued.

[Mr. Pedlow.]

CANADIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE. OVERSEAS PAY LISTS.

Mr. J. A. M. ARMSTRONG (North York): I should like to ask the Minister of Militia, in view of the fact that his attention was drawn some two days ago to a report emanating from Woodstock, Ontario, and crediting to a Mr. McMillan, of Seaforth, at a U.F.O. picnic at Lakeside, the statement that something like 30,000 names had been added to the pay lists overseas at a cost of some $30,000,000 to the Canadian people, what action, if any, his department has taken, or what action, if any, his department or the Government intends to take with a view to giving this Mr. McMillan an opportunity of proving the truth of his statement, or in the absence of that truth being produced, of making Mr. McMillan publicly retract what, to my mind, is a very serious charge against the administration of this department.

Major-General MEWBURN (Minister of Militia and Defence): My attention was called to the article in question, and the hon. member for Victoria (Sir Sam Hughes) also brought the matter up in the House on Tuesday. I have no personal knowledge of the matter, but I purpose calling on Mr. McMillan to give me what information he has so that an investigation may take place. If he is not prepared to substantiate his statements, the matter will have to be dealt with in the proper way.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): I should like to add to what the Minister of Militia has said that I had a conversation to-day with General Ross, Paymaster-General, of whom I asked information on the subject. He tells me there is not the slightest foundation for the statement that Mr. McMillan has made.

Sir SAM HUGHES (Victoria): Having been Minister of Militia for three years during the war, I felt that Mr. McMillan's statement reflected on my administration, and I also saw General Ross. I should like this matter investigated as fully as possible. I am satisfied there is not a word of truth in it.

THE PEACE TREATY.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): With respect to the information available to members of the House respecting the Peace Treaty, I made some inquiry and the

following memorandum has been furnished me:

The original draft of the League of Nations Covenant was published in the Canadian Official Record on the 18th of February, 1919. That draft was printed and distributed to both Houses of Parliament on the 24th of March, 1919. The revised draft of the League of Nations Covenant (which is almost precisely that embodied in the Treaty of Peace) was distributed to both Houses of Parliament in English on the 9th of May, and in French on the 23rd of May, 1919. Further, the official summary of the Peace Treaty was printed in the Canadian Official Record on the 8th of May, 1919; that publication is circulated to every member of the House. The summary in question is very full and comprises about fourteen thousand words.

With respect to the business of the House in connection with the Peace Treaty I had the advantage of a conference with my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) this morning, and at his suggestion I have agreed to postpone the further consideration of the resolution which I moved on Tuesday last until Monday next, the 8th of September, but upon the understanding, to which my hon. friend agreed, that the debate upon that resolution should be brought to a conclusion not later than Thursday, the 11th of September. I am ready to make to my hon. friend a further suggestion, which is this: If hon. members on the other side of the House should desire to proceed with that debate to-morrow instead of Monday, which would give an additional day, we would be quite prepared to meet their wishes.

I should also say that on Tuesday evening I gave instructions that the French copy of the Treaty which was laid upon the table of the House on that day should be printed forthwith, and the Treaty itself with the Protocol has now been printed in French, and I hope has been distributed.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): Might I ask whether we shall have the opportunity of discussing the resolution in committee, so that we may ask for information and put questions without exhausting our right to speak on the resolution?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Subject to the arrangement which I made with my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition, I do not think there is any objection to the resolution being considered in committee. I appreciate what my hon. friend says as to the opportunity which it would afford of obtaining more precise information on some points, so far as it is available.

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers and St. Maurice): I understand that the Prime Minister has just moved that the next step to be taken on the resolution to approve of the Treaty will be to go into Committee of the Whole House. I should like to ask whether, when we resume the debate, we shall go into Committee, or shall we resume with the Speaker in the Chair. The motion has been made that we go into Committee to-morrow on the second resolution on page 7 of the Order Paper of to-day.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: That is another resolution altogether. The resolution I put to the Speaker was not precisely in the proper form. I moved that the resolution should be considered to-morrow, so that it might go on the Order Paper in regular form. That is a different resolution from the one my hon. friend will find on the last page of the Orders of the Day; I did not make any motion with regard to that. The resolution of which I am speaking at this moment is No. 2 on page 8 of the Orders of the Day.

Mr. BUREAU: Does this resolution appear on the Order Paper by virtue of some rule of the House, or is it because it precedes a Bill which is to be introduced involving an expenditure of money? I should like to know what the object of the resolution is if a Bill is to be introduced to the same effect and purpose which the resolution seems to have.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: The purpose of the resolution is to give the House an opportunity of pronouncing either approval or disapproval of the treaty. If the House should express approval of the Treaty, then it would be necessary to introduce a Bill for carrying out certain provisions of the Treaty which require legislation.

THE PEACE TREATY.

QUESTIONS IN REFERENCE TO ARTICLE X AND MAPS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. ARTHUR TRAHAN (Nicolet): I see the following statement in the Canadian Railroader of August 30:

The Canadian delegation has filed a strongly worded protest against the famous Article X (of the League of Nations Covenant), which has excited so much criticism and opposition in the United States. Sir Robert did not hesitate to point out its significance, which he clearly realized; he exposed the danger of committing everybody to everbody else's wars and was very dubious as to the offhand guarantee of all the territorial adjustments which were made at Paris.

The same statement is published in the Farmers' Sun of yesterday. I should like

to ask the Prime Minister whether he was referring to this statement when he said in his speech on Tuesday "The Canadian delegates took exception both in form and in substance to certain of its original provisions." Is it true that the Canadian delegates made a strongly-worded written protest against the provisions of Article X of the League of Nations Covenant?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): I am not familiar with, and certainly I am not sponsor for the statements made in the publications to which my hon. friend has alluded. With regard to the whole question which he has asked, I really have nothing more to say at the moment than what I said in my speech, namely, that there were some provisions of the first draft of the Covenant as to which we made certain representations in a confidential document, and that many of the objections which we raised were covered by the modifications made by the revised Covenant.

Mr. TRAHAN: What about Article X?

Mr. SPEAKER: These questions cannot properly be submitted on the Orders of the Day. They might be put in the course of debate in Committee upon the resolution or upon the Bill, but in no case can there be a regular interrogation upon the Orders of the Day.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. LUCIEN CANNON (Dorchester): Certain provisions of the Treaty of Peace refer to a map which is supposed to be annexed to the Treaty. I cannot find the map. Would it be possible for the Government to supply the members with copies of that map?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I think the copy of the Treaty laid upon the Table has maps. The copies of the Treaty circulated in the British Parliament were precisely the same as those which we have circulated to the members here.

Mr. McKENZIE: It is well to have it distinctly understood that the intention of the Prime Minister now is that this resolution on the Treaty shall not be taken up until Monday, and then it shall go on in the regular way with the expectation of finishing it at the Thursday sitting of the House; no other business to interfere with that arrangement except by common consent.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH.

ADDRESS IN REPLY.

Consideration of the motion of Mr. Howard Primrose Whidden for an address to His Excellency the Governor General in reply to his Speech at the opening of the session, resumed from Tuesday, September 2.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, it is always more or less a disadvantage to divide anything one may have to say on a subject of this kind into two parts. On Tuesday I had the honour to make a few observations on the reply to the speech from the Throne. On that occasion other business necessarily intervened and in consequence my remarks were brief. I referred to the very excellent manner in which the mover and seconder had discharged the duties devolving upon them, and also the general rejoicings of the Canadian people in having among them His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. I proceeded to refer to the status of Canada as regards our relations with the Mother Country, and spoke briefly on what I regard, and think this House regards, as a very important subject, namely, the relations of this country with the Mother Country and with other nations of the world.

The Treaty, which is the real cause of our coming together on this occasion, reveals the fact that we shall have relations with other nations and kingdoms which we have never had before. Heretofore the Mother Country was blazing the trail and indicating the relations that we might possibly have with any foreign country, and we rendered whatever assistance we found it necessary to give. Under present circumstances it would appear from the reading of the Treaty and from the speech of the Right Hon. the Prime Minister, we are to go a step further, and we are, to some extent, to deal directly with outside Powers, regardless of any intercommunication with the Mother Country. A full discussion and explanation of the circumstances connected with this phase of the situation, and the responsibilities which we may assume in the result, will come when we deal with the Treaty itself and the resolution which is now on the Order Paper.

The speech from the Throne makes reference to but few matters. It has something to say about the ties which bind us to the Mother Country, and which bind one to another the sister nations of the great Empire to which we belong. It is gratifying and satisfactory to find that at the close of the war, after the enormous sacrifices which all the various parts of the Empire have made, there is no acrimonious feeling of any kind, and no strained relation whatever between ourselves and the Mother Country, or be-

tween us and any of the sister nations. I therefore fully concur in what is said in the Address, and the views that have been expressed by the mover in that connection, and the happy conditions that exist to-day in this respect I regard with great satisfaction.

The Address makes reference to the proud position which Canada occupies in its relation to the war. This is a matter that has been so often touched upon in felicitous and eloquent terms not only in this House but elsewhere, that it is not necessary now for me to say anything further upon it. No matter how interesting a subject may be it is possible to spoil it by too much reiteration. However, one fact that can bear repetition is the magnificent way in which our soldiers upheld the best traditions of the British Empire. We recall with pride the achievements of our men, and the splendid work of our women also compels our admiration. The masterful courage shown by the Canadian people in backing up every step that was necessary to maintain our share in the fight and the bold and unflagging efforts which we put forth to suppress the oppressor in his attempt to rob us and other civilized nations of our autonomy, are matters which have been ably dwelt on on previous occasions.

The speech from the Throne informs us that not only shall we deal with the cause which immediately brings us here, but that we shall consider other questions having a bearing on the subjects directly concerned in the closing of the war. Those questions are many, and I have no doubt they have particular reference to the social and industrial conditions that prevail to-day in this country. While it is true that this session is called especially for the purpose of dealing with the Treaty, it is necessary to bear in mind that this Parliament is the great clearing house of Canada, the great forum in which all questions affecting the people's welfare generally are discussed. And no matter what may be the real purpose of calling us together at this unusual time of the year, it is quite proper that we as members, and the Government as the executive of Parliament and of the Canadian people, should take into consideration and effectively deal with any subject which requires special attention.

I would bring to your notice, Mr. Speaker, the fact that at the last session of Parliament which closed on the seventh of July, we hurriedly passed an Act to create what is now known as the Board of Commerce for the purpose of dealing specifically with the high cost of living, which is one of the great and serious questions affecting the Canadian people to-day and has been for the last three and a half years. I have reason to complain—and to bring particularly to the notice of the Government—that they have not moved as rapidly or as effectively under that Act as the Canadian people, and I venture to say this Parliament, expected. There was such a rush, if I may use the term, to put that Act through Parliament that when a certain report from a certain committee, which I choose to call the Nicholson Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry, was sent up to this House in a manner which seemed to us technically irregular, and when I suggested that a couple of hours might be spent in sending that report back to the committee so that they would send it to us in a regular way, I was chastised, criticised and denounced most violently by ministers of the Crown and told that I, and the Opposition, were blocking this Act which was so very urgent and necessary and that no delay of that kind could for one moment be brooked. July has passed, August has passed and this is a fair commencement of the month of September, but as far as I know nothing whatever of importance has been done by virtue of that Act.

It is only a few days ago that the court was constituted. After a long time we had two men appointed—two capable men no doubt—but upon consultation it appears that they discovered that the court was not properly constituted without a third man. After a delay of a couple of weeks we find that temporarily a third man is put upon that court, but so far nothing effective has been done. One would think, Mr. Speaker, that after the various inquiries which have taken place during the last three and a half years, after the various commissions that have been appointed, after the various investigations which have been conducted at the expense of the people of this country in connection with this very important subject, even this Government, which appears to be somewhat impervious to information, would be seized of some of the salient facts in connection with the matter. What inquiries have we had? About three and a half years ago we began with reports from Mr. O'Connor, who was then an officer of the Minister of Labour. We had several reports from him. Then, about the same time a gentleman by the name of Henderson, I understand a K.C. of this city, came into the field and he gave us some reports. After that there was a learned commissioner appointed who found his way into the West, to the city of Winnipeg, and

he reported elaborately on the cost of living and upon what was being done by the profiteers to unduly enhance the cost of articles, principally those constituting the food of the people. Then we had a very competent parliamentary committee under the chairmanship of the capable member for East Algoma (Mr. Nicholson). We had the report of that committee. Then we had the Industrial Relations Commission, which proceeded from one end of the country to the other, and which made a most thorough inquiry. In addition, we had an officer of the Department of Labour, Dr. McFall, who made many reports, went very fully into the conditions in the country in respect to the cost of living, and made certain representations to the Government as to what should be done in order to bring about some relief to the poor people of this country, and not only to what we usually understand by the poor people, but to many people who do not count themselves poor. With all this information, one would suppose that when the court was appointed it would immediately put its hand upon the weak spot and proceed to give relief to the people. Instead of that we find one of the members of that court hieing himself down to Washington. It was an unpardonable—a forbidden—sin a few years ago to have any truck or trade with the Yankee. But now not only must we have trade and truck with the Yankee, but our court procedure must be regulated from Washington. Thus we have the leading member and one of the legal lights of the commission going down to Washington to ascertain how they do things there and what is to be done here to bring about some relief.

If we are to believe the public press, what do we find to-day? We find that notwithstanding these numerous commissions of inquiry, the new court is going back to the A B C of sending out what our good friend the former Minister of Labour (Mr. Crothers) used to call questionnaires. They are back to questionnaires to-day. That is where we commenced. If we are going to begin over again with questionnaires, and repeat the processes which have already been gone through, what is going to happen? Any man, woman or child in this country who is suffering for want of food will surely be called to his or her account and die the slow death of starvation before any remedy can be expected from this Government or this court. I take advantage of this opportunity to bring as forcibly as possible to the notice of the Government the fact that this court is not appointed for the purpose of sending out questionnaires or of running down to Washington or elsewhere for what may be regarded as superfluous information or forms of procedure. What is expected of it is that it shall take immediate action and see to it that the people of this country shall get the stuff that goes on their tables at proper prices and as reasonably as they can possibly hope to have it.

I am getting too old a member of this House to have any desire to make speeches; I have no particular appetite for making speeches. I have been at it too long, and perhaps I am getting tired, but there are duties which the members of this House should try to discharge to the best of their ability, and amongst these duties is that of placing the facts before the powers that be. When we have put our case, if they refuse to act we can only, like Paul of old, appeal to Cæsar, and we shall.

There is a practical point which I wish to bring to the notice of the Government. I have here an article which came from some American paper; it is dated Detroit, August 29. It shows what is being done in the United States by reason of the action of the committee or court that is in charge of the high cost of living question there. The following figures, showing the prices at which certain articles of food sold on May 29 and August 29 of the present year, indicate the results of the action that has been taken in that country:

Article.	May 29.	Aug. 29.
Round steak	39 cents	30 cents
Lamb chops	43 "	32 "
Veal shoulder	40 "	25 "
Pork chops	55 "	42 "
Sliced ham	52 "	40 "
Sliced bacon	48 "	40 "
Lard	42 "	38 "
Hamburger steak	28 "	22 "
Short rib (beef)	27 "	12½ "
Canned corn	18 "	13 "
Canned peas	20 "	14 "
Navy beans	15 "	09 "
Butter	60 "	59 "
Rice	11 "	8 "
Condensed milk (large can)	13 "	11 "
Cream cheese	42 "	36 "
Bread, large loaf	14 "	13 "
Potatoes, per peck	71 "	55 "
Tea	40 "	33 "
Coffee	36 "	43 "
Sugar	9½ "	10 "
Eggs	50 "	50 "

The Prime Minister, and the other members of the Government will notice that in a number of cases a very material reduction has taken place in the price of commodities, but I have failed to notice

anything in the public press tending to indicate that we are receiving similar reductions in this country. There may have been a drop in the price of some articles, I do not pose as an authority on the matter, but although I have followed the Canadian press very closely I have not noticed that material reductions in the prices of important commodities have taken place in Canada, but rather the contrary. In view of all these circumstances I suggest to the Government that if food prices continue high in this country while they are getting lower on the other side of the international boundary line, and promise to be even lower yet, it can very properly take the duty off articles upon which a duty is exacted. It can very properly say to the vendors of such articles in Canada "If you do not give the people on this side the same opportunities of living that the people on the other side under similar conditions, are enjoying, we are not going to maintain any Chinese wall to protect you against competition fro n the country to the south. I think, Sir, that if the Government will do this it will be a very proper step to take. Not only should the Government avail itself of the services of the Board of Commerce to keep down the high cost of living, but it should also put an end to the present protection to producers of this country who refuse to concede to the Canadian people the same opportunities which are granted to people in other parts of the world.

Our legislation directed against the high cost of living is, if I understand correctly, of earlier enactment than similar legislation in the United States. Yet very substantial results therefrom have accrued to the people in the United States, whereas in this country we have as yet received no benefit whatever from the Board of Commerce which has been created.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. McIntosh) spoke in complimentary terms of the leader of the Government in seconding the Address in reply to the speech from the Throne. While desirous of paying the Prime Minister every compliment to which his personality and individuality entitles him, still if I find him lacking in the discharge of his high duties I should be false to the position I occupy if I did not bring that fact as vigorously as possible, to the notice of the people generally. The hon. gentleman has stated that the labouring classes of Canada should have great confidence in the Prime Minister because of the latter having been so closely identified with the drafting of the provisions of the Peace Treaty with respect to labour. I would like to point out that last session when we were urging upon the Government the necessity of establishing an eight-hour day we were told by the representatives of the Cabinet that this Parliament had no power to pass such legislation. One would suppose, ordinarily speaking, that the representatives of the Canadian people sitting in Ottawa would be as closely identified with the proposal for the establishment of an eight-hour day as the Peace Conference sitting in France. But while the Prime Minister and the Acting Minister of Justice, occupying their places on the Treasury benches here, told us that the Government were absolutely tied hand and foot, and could do nothing towards regulating the hours of labour through federal legislation, nevertheless the leader of the Government and his colleagues the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Trade and Commerce, sitting in France, away from the jurisdiction of the Canadian Parliament, experienced absolutely no difficulty in formulating resolutions with respect to this subject and submitting them to the Peace Conference for approval. This is procedure of a somewhat extraordinary character, but it is quite in line with other actions of the Government. The members of the Cabient are splendid as theorists, they are fine speakers and good orators, but when it comes to enacting practical legislation they are absolutely at a loss and do not seem to know what to do. It would be very much more consoling to the man who has to don his habiliments before daylight in the morning and who returns to his little family after dark each evening, if this Government would take the necessary action to reduce his hours of labour and afford him more opportunity for recreation and sleep than he now enjoys, than to find that high-sounding conditions have been embodied in the Peace Treaty which cannot by any possibility be implemented into concrete legislation if the information given to us by the law officers of the Government is correct. Notwithstanding this, we are told by the seconder of the Address (Mr. McIntosh) that the Prime Minister's action with respect to labour matters as dealt with in the Peace Treaty should inspire the labour men of Canada with confidence in the Government. Let me remind the Prime Minister and those of his colleagues who accompanied him to Paris that when they were formulating the resolutions referred to and getting them inserted in the Peace Treaty, another very

exceptional and very different line of action was being taken in Canada by other members of the Government. While the real Minister of Justice was interesting himself in the high-sounding phrases which found their way into the Peace Treaty, the Acting Minister of Justice was at Winnipeg calling the forces of Canada into play in order to drive the local labour leaders into the penitentiary.

And in view of what has taken place at Winnipeg the leaders of labour driven to the Stony Mountain penitentiary, and the post office clerks driven out of employment and themselves and their families thrown upon the streets because they did not immediately bow to the mandate of this Government and throw away every spark of manhood which they might possess. This is the condition that existed, Sir, that one section of the Government was writing a second "Sermon on the Mount" to labour, while another section was driving labour men to the penitentiary. Under those conditions I would join issue very sharply with the hon. member from Nanaimo (Mr. J. C. McIntosh) who thinks that labour should do nothing for the next three months but sing psalms of praise and glorification for the Prime Minister.

It is some concern of ours whether the constitution of this country is complied with. When we have Acts of Parliament providing that the labour of looking after the affairs of the country shall be divided up in a certain way with a competent man at the head of each department, it is our business to see that that is carried out. That is not the condition to-day. We have practically a vacant deserted house with the windows broken. If this is the era of reconstruction, Mr. Speaker, it is time, as the Right Hon. Lloyd George puts it, that the boat should be manned. Every department of this Government should be fully manned with the best personnel at the disposition of the Prime Minister. That is not the condition to-day. Where there used to be a full treasury bench and at least some capable men, we have nobody at all now—I exclude, of course, a few notable exceptions. If there is anything at all to be expected from a Department of Trade and Commerce it is that the head of that department will sometimes be here. But our difficulty has been that while we delight to see the genial countenance of the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) and to revel in his magnificent expositions, theoretically, of how he manages his department, it is only on rare occasions that we have him with us. However, we are delighted that he is present for the moment, and I take this opportunity of telling him how we love him, and at the same time that we expect him to do something for this country that stands so much in need of his services.

Since last session, Sir, the angel of political death, has touched with his wings many of the stars of this Chamber. We had sitting in front of us and, in fact, leading this House during last session, a very distinguished gentleman, who, while still a member, is now only an ordinary individual like myself as far as power is concerned. I have reference to our good friend, the ex-Minister of Finance, Sir Thomas White. He has gone so far as the Department of Finance is concerned. I would be false to myself and false to this House and to the country if I for a moment suggested that Sir Thomas White is a man without ability. Nothing of the kind. He is a man of great ability, a man who gave great energy to his duties as Minister of Finance. But he discovered that there was a point in the manipulations of his finances where the tether had wound around, like the story about the bull—the tether had wound round and round the stake so that his nose was to the stake and he could not do anything more. He had run the length of his tether; there was nothing he could do. There were a great many sources upon which he drew, from the Bank of England down to the Indian grave-yards, but he exhausted everything from which he could extract money, and with no possibility of conducting his department any longer he made the famous jump by which often we find an engineer saving his life, when his engine is about to plunge into the surging waters, and he got away.

Now, whom have we got in his place? We certainly have another "Sir." We have not yet had an opportunity of passing judgment upon his ability as Minister of Finance; but he will, I am afraid, find himself like old Mrs. Hubbard's dog when he went to the cupboard looking for a bone, he will find the cupboard bare and dry and Mrs. Hubbard gone away. Is it a case again of our hon. friend, the new minister, occupying that position where, it is said, people who are perhaps feeble-minded step in where "angels fear to tread"? Or is it a repetition of the old story about the bull and the locomotive, where the courage was splendid but the judgment most reckless? Have we much reason to hope that where the experienced, practical, well-trained Sir

Thomas White failed, our new friend—who, I am told, is an excellent lawyer, and has other excellent qualities but no special knowledge of finance—will succeed? Is the miracle of the loaves and fishes to be repeated, and is the present Minister of Finance going to succeed where the other failed? My own suggestion, Mr. Speaker, would be not to wait too long for the development of this new captain of finance, but to make a change entirely, lock, stock and barrel, and let the people have an opportunity of putting new men at the wheel.

Our good friend the Prime Minister seems to think it a cure-all to prevent anything being done in this House which would in the slightest way savour of a change of Government. He must understand that there are some timid hearts sitting behind him, because whenever there is a cloud on the horizon he tells them there may be a change of Government, and that is an end of any difficulty from that quarter. We are, however, in the hands of the people. This Government has been returned by the people in a sort of a way; it is something like tying a man's feet and tying his hands and gagging him, and then asking him to express his opinion. That is the sort of an electorate that put our hon. friends on the treasury benches. The sooner the fetters are taken off the legs and the hands and the gag is removed, and the people of Canada are allowed to pronounce a free and open judgment on the affairs of this country, the better it will be for Canada and its affairs.

I was referring to the different members who left us. For many years I sat with the ex-Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell). I admired him then; I admire him now. True, I would not run after him to-day as vigorously as I would have done some years ago, but no person need for a moment question the ability of the ex-Minister of Public Works. He also was finding that the place was getting a little hot and uncomfortable, and his position reminds me of a story which you, Mr. Speaker, have often heard about the fox who was running around the country for days trying to get a drink. At last he came to a well at the bottom of which he saw a little water, and he was so thirsty that he jumped down. But after slaking his thirst he found he could not get out, and seeing an innocent-looking goat also looking down, he began to tell the goat what a magnificent place that was and how good the water was, and he asked the goat to come down. So the goat jumped into the well, and immediately the fox jumped on top of the goat and got out. But the goat could not get out. I think that in a similar way the ex-Minister of Public Works was telling Sir Henry Drayton what a magnificent thing it was to be a minister. So the goat got in and the minister got out. That seems to be the position, and if we hear the truth, I think, speaking with all respect and deference, the goat is rather disappointed that he ever listened to the solicitations of the fox.

There are a few other changes. I am very glad that we have a new Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Tolmie). While I have no knowledge of the hon. gentleman's ability except what I learn from the press and from a very slight acquaintance with the hon. gentleman himself, I have no doubt that he will give a splendid account of his stewardship. His knowledge of matters of this kind will come to his aid, and, if he is given permission or opportunity to apply his practical knowledge to the department, I have no doubt that he will make good, as the saying is, if this slow drag of a Government will not throw their shackles on him and keep him down to their own pace.

There is one more noted vacancy in this House. I have reference to the ex-hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Nickle). I am sure that I speak earnestly and sincerely when I say that I regard his going out of this House as a great loss to the debating power, the thinking power, and the legal power that are to be found in this House. Why did he go? That is the question. Was he satisfied with the progress of this Administration? Was he satisfied with the way things were being done? Well, the conclusion which I have reached is that he was not satisfied; that, so far as he was concerned, things were going too slow and this Government was not up to date, and he thought he would register his protest by going out and giving the people of Kingston an opportunity of passing judgment upon this Government.

Mr. EDWARDS: Has the hon. member come to that conclusion from any remarks made by the former member for Kingston?

Mr. McKENZIE: I may say to my hon. friend that I have not seen in print one word one way or the other uttered by the former hon. member for Kingston. I think he has maintained a most discreet silence since leaving the House. I commend him for that, because there is one thing—

Mr. EDWARDS: Did he not state a reason or reasons?

Mr. McKENZIE: He may have stated a reason, but my capacity for reading newspapers is pretty limited, and there are practically only a few papers, such as the Mail and Empire—

An hon. MEMBER: The Globe.

Mr. McKENZIE: —and the Toronto Times, that I read. They are voluminous and interesting and they take up all the time at my disposal. I did not see in those papers any statement made by our good friend the ex-hon. member for Kingston. When the close relationships and the happy family ties that existed between this Government and the hon. member are snapped and the hon. member goes out and refuses to stay any longer with them, we have a right, as a jury, to draw certain inferences from the facts. And I believe if the hon. member could say something that would be helpful to this Government and give a helpful reason, he would do so; but as long as he could not do that, he held his tongue, and in my opinion, he did quite properly, for I have no great use for any man who goes out of a party and then tries to abuse it. I always apply to such a man the saying, "It's an ill bird that befouls its own nest", and the least we should do is to leave them alone and let the people at large judge the conduct of the Government.

Sir SAM HUGHES: In case Mr. Nickle should present himself for re-election for Kingston, would the leader of the Opposition go down there and support him?

Mr. McKENZIE: It so happens that I am neither a soldier nor a sailor, and I fear I would have no other qualification to vote there.

I hope we shall be able to stir up this Government to do some of the things that are absolutely necessary in the best interest of the country.: It is to be hoped that the Prime Minister will fill up the gaps, although he may be under an embarrassment because he has two elements to consider, the Unionists and the old line Tories, and whenever he has a position open he has this fight for it from two ranks. I suppose there will be no peace for him until he fills the vacancies, but the people of this country expect him to have courage and determination to see to it that those vacancies are filled and that some business is being done by the Government more than simply the shuffling back and forth with the hope of keeping themselves in power. I hope those matters will be attended to and the different elements which enter into the life of this country will—during the short time that hon. gentlemen who are now on the Government benches have the privilege of holding their respective positions and dealing with these matters—be able to say of them that in their last days nothing became them, in respect to the administration of the departments of this country, better than the leaving of them, and at the last moment they had made a dash for the improvement and betterment of the affairs of this country.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I join most heartily and sincerely with my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) in extending congratulations to the mover and the seconder of the Address, both of whom made admirable speeches and acquitted themselves very worthily of the important duty which devolved upon them.

With respect to the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, I desire also to associate myself with what was said by the mover and seconder of the Address, as well as by my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition. It has been both my duty and my privilege on more than one occasion to express to His Royal Highness the welcome of the Canadian people. In that welcome there has been a note of personal affection and esteem, apart altogether from the very high position which His Royal Highness holds as heir to the Throne. Everywhere there has been a very warm expression of affection, admiration, and, more than that, of comradeship. I am quite sure that the close ties by which the Prince has bound himself to the people of Canada in this visit will never be severed.

I need not spend much time in replying to the interesting and amusing address of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition. He has taken upon himself a good deal of concern with regard to reconstruction of the Government, the filling of portfolios, and with regard to the position which the Government holds in the country. My hon. friend in these matters dealt, admittedly, almost altogether in surmise, but he might have given us some very interesting information indeed as to conditions on the other side of the House as to which he has a perfect knowledge. I could not but observe his remarkable reticence in that regard, and I do not think it is necessary for me to pursue the subject further.

My hon. friend has taken exception to the delay which has taken place in constituting the Board of Commerce. I quite agree that it would have been far better

if we could have constituted the board at an earlier date, but I desire to assure my hon. friend that the matter was taken up immediately after the close of last session. Immediately after the Act had become law, communication was had with the gentleman who has been appointed chairman of the tribunal. At first he found himself unable to undertake the new duties which we desired him to accept. He had asked some time in which to consider whether his answer would be in the negative or the affirmative, and finally he gave us what we regarded as a negative answer on account of certain considerations personal to himself which appealed to him very strongly. At a little later date, however, we found that Judge Robson was inclined to reconsider the question, and after some further necessary delay which he requested for the purpose of making his arrangements, he finally agreed to accept the position. Hon. gentlemen will recollect that it was urged upon us, and especially from the other side of the House—by my hon. friend from Brome (Mr. McMaster) for one, I remember—that the success of this board would depend very largely upon its personnel, and we did regard, and we do regard, Judge Robson as possessing in a very eminent degree the qualities, the experience and the knowledge which are essential in the person who undertakes those duties.

We have succeeded also in having Mr. O'Connor accept a position on the board, and he has been very glad to associate himself with Judge Robson in the very important duties which they are called upon to discharge.

So far as the third member of the board is concerned, we thought it desirable to make a temporary appointment until we could consult more fully with the chairman of the board and his associate as to the qualities that should be looked for in the third member. In the meantime we have appointed a very capable gentleman who has had a very great deal of experience in work of this character—the Deputy Minister of Labour—and upon consultation with the Minister of Labour as to his qualifications I was perfectly satisfied that as a temporary measure the best course in order that the work of the board might proceed at once was to appoint Mr. Acland to the position which he now holds as a member of that board without salary.

My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition has indulged in some criticism. He has run over the various efforts of the Government during the past two or three years to investigate and, so far as possible, to provide a remedy for the high cost of living in this country. So far as I could understand, he must have convinced even himself that the Government had approached this subject from every possible standpoint and had established every kind of machinery that might be useful for the purpose of providing a remedy for such conditions. I will not at the moment go over the details of all that the Government has undertaken during the past three years, but my hon. friend doubtless remembers that we conferred distinct powers, powers of a very wide character, upon every municipality in Canada to abate profiteering and to bring down excessive prices. There was not a municipality in Canada that was not armed by the statute law of this country or by Orders in Council passed under the War Measures Act, with powers which should have been effective, if they had been utilized, to remedy the conditions complained of, in so far as those conditions can be remedied by any legislation.

We all know that these conditions are not confined to Canada alone. They are world-wide and to a very great extent they depend upon world-wide conditions which cannot be remedied by legislation of this Parliament or of all the parliaments of the world combined. But in so far as excessive profits are concerned, there ought to be a remedy in this country or in any other country, and we sought to give that remedy by legislation which we passed at the last session of Parliament, and by the appointment of a tribunal of commerce for the purpose of carrying out its provisions. My hon. friend has made a statement with regard to relative prices in the United States and Canada. Let me remind him that the late Minister of Agriculture, whose desire to give public service, whose experience, whose ability, and whose devotion to public duty will not be questioned by any man who knew him in this House or elsewhere, had this very matter under his direction for eighteen months or more, and devoted his best efforts and attention to providing a remedy for the conditions which prevail. And I have yet to hear in this House any effective criticism of the policy and the action of the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar) in that regard. Apparently my hon. friend has not read the report of the Canada Food Board for 1918 in which this very question that he has dealt with was discussed. The relative prices of many necessaries of life in the one country and

in the other are compared. Appendix IX of the report of the Canada Food Board, sent out under the authority of the ex-Minister (Mr. Crerar), who presented it to the Governor General as a report up to the first day of January, 1919, of the work of the Canada Food Board under his direction as Minister of Agriculture, contains this statement:

Retail Prices of Staple Foods in Canada and the United States, September 15, 1918.

The following table of the cost of staple articles of food, averaged in sixty cities in Canada and forty cities in the United States, was compiled from data furnished by the Labour Departments of both countries, and is revised to terms of quantities consumed by the average family in one week:—

			Canada 60 cities	U.S. 40 cities	
Bread	15	pounds	$ 1·170	$ 1·485	
Flour	10	"	0·680	0·680	
Butter	3	"	1·486	1·776	
Milk	6	quarts	0·744	1·029	(Imperial Measure)
Cheese	2	pounds	0·643	0·720	
Eggs	2	dozen	1·065	1·172	
Bacon	1	pound	0·511	0·562	
Beef	4	"	1·363	1·426	
Pork Chops	1	"	0·403	0·461	
Potatoes	2	pecks	0·707	0·702	(Imperial Measure)
Beans (Dry)	1	pound	0·169	0·169	
Rice	2	"	0·238	0·274	
Tea	½	"	0·303	0·332	
Coffee	½	"	0·114	0·076	
Sugar	4	"	0·472	0·384	
Lard	2	"	0·740	0·672	
Prunes	1	"	0·183	0·174	
			$10·991	$12·094	

The following note is appended to the table:

In the above comparison five items out of the seventeen are slightly lower in the United States than in Canada—lard, coffee, potatoes, sugar and prunes. Coffee, sugar and prunes are naturally lower in price in the United States than in Canada, which is further from the source of supply. The United States is one of the world's greatest producers of lard.

My hon. friend is inclined to find fault with the Tribunal of Commerce because it has not begun work more actively. He complains that one member of the board, Mr. O'Connor, has visited Washington. I think Mr. O'Connor was wise in visiting Washington or any other part of the United States or any other country where he could procure some information that might be useful to him in the discharge of his duties. My hon. friend is never tired of referring to some alleged quotation which exists only in his imagination, to the effect that the Conservative party in 1911 said they desired no truck or trade with the Yankees. I have never used any such expression, and I am not aware of any other prominent member of the party who has ever used it. We took our stand at that time for reasons which it would be a waste of time to dwell upon now, but my hon. friend does not do himself justice when he indulges his inmagination to such an extent in that regard.

[Sir Robert Borden.]

Mr. BUREAU: Was not that your election slogan in 1911?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I have told my hon. friend what the facts are and he is absolutely mistaken. Indeed, his imagination has run wilder even than that of the leader of the Opposition, and I think it would be well for him to use his utmost efforts to keep it within some reasonable bounds.

Mr. BUREAU: My memory is good and it serves me rightly.

Mr. ROBB: May I ask the Prime Minister if that quotation he has just referred to was not the slogan of the Montreal Star?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am not aware that it was the slogan of the Montreal Star. If it was, my hon. friend will be good enough to take up that question with the Montreal Star and discuss it with them. Now, I should like to say further that my hon. friend is somewhat mistaken in supposing that the Board of Commerce has not taken active and effective steps in some matters already. I know that the board sat in Montreal on Tuesday last and the results of the efforts they made with regard to sugar have been effective. They had two considerations before them: One was to ensure a sufficient domestic supply for the people of this country, because we had received many representations from differ-

ent parts of Canada as to the inadequacy of the supply available. The other was the question of price, and I understand that in respect of both these considerations the work of the Board of Commerce in its session at Montreal has produced excellent results.

My hon. friend has also suggested to us that there should be legislation in this Parliament with regard to certain labour matters. Apparently he has overlooked or forgotten the fact that an industrial conference has been summoned by the Minister of Labour to meet in Ottawa on the fifteenth day of this month, and I venture to hope that out of that conference good results will flow. It is perhaps notable that since that conference was called, the Government of the United States have decided to pursue precisely the same course and have summoned for some early date in that country an industrial conference of the same character as that which the Minister of Labour proposes soon to hold in Ottawa. I think I have covered pretty much all the matters of substance which my hon. friend has alluded to. He did indulge in some badinage at the end as to the disappearance of some of the ministers from the Government.

In so far as Sir Thomas White is concerned, his service to the country during the past eight and a half years has been notable. He was anxious to retire from public life a year or eighteen months ago, and he only continued to discharge the duties of Minister of Finance at my urgent request. His retirement from public life was not due to any disagreement with the Government or any such consideration as my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition has playfully suggested. I think my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition would not desire to have his remarks treated too seriously when he speaks of the cupboard being dry. It is, I am sure, the belief of every hon. member of this House and of every thoughtful man in this country that although the burdens imposed upon Canada by this war are severe, the resources of the country are ample to sustain them and the people are prepared to see that this is done.

My hon. friend referred somewhat playfully also to his desire for a general election. He must have referred to it playfully because I have good reason to believe that not more than two months ago he was very anxious that no general election should be held, and I am inclined to think that he has not changed his mind in the interval. Therefore I assume that he desired us to regard his remarks along that line as entirely jocose and that he did not intend that they should be seriously taken.

He spoke of the electorate in 1917 being incapable to express its opinion for the reasons—the alleged reasons—which he put forward. Upon consideration, I think he will agree that the electorate in 1917 succeeded in expressing its opinion in a very pronounced and emphatic way. That seems to me to be hardly open to question.

The late Minister of Public Works (Hon. Mr. Carvell) has retired from the position which he held in the Government and has undertaken new duties to which he will bring conspicuous ability, great energy and strong devotion to public duty. I have not the slightest doubt that his discharge of his new responsibilities will be acceptible in every way to the people of the country. The portfolio of Minister of Finance has been accepted by Sir Henry Drayton, to whom my hon. friend has made generous allusion. Sir Henry Drayton, it is perfectly true, had not great experience in financial matters before he undertook, at my request, the duties of Minister of Finance. But we have had men occupying the position of Minister of Finance in this country who, up to the time of their assuming the duties of the office had had absolutely no experience whatever in finance—even less than that which Sir Henry Drayton has acquired in various ways during his career as a member of the bar and in his work as chairman of the Railway Commission. I might suggest to my hon. friend that the gentleman who has been promoted to a seat beside him, the hon. member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding), up to the time that he became Minister of Finance certainly had no very great experience in such matters, or knowledge of financial conditions, and yet I am sure my hon. friend would be the last person to suggest that the duties of Minister of Finance for fifteen years were not well discharged by the member for Shelburne and Queens.

Sir Henry Drayton has a great task before him in connection with the duties which he has consented to undertake. I have no doubt that he brings to the discharge of these duties conspicuous ability, great industry, a fine capacity for mastering facts and an earnest devotion to the public welfare. I have every confidence that his discharge of the duties of his office will be acceptable to the members of this House as well as to the people.

My hon. friend indulged in a number of conjectures as to the cause of the resigna-

tion of the hon. member for Kingston, Mr. Nickle, whose fine qualities, high position in this House and devotion to duty are well known to us all. Mr. Nickle came to me and discussed his resignation after it had been placed in the hands of the Speaker. He announced to me no such reasons as those which my hon. friend has conjectured, and which are the outcome of his all too vivid imagination. If my hon. friend would confine himself more to facts and rely less upon his imagination he would be of more service to us in this House.

If I could be induced—I do not think I could be, but if I could for one moment be induced—to follow the example of the leader of the Opposition and give rein to my imagination, I would rather suggest this, that although Mr. Nickle knew that he had important duties to discharge as a member of Parliament and that such responsibilities ought not lightly be thrown aside, nevertheless his confidence in the Government was so strong that he really thought that his presence here was not needed any longer. That is the real explanation which should be accepted if any hon. gentleman in this House desires to trust to his imagination.

Mr. McMASTER: That requires real gifts of imagination.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Nothing at all in comparison with those which my hon. friend's leader exercised in the speech he addressed to the House.

Mr. BUREAU: That puts my hon. friend's leader in the shade.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I do not recall anything else in the address of my hon. friend to which I should direct my attention. The conditions with which we are to deal at this session are more especially those that relate to the bringing about of the peace of the world. It is, I think, highly desirable that peace should be announced between four of the nations of the world at the earliest opportunity. No doubt the ratification, if it is accomplished, will very soon be followed by the ratification of the other allied nations. But when peace is once established, when this treaty is once ratified we in this country have still a great task before us. The task, after peace has been established, will be no less difficult than that which confronted us during the war. We have our different ideals, we have our different views of public questions and out of this conflict of ideals and out of the discussion of public questions will be evolved in the end some policy which we hope will be in the best interests of the country. If we maintain in Canada the same spirit of resolve, the same spirit of unity, the same purpose and endeavour in the development of the resources of this country as that which sustained our men at the front, and sustained the population at home as well, I am perfectly confident, heavy as our burdens are, that we can face them with a firm heart. To strive as best we can for the interests of our country is the purpose which every one of us should keep before him. We have divergent views, and that purpose may incline us along separate lines, but I hope regard for the real interests of the country will be the overmastering consideration that will animate all of us.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR (Antigonish and Guysborough): I desire to join with the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition in congratulating the mover and seconder of the Address. Both gentlemen performed the duty allotted to them with credit to themselves and with satisfaction to members on both sides. The hon. member for Brandon (Mr. Whidden) comes from the constituency which I have the honour to represent, and it will be a pleasure for me to tell his old friends and neighbours that his abilities and personal worth are being recognized by the Government and by his fellow members in this House.

The visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada was very well timed. He has had a most cordial reception everywhere, and I have no doubt that his visit will tend to deepen the devotion and affection of the Canadian people for His Royal Highness, as well as for the illustrious house that he represents.

The present session, we are told, has been called for the purpose of dealing with the Peace Treaty. We all recognize the importance of that document. We also recognize that the Treaty has already been ratified by the only Parliament in the world whose ratification counts for anything, and that anything we can do in the Canadian Parliament with respect to it will be largely of a sentimental character.

We must not forget that many domestic questions are pressing for attention from the Government of this country. The speech from the Throne expressed the hope that the session would be short, but, Mr. Speaker, why should the session be short if by remaining here and attending to business we can honestly earn our indemnity and at the same time do something to re-

lieve the present disturbed condition of the country?

A great convention of the Liberal party was held in this city in the early days of August. Every riding in the Dominion was represented by delegates who received their appointment from the people. A thousand men and women, the popular choice of the Liberal party of Canada, came together to select a leader and construct a platform. This convention demanded among other things:

Reforms in our election laws. Punishment of election frauds.

Proportional representation.

Reciprocity with the United States.

Downward revision of the tariff.

Increase in the British preference.

Improvement in the laws governing labour and capital.

Greater encouragement of our agricultural and fishing industries.

A fair deal for the returned soldier.

The restoration of parliamentary government in this country.

Why does the Government suggest a short session of Parliament when the country is seething with unrest and discontent and all these vital questions require to be dealt with? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Whidden) quoted some celebrated man as saying that it was always harder to make peace than to make war. I have no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that the present Government does find it hard, but it has only itself to blame. To use an old saying, "The chickens are coming home to roost." Imagine, if you can, my right hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) trying to convince an audience of hungry men and women that the Government that refused to vote a dollar to prosecute the profiteers is really in earnest on the question of reducing the cost of living. Imagine, if you can, the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) delivering an address on electoral purity with that famous ballot-switching telegram in his pocket. Imagine my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) delivering an exhortation on economy with a copy of the Canadian Record under his arm, when it is remembered that that publication cost the people of Canada over $80,000 last year, and that it was not worth eighty cents! Imagine my right hon. friend the leader of the Government (Sir Robert Borden) with his numerous declarations and protestations regarding the purpose and scope of the coalition, trying to convince the hon. member for West Peterborough (Mr. Burnham) of the morality of making the Union party a permanent institution! Is it any wonder then that the present Government finds the pathway of peace even more thorny than that of war?

One crying need at the present time is a reduction in the cost of living, and my right hon. friend (Sir Robert Borden) in his speech to which we have just listened devoted attention to that important matter. No effective action has been taken by the present Government to reduce the cost of living. For over three years the people of Canada have been groaning under excessive prices. While the war lasted they were patient, but hostilities terminated more than nine months ago and in place of getting better, conditions are getting worse. The cost of living is higher to-day than it was when the war was brought to a conclusion. The Government has been tinkering with this question but all the time the profiteer has been having full swing, and he was never more aggressive and arrogant than he is at the present moment. Threats are being made at the present time by the Board of Commerce, but similar threats were made by the old defunct Food Board. The Board of Commerce which was recently organized is the twin sister of the old Food Board. Threats do not disturb the profiteers; no one understands the situation better than they do. When the legislation creating this Board of Commerce was being enacted, members on this side strongly urged the importance of the Government providing money for the conduct of prosecutions and the throwing of responsibility for those prosecutions upon the Department of Justice. The Government refused to yield to our request and in consequence of that refusal the Board of Commerce became as useless as the defunct Food Board.

What does the profiteer care for investigations if there are to be no prosecutions? I think it was President Roosevelt who said, that the Government that shakes its fist first and its finger afterwards will soon fall into contempt.

In some phases of violation of law this Government has been perhaps over-zealous. I heard of a man in this province who got into jail for having in his possession a copy of a little pamphlet called "The Fiddlers." I read the pamphlet, but I could not understand why in the world the man was punished. Another man was put in jail in this province for having a copy of Plato's "Republic" in his possession. For the past year or two the jails have been

full of all kinds of offenders, but so far as I have heard not a single profiteer has yet seen the inside of a jail in Canada.

An hon. MEMBER: They have all been knighted.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: They are all at large and flourishing, and I understand that nearly every one of them is a supporter of Union Government.

Now, Sir, in the United States, in England and in France profiteering has been punished, but Canada is probably the only country in the world engaged in the war where profiteers have had a free hand to fleece the people. Here is an extract from a Boston paper:

> Massachusetts Fish Men Sentenced.
>
> Boston, July 9.—Judge Sanderson, of the Superior Criminal Court, imposed heavy jail sentences and fines on seventeen wholesale fish dealers convicted in the so-called "fish trust" trial.
>
> The five men were sentenced to one year in jail and a fine of $1,000 each.
>
> The men had been found guilty of conspiring to raise the price of fish in war times, and of creating a monopoly.
>
> F. Monroe Dyer, of New York, president; Ernest A. James, treasurer; John Burns, jr., manager, and Joshua Paine and Joseph A. Rich, directors of the Bay State Fishing Company, of Maine, were sentenced to serve one year each, and to pay fines of $1,000. Twelve other men connected with subsidiary or associated firms of fish dealers, were given sentences of six months each with $500 fines.

While these profiteers were conspiring to advance prices in Boston, the Boston fishermen were compelled to strike to get enough money to keep body and soul together.

In the United States they not only enacted laws against profiteering, as we did, but they voted a million dollars to pay the expense of prosecuting the profiteers. Here is an extract from a report of the House Appropriation Committee of the United States Congress:

> It is believed by the committee that "widespread civil and criminal prosecutions of the profiteers will accomplish more toward reducing prices than all the investigations and other activities the departments might undertake." Therefore the committee has decided to give Attorney General Palmer and his assistants all the money they ask for, and, in the language of Chairman Good, "pin our faith on him to start immediate action in the courts."

It is not the Attorney General of Massachusetts or the Attorney General of New York, it is not the clerk of any municipality, it is the law officer of the United States who is conducting these prosecutions. My right hon. friend spoke of prosecutions being thrown upon the municipalities. Just think of that, Mr. Speaker. He expects a big expenditure like this to be undertaken by the small municipalities throughout this country which have not any funds available for prosecuting profiteers. Mr. Speaker, you can see the difference. The Government at Washington have instructed their Attorney General to conduct these prosecutions and have appropriated one million dollars to that purpose. I see by the Order Paper that we are voting $26,000 at this session to pay the salaries of the Board of Commerce Commissioners, but not one dollar for the purpose of prosecuting the profiteers. The Government has repeated the same mistake that was made in the case of the Food Board. They refused to accept responsibility for prosecutions, they shirked that all-important duty, and they shouldered it on the Provincial Governments and the municipalities. The Provincial Governments have not voted any money to pay for these prosecutions, and they cannot do so until they meet next winter; and we all know that our municipalities have no funds that would justify them in embarking in these prosecutions. The profiteers are well aware of these facts. They know that the Board of Commerce is helpless until the sinews of war are provided, and the refusal of the Justice Department to undertake these prosecutions is the main reason why so many people suspect that the Government is standing in the shadow behind the profiteers.

The public are tired of investigations. Everybody knows that profiteering is widespread. It is common knowledge that there is a sugar trust, and a steamp-pipe trust, and a cotton trust, and a canners trust. You might as well appoint a Royal Commission to ascertain if there was anything wrong about the kiss of Judas or the judgment of Pilate. What we all want in this country is a Department of Justice that will undertake,—not to investigate, but to punish offenders.

Right Hon. Sir GEORGE E. FOSTER: Will my hon. friend allow me a question? From what authority is he reading?

Hon. Mr. BUREAU: He is stating facts.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: If my hon. friend will refer to the New Testament he will find the story of the kiss of Judas. That is my authority on that question.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I understood my hon. friend was making a quotation.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Does my hon. friend object to my using notes? If he does

he should have taken the same exception to his leader (Sir Robert Borden) a few minutes ago.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I understood my hon. friend was reading from some authority. If he is not, it is my mistake.

Hon. Mr. BUREAU: That is camouflage. That is not a mistake.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I am endeavouring to show that this Government has failed altogether to prosecute the profiteers. That fact should be admitted without the support of any other authority. As a matter of fact, you cannot find a worse example of gross and unjustifiable profiteering than is contained in the menu of the Canadian Government Railways. On this menu the Government charges its patrons sixty-five cents for less than one half pound of fresh cod fish. They purchase this fish at Mulgrave and other places along the coast of Nova Scotia for about four cents a pound, so that the portion they sell for sixty-five cents originally cost them only two cents. That is to say, the railway gives the fisherman forty cents for a codfish weighing ten pounds and, after cooking it, sells it to the consumer for thirteen dollars. No one can contradict those figures for they are found on the menu of the Canadian Government Railways.

Hon. Mr. BUREAU: There is good authority.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: If the Board of Commerce is in earnest, and if it or the Minister of Justice really wants to institute a prosecution for profiteering, may I suggest that the first offender to be dealt with should be my hon. friend the Minister of Railways.

I wish also to take the ground that such a vital question as suppressing profiteering should not be turned over to any commission. It should be dealt with by a responsible minister. We have had Royal Commissions by the score. My hon. friend, the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) told us himself that they are "as thick as blackberries." For the last four years this country has been overrun by irresponsible busybodies attending to matters that ought to have been attended to by responsible ministers. If anything more were needed to show the utter absurdity of commission rule it can be supplied. It developed a few days ago that the Board of Commerce had issued an order prohibiting the export of sugar.

At the same time the Canadian Trade Mission was negotiating for the sale of sugar abroad and issuing licenses permitting its export. It is high time that Royal Commissions and Orders in Council should be relegated to their proper place and that responsible ministers of the Crown should attend to the business of the country.

There is another matter that calls for explanation on the part of the Prime Minister. In one sense it is a semi-private matter, but it will be admitted that political morality and fair dealing are matters of Dominion-wide concern. The Union party was formed to carry on the war. It is now proposed, without any appeal to the people, to make it over into a permanent political party. This Government, if it can be said to have been elected at all, was elected on a single issue and for a definite purpose. Thousands of Liberals, and Conservatives too, threw their party allegiance to the winds and voted on that issue, and on that issue alone. The appeal was to their patriotism and they responded in that spirit. These men had no idea that after the war was over the Union party would settle down to be a permanent political party that would take the place and carry on the policy of the old Conservative party. I am informed that many of those who supported Union Government look upon this move as an unjustifiable piece of political strategy.

Mr. BUREAU: Serves them well.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: So abhorrent was this proposal to the mind and conscience of the hon member for West Peterborough (Mr. Burnham) that he withdrew his support from the Government and now sits on the cross benches. I submit that this matter is of sufficient importance to call for some explanation from the Prime Minister.

The Government is carrying on a propaganda in the newspapers in favour of economy. This is a very proper thing to do, but the Government should show an example. Has this Administration been economical? The answer is easily given.

Mr. BUREAU: No.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: No one can answer that question in the affirmative.

Mr. BUREAU: Unless he drew on his imagination.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I could with justice use stronger language and say that this Administration has been profligate in

its expenditures, and apparently no attempt is made even now to economize. Here are the figures of expenditure for the month of June:

Expenditure on Consolidated Revenue Account..	$ 9,042,209
Expenditure on Capital Account	54,632,871
Total..	$63,675,080

Or $2,122,754 per day, or $88,448 per hour. In the month of June we got from all sources a revenue of $26,780.316, so that, after crediting all our revenue, we are going into debt at the rate of $1,229,825 per day, or over $51,000 per hour. If the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) took an hour this morning to eat his breakfast and say his prayers, when he got up from his knees this country was $51,000 worse off than it was when he sat down.

Mr. EDWARDS: How much of this expenditure was voted last session for the hon. gentleman's constituency?

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: None at all.

Mr. EDWARDS: In public works?

Mr. BUREAU: What about the expenditure on national schools?

Mr. EDWARDS: You might have something a good deal worse than that.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: What about Kingston penitentiary?

Mr. EDWARDS: When the hon. gentleman mentions Kingston penitentiary it shows that he recognizes the necessity for that institution. Does my hon. friend (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) allege that no money was voted last session for public works in his constituency?

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Not that I remember.

Mr. EDWARDS: I will take occasion to refresh my hon. friend's memory.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: My hon. friend has not posted himself in regard to the way in which my constituency has been used by the present Government. Practically no money has been voted for my constituency since the change of Government, and public works started prior to the change of Government are still unfinished. Small improvements of various kinds were very much required. In one case there was a breakwater on which $10,000 was expended prior to 1911, and which was a very important work, because it gave shelter to the fishermen's boats. A little village had grown up at this breakwater and the result of that expenditure was a large increase in the production of fish. The number of fishermen increased so that they could not shelter their boats behind the breakwater. In 1912 they asked for $10,000 additional to complete the work. I have pressed that matter on the attention of the Government at every session of Parliament since then and have asked for that breakwater to be completed, but I have not yet been able to get one dollar for that purpose. That is the way in which my constituency has been treated by the present Administration. That is a matter aside.

Mr. EDWARDS: Two-thirds of the money voted last session for public works was voted for constituencies represented by hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: My recollection is that a very small amount was voted for public works in Nova Scotia.

Mr. EDWARDS: Small or large, hon. gentlemen opposite got the big end of it.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I should explain to my hon. friend—I have just thought of it now—that in the county of Antigonish there were some small expenditures. When the hon. member asked me the question, I thought he referred to expenditures in the county of Guysborough, but I have the honour to represent two counties which are now one constituency, and if the public accounts were examined it would be found that there were some trifling expenditures in the county of Antigonish, but practically none for Guysborough. However, I was referring to general expenditure. A large part of this expenditure is, I admit, inevitable, but there is also much that could be controlled and reduced. The departments are admitted to be overcrowded with officials—is that not true? The ex-Minister of Public Works (Hon. Mr. Carvell) admitted that to be true in his department, but nothing has been done to rectify that condition of affairs. Millions have been spent in Royal Commissions, most of which have been of no use whatever so far as the public is concerned. Here is a question asked by the hon. member for Charlevoix-Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) last session:

Mr. Casgrain: What has been the cost to the Government to date of the paper inquiry conducted by Mr. R. A. Pringle, K.C.?

Sir Thomas White: Total amount paid to March 12, $75,945,26.

Over $75,000 for one inquiry which was not then finished. I suppose that the amount will have reached $100,000 by this time. With these Royal Commissions " as

thick as blackberries," to quote my right hon. friend (Sir George Foster), it is not surprising that we are going into debt at the rate of a million dollars a day. The Government spent $646,230.89 in connection with the Canada Registration Act. Nearly every one has forgotten that we have such an Act in Canada, and I think it will be admitted that this large expenditure was a useless waste of money.

Sir SAM HUGHES:. Which registration was that, the first or the second? There were two, were there not?

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I am referring to the last one. There was another that cost a great deal of money and that was just as useless as this last one. Take another example: The Department of Public Information publishes the Canadian Official Record. Hon. gentlemen have seen that organ of public opinion, that little paper, which cost us last year $80,000.

Mr. McMASTER: Shame.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Eighty thousand dollars per year is over $220 per day. Will any man say that it is worth 20 cents per day to the people of this country?

Sir SAM HUGHES: Is the hon. member not aware that the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) stated that it was a great help to the clergymen of Canada in preparing their Sunday sermons?

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I am glad to hear it is good for something. On this side of the House we cannot control this criminal waste of public money; we are too few in number at present. We are in the position of the advance guard who are holding the trenches until the reserves come up. But, Mr. Speaker, they are coming, and when they arrive, the result will be serious for this Government. Permit me to say, in conclusion, that waste of public money at a time like this is like the sin against the Holy Ghost—it should not and it will not be forgiven.

Mr. H. A. MACKIE (Edmonton) (Translation): Mr. Speaker, if the Allied powers overseas ever expected any enlightenment from the speeches delivered by the honourable members who have just preceded me, they will surely be disappointed. Not a word was said by them on the question raised by the speech from the Throne. It is not my intention to refute all the arguments or even to deal with all the matters mentioned heretofore, because they are irrelevant to the question alluded to in the speech from the Throne. I shall therefore proceed at once to consider that speech, and I wish to say, first, that the able and eloquent manner in which the Address was proposed and seconded is most commendable. I approve, and so do you all, the matter in the speech from the Throne. Honoured as we have been with the presence of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the opening of this session, it is with pleasure that I convey to His Royal Highness, in the French language, the sentiments of our loyalty and of our unswerving devotion to the Crown and to British institutions.

We are satisfied with the liberties already acquired and we wish to keep them unimpaired. We are proud to be British subjects, especially for the reason given by Sir Wilfrid Laurier when he repeated Tennyson's verses in his vindication of British liberty.

"It is the land that freeman till,
"That sober-suited Freedom chose,
"The land where, girt with friends or foes,
"A man may speak the things he will;

"A land of settled government,
"A land of just and old renown,
"Where Freedom broadens slowly down,
"From precedent to precedent;

"Where faction seldom gathers head,
"But by degrees to fulness wrought,
"The strength of some diffusive thought,
"Hath time and space to work and spread."

As said Tennyson of England, his native land, so I say to-day of Canada. Within the folds of the flag which guides us we have placed our confidence, pledging our honour and fidelity to the word given. The best warranty we can give to the British Empire of our filial sentiments, not to say anything of the soldiers who left their country in order to fight side by side with England on European soil, His Royal Highness will be able to discover it during his journey through Canada; that is to say from St. John's, Newfoundland, through those long famed regions of Nova Scotia, and as well in the sister provinces of New Brunswick; treading that soil of Quebec still impregnated with the history and traditions of old France, or visiting the province of Ontario of loyalist stock, or crossing the great prairies of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, inhabited by people of various races; or ascending the Rocky mountains and finally reaching the enchanting seaboard of the Pacific ocean, the same flag will unfurl itself along the route followed by the heir to the Crown, and it will be the British flag, in other words, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in this northern part

of the American continent, north of the 45th line, we are all animated by one and the same sentiment, and I shall quote the words which that great French Canadian, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, uttered in a speech delivered at Somerset in 1887:

> We form part of the British Empire, we are British subjects; and remember, gentlemen, all the dignity and pride that were involved in the title of a Roman citizen, at the beginning of the Roman Era when St. Paul, loaded with chains and on the point of being subjected to unworthy treatment, had only to exclaim: "I am a Roman citizen," to be treated with the respect to which he was entitled. We are British subjects and should be proud of the fact; we form part of the greatest empire on the globe and are governed by a constitution which has been the source of all the liberties of the modern world.

Therefore, I say, Sir, that from one ocean to the other there are different races which live in perfect understanding, rejoicing in the enjoyment of a prodigal nature, and forever grateful to Providence for having directed them to this Canadian land which is and will always be their only country.

The speech from the Throne draws the attention of the House to one subject in particular: The successful conclusion of peace; but the twenty-six first clauses of the treaty refer to the establishment of a League of Nations, and therefore they form part of the treaty.

The success which our armies had achieved last year could only pave the way to a bountiful peace.

The frightful war which was waged for four years and a half could not but leave devastation in its trail. Though we rejoice at the happy conclusion of peace, still the results of the struggle will be felt for a long while, and time only may partially heal the gaping wound. The consequences of the war are numerous; it cannot be denied that the evil has been and still is great.

Germany has suffered and is still suffering. She is not the only victim. The allied nations will also be confronted with after-war problems. These are as difficult for us to solve as they are for the conquered countries. It is only by a wise and energetic policy that we shall be enabled to solve them. Apart from the League of Nations, the treaty of peace as sanctioned by our representatives sitting on the Supreme Council of Nations, is worthy of our war policy and unreservedly meets our entire approval.

The League of Nations, forming part of the treaty, as advocated by the Council of the Powers represented at Versailles, is the second question submitted to our consideration. To discuss it on its merits, to analyse the treaty clause by clause, to review minutely whatever is good, to condemn that which would be found detrimental and to draw the conclusions which must be logically inferred, would be a task I shall not undertake for numerous reasons. In the first place, all I could say on the matter would not alter at all the text of the Constitution which is to govern the League of Nations.

In the second place, my advice would not change in the least or would scarcely change the position which the Government is going to take as to the adoption of the principles governing a League of Nations.

In the third place, I have such little confidence in the success of the League, that, taking it as a whole, I would hesitate to approve of such a scheme. According to me, a league of nations is somewhat of an Utopia. Besides, this is my way of looking upon that idea itself, in the abstract. If a true league of nations could come to pass, it would certainly be the greatest achievement of this century, an unexampled ending to the war. Although human intelligence has reached the climax in this twentieth century of ours, the idea is not a new one. Long ago people thought of forming such a league. Is it not the great Italian, Mazzini, that prophet in exile, who had conceived a similar scheme? The nationalism of Mazzini and his associates, also refugees, was cosmopolitan; they wanted to secure the freedom of all the people that were worthy of sitting at the convivial table of the nations. Mazzini thought that the freedom of Italy, however triumphant she was, would be incomplete and precarious unless she became a member of a great brotherhood of free nations.

Did not Napoleon make this statement: "The first sovereign to embrace in good faith the cause of nationalities would at once hold sway over Europe and accomplish anything he might desire?" Did not Napoleon follow that policy with regard to the Poles in the establishment of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw? As I take it, the true principle of a league of nations means the protection of smaller nationalities. Although the great powers will gather certain advantages thereby, inasmuch as the League of Nations will be conducive to the reduction of armaments, it nevertheless remains true that they shall keep against the whole world the unassailable right of protecting themselves against the other powers by continuing the manufacture of arma-

ments in order to provide for their legitimate defence, as they have done in the past. The smaller countries, on the other hand, will continue to ask for protection from the more powerful nations and, in future conflicts, will be once more at the mercy of the more generous peoples.

If we refer to the Agreement or Covenant of the League of Nations, which, no doubt, has been read by every one of us, we find three clauses to which our attention is more particularly drawn. They are the only ones I wish to quote:

COVENANT.

Preamble.

The high contracting parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understanding of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

Article VIII, to which I want to make allusion, will be of special interest to us in the coming discussion.

Article VIII.

The members of the League agree that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

Still more interesting is Article X:

Article X.

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

I shall deal with only three sections of the Covenant, namely:

1. The purpose of the League of Nations, which is to promote international co-operation and to secure universal peace;

2. Article VIII, which calls for a reduction of armaments proportionate to each country, having regard to its population, its place among the nations, its geographical situation and circumstances in order to attain the object in view, which is a lasting peace;

3. Article X, which teaches us how the stronger nations impose their views upon the weaker and how among themselves the associated powers can tell one another how to behave.

The purpose as defined in the preamble is surely splendid, but can it be accomplished? That is another question. Six thousand years of history, atavistic passions of men, unquenched thirst of a growing democracy, such are the considerations that prevent me from accepting those arguments in favour of a League of Nations as the basic principles for the future guarantee of an international peace. It is not at a time when peoples are busy killing each other on twenty different fronts or places, that I believe in such a peace. Let us wait till peace is restored in Hungary, Poland, Ukrania, Bulgaria and Rumania; in Siberia and other parts of the Russian territory; in Turkey and Armenia, without mentioning any other countries—I exclude Ireland—and then arguments in favour of a League of Nations shall perhaps have greater weight.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express regret that the Peace Conference, with its splendid platform concerning the rights of nationalities, as laid out in the Covenant of the League of Nations, should already show many failings. The fact that the new kingdom of Poland is now waging war against the Ukraine in order to enlarge its territory is not only a gross injustice, but hinders and ridicules in the most flagrant manner this new League of Nations.

Was it not an American senator who asserted not long ago that within five years the most frightful war would break out between Japan and the United States?

That which the great Napoleon anticipated when he said, after the Russian campaign, that after a century Europe would be yellow or Cossack, may yet happen, and we have

no assurance that America, if not Europe, might not have unpleasant quarrels with Japan.

So as to pave the way for that international peace, section VIII is aiming at the reduction of armaments. Such a scheme suits me very well, provided I am given the assurance that wars shall henceforth be bygones. However, that is so uncertain that, although the idea of extravagant armaments is repugnant to me, I cannot help crying out: "Let us be prepared for whatever may come." The saying is "forewarned is forearmed." May it be also true in the case of nations. Let the sad experience gained during the first year of this universal war be conducive to other results than the laying out of the foundation of a ridiculous Utopia: the dawn of that everlasting era when war shall forever lose its sway.

There is a last topic which I intend to broach. Will the conclusion of peace and the establishment of a League of Nations bring any changes in our relations with the United Kingdom? In 1897 Sir Wilfrid Laurier said in Edinburgh:

"A time will come when the relations between the colonies and the Mother Country can no longer remain as they are; they will either be severed or drawn closer. The solution of this dilemma rests with England, Scotland and Ireland, for the colonies will always be disposed to maintain filial ties as long as England will uphold them."

Has that time come? Must we anticipate change in the near future? The present is uncertain and the future will be able to tell us. Nevertheless, true it is that the war has brought a complete transformation of the map, an upheaval of trade and of all the powers in the world, barring none. Will the swerving of nations from their former course, will the new spirit instilled by the war be felt in Canada as elsewhere?

This query will puzzle many politicians, many Canadian statesmen. In alluding to this, I am not in the least inclined to raise a discussion which would bring about a practical settlement just now. The problem will be thrust upon us and time will undoubtedly set it on its proper ground. Our relations with Great Britain, as with the different colonies forming part of the Empire, were always most satisfactory; the cause of the one has always been the cause of the others and we may say without fear of contradiction that because of those common ideals the same patriotic spirit has prevailed throughout the Empire. We have approved and we still desire to maintain the same state of things, but we will not allow our integrity to be attacked, when we in Canada have enjoyed for the last seventy-five years the rights and privileges of a quasi independent state.

As far as Canada is concerned, one of the results of the war is that, on account of our participation in the struggle and of the part we have played in the council of nations in order to lay the foundation of peace, instead of being a mere dependency or colony in the face of the world, we have virtually been acknowledged ipso facto as a free nation. Having signed the Treaty of Peace, Canada has incurred responsibilities, and the fact of being assembled here in order to approve or condemn the terms of the Treaty in question is the undeniable proof of the status we have gained among the future nations of the earth. Present times bring responsibilities to Canada, as to the other, shall I say colonies, towards the Mother Country, on account of their being an integral part of the Empire. These responsibilities bind us to England by ties closer and closer inasmuch as we are called upon to follow its policy of reconstruction and adopt its standard of international magnanimity. Because we are to play a part identical with that of England, have we to adopt a policy which would embroil us in the old-time quarrels of European countries.

Or again, while accepting the responsibilities and obligations imposed by our new status, shall we be in a position to better co-operate with the other countries toward solving the numerous and intricate problems that will from time to time arise? Can we play that new part without impairing our constitutional privileges, and avoid being drawn into bloody and disastrous wars, by the force of events or circumstances without having been consulted by the contracting parties? I for one shall always hesitate to give my approval to any measure that might modify our actual relation to the Mother Country. The parting of Canada from the British Empire is as distasteful to my mind as a policy of irrational imperialism. I am a Canadian and such I wish to remain, though always a loyal British subject. "All that is national is ours" used to say the Duke of Orleans. All that is Canadian is ours. That is what we want, and that is yet the safest way to continue to be loyal British subjects.

Accept, Mr. Speaker, the assurance of my complete approval of the principles of the national and international policy expressed in the speech from the Throne.

Mr. EMMANUEL D'ANJOU (Rimouski) (Translation): Mr. Speaker, in rising from my seat at this moment, my intention is not to discuss the speech from the Throne, but to add a new protest to the one I uttered at the last session, in the course of the debate on the Address. On that occasion, as you are well aware, both the mover and the seconder of the Address spoke in English. The French language was ignored then, as it was ignored a few days ago. Our constitution gives the French language equal rights with the English language in this country. Moreover, it was an established tradition in the House of Commons that the mover or the seconder of the Address should be a French Canadian or an English Canadian able to speak French.

Last year I brought to the notice of the Government the fact that they had among their supporters a member highly qualified to move or second the Address in French. We have had a few minutes ago the great pleasure of listening to the hon. member for Edmonton (Mr. Mackie) in a masterly speech delivered in faultless and elegant French and that is the reason why I protest with the greatest energy against the injustice done to the French language and against the contempt shown by the Government for my mother tongue, because such a conduct on their part is an insult to the inner feelings of a large and important section of the population of this country.

The hon. member for Edmonton, let me say it again, has delivered a magnificent speech and I offer him my thanks and congratulations in the name of the province of Quebec and of the French Canadians of the whole Dominion. A few days ago, in the ancient city of Champlain, the Prince of Wales, the future King of England, on two different occasions, answered in French the addresses presented by the people of that city. Apparently, the old country people, the members of the Royal family, are better informed as to the importance of the French language than certain English Canadians in this country.

The Prince of Wales, beyond a doubt, intended to teach a lesson to some of our friends (?) from the province of Ontario particularly, who never miss an opportunity to hurl insults at all that is French and are endeavouring, by all means in their power, to get through this House bills and resolutions aiming at the complete cutting out of the French language.

Let us hope that the lesson given to these gentlemen by the Prince of Wales will not be wasted; let us hope that they will understand that if this country is to resume its progress toward prosperity; that if Canada is ever to become a nation and is to fulfil the destinies that have been assigned to it by Providence, all the different sections of our population must be united; all racial and religious strife must come to an end; we must remember that we are all Canadians; that we are here to live and die, that we shall be united and prosperous only if we understand that we are first, always and above all Canadians.

In the words of the hon. member for Edmonton, all that is Canadian is ours. It is all very well to make sacrifices for the sake of the Empire; it is all very well to go to the battlefields of Europe to fight for liberty and the safety of small nationalities; it is all very well to have offered the lives of sixty thousand Canadians and to bankrupt Canada to give peace and liberty to Europe, but liberty must also be respected here.

There are now in the jails of this country young men who are called defaulters because, it is claimed, they broke the law; however, who in Canada are those who set the example by breaking the law? Was there ever in any country on earth a more cynical offender in this respect than the present Government? Consequently, it is not those young men who should be in jail, but the whole ministry and those who abetted and still support the Unionist party, who sanctioned everything which the Government has done, who applauded the enactment of the most iniquitous and prejudicial legislation. Those are the gentlemen who should be in jail and all these young men, farmers and farmers' sons, should be working in the fields so as to increase the production of food for the Canadian people.

I confidently expected that in the speech from the Throne the Government would convey their intention to quit hunting these young men in the most distant forests, and would introduce a Bill granting a general amnesty, because, after all, these men are far less guilty than the members of the Government. These young men thought that it was rather in the interests of the country to go on with their work upon the land so as to feed not only the Canadian people, but also our soldiers overseas. After all, what crime have they committed, especially seeing the gigantic effort made by Canada of its own accord? In a new country like ours, seeing the population we had and

the scant resources at our command, was it reasonable to impose conscription, and when the war was over and peace concluded to turn those young men into political victims?

It is not my intention at present to discuss the Treaty of Peace. When the resolution submitted by the Prime Minister is brought anew before the House I shall make whatever reservations may seem necessary.

At the last session the Union Government appointed a commission to inquire into the high cost of living, that is, to try and reach the profiteers. As the leader of the Opposition said a few moments ago, it is the same with this commission as with every other commission which the Government created; do-nothing commissions. Meanwhile, people are starving to death and the cold storage plants are filled with supplies of every kind.

The people must not expect any compassion on the part of the Government since the ministers are profiteers. The king of the profiteers belongs to the Government. It is a heartless and pitiless Administration which ignores the sufferings of the people. Most of its members stalk proudly in gorgeous mansions, drive in motor cars bought at the public expense. Meanwhile, the working man, his family and children are starving to death.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska). (Translation): There is no prohibition for them.

Mr. d'ANJOU. (Translation): No prohibition for them whatever.

Well, Sir, I hope that ere long this Government will decide to appear before the public. I hope that they shall once muster enough courage to face the electorate and to account for their charge; and I am sure that they will get a hot reception; that, not only in Quebec, but in every other province the Unionist candidates will be cheered by the defaulters who are to leave jail. I can assure them they will receive a sound thrashing, and they will have richly deserved it, for, as I say, it is not these young men who are the culprits, but the Prime Minister and all the ministers, even those who signed the Treaty of Peace.

I shall rest with that. I am anxious to raise my voice at this moment so as to protest, as I said at the beginning, against the Government for having, even at this very session, ignored the French language and the rights of a most important section of the country. I felt it to be my duty towards the province of Quebec and towards the constituency I have the honour of representing in this House. My opinion is that under all circumstances a member, conscious of his mission, who has at heart the interests of his race, of his language, and who wishes to have them respected should not hesitate to stand up and to protest emphatically against the infringement of those rights; and I am sure that in so doing I shall secure the approval of my constituents, and that the province of Quebec will also uphold me.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at six p.m.

Friday, September 5, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEES.

LIST OF MEMBERS COMPOSING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. W. S. MIDDLEBRO (North Grey) presented the following report of the special committee appointed to prepare and report, with all convenient speed, lists of members to compose the Select Standing Committees of the House during the present session:

No. 1.

ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS.

Messieurs

Armstrong (York),
Blake,
Boys,
Buchanan,
Bureau,
Cannon,
Copp,
Crothers,
Davidson,
Demers,
Devlin,
Doherty,
Douglas (Strathcona),
Fripp,
Guthrie,
Jacobs,
Keefer,
Lapointe (Kamouraska),
Lemieux,
McCoig,
McIntosh,
McKenzie,
McMaster,
Meighen,
Mowat,
Porter,
Sifton,
Tweedie, and
Vien.—29.

No. 2.

ON RAILWAYS, CANALS AND TELEGRAPH LINES.

Messieurs

Allan,
Ames (Sir Herbert),
Anderson,
Andrews,
Archambault,
Armstrong (Lambton),
Arthurs,
Ballantyne,
Béland,
Blair,
Bolton,
Bonnell,
Boyer,
Lapointe (Kamouraska),
Lapointe (St. James),
Lavigueur,
Leduc,
Lemieux,
Lesage,
Long,
Mackie (Edmonton),
Mackie (Renfrew),
Maclean (York),
MacNutt,
McCoig,

Boys,
Bristol,
Buchanan,
Bureau,
Cahill,
Calder,
Campbell,
Cannon,
Casgrain,
Chabot,
Charlton,
Clark (*Red Deer*),
Clements,
Cochrane,
Cockshutt,
Cooper,
Copp,
Crowe,
Cruise,
Currie,
d'Anjou,
Davidson,
Davis,
Déchêne,
Delisle,
Devlin,
Doherty,
Douglas (*Cape Breton*),
Douglas (*Strathcona*),
Edwards,
Elkin,
Ethier,
Fafard,
Fielding,
Fontaine,
Fournier,
Fraser,
Fripp,
Guthrie,
Harold,
Harrison,
Hay,
Henders,
Hepburn,
Hocken,
Hughes (Sir Sam),
Kay,
Keefer,
Lalor,
Lanctôt,
McCrea,
McCurdy,
McGregor,
McLean (*Royal*),
McLeod,
McQuarrie,
Maharg,
Manion,
Marcile (*Bagot*),
Marshall,
Martin,
Merner,
Mewburn,
Middlebro,
Molloy,
Morphy,
Mowat,
Murphy,
Myers,
Nesbitt,
Nicholson (*Algoma*),
Nicholson (*Queens*),
Pardee,
Parent,
Pelletier,
Porter,
Power,
Reid (*Grenville*),
Reid (*Mackenzie*),
Richardson,
Ross,
Savard,
Séguin,
Shaw,
Sheard,
Simpson,
Smith,
Stevens,
Stewart (*Hamilton*),
Stewart (*Lanark*),
Sutherland,
Thompson (*Weyburn*),
Thomson (*Qu'Appelle*),
Trahan,
Tudhope,
Vien,
Wallace,
Wilson (*Saskatoon*),
Wilson (*Wentworth*) and
Wright.—125.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of twenty-five members.

No. 3.

ON MISCELLANEOUS PRIVATE BILLS.

Messieurs

Ames (Sir Herbert),
Anderson,
Armstrong (*York*),
Ballantyne,
Ball,
Blair,
Blake,
Bourassa,
Boyer,
Boys,
Brien,
Bureau,
Butts,
Casselman,
Charters,
Cronyn,
Douglas (*Cape Breton*)
DuTremblay,
Ethier,
Hocken,
Kennedy,
Lafortune,
Mackie (*Renfrew*),
McGibbon (*Muskoka*),
McLean (*Royal*),
McLeod,
Marcil (*Bonaventure*),
Martin,
Pacaud,
Papineau,
Pardee,
Parent,
Paul,
Peck,
Pedlow,
Power,
Prévost,
Proulx,
Euler,
Fortier,
Foster (*York*),
Fraser,
Fripp,
Fulton,
Gauthier,
Glass,
Green,
Guthrie,
Harrison,
Hepburn,
Reid (*Grenville*),
Richardson,
Robb,
Rowell,
Scott,
Sifton,
Steele,
Stewart (*Lanark*),
Thompson (*Hastings*),
Tobin, and
Wigmore.—61.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of ten members.

No. 4.

ON STANDING ORDERS.

Messieurs

Armstrong (*Lambton*),
Brien,
Burrell,
Butts,
Chabot,
Clarke (*Wellington*),
Cruise,
Deslauriers,
Doherty,
Duff,
Euler,
Gervais,
Griesbach,
Hartt,
Hepburn,
Kemp (Sir Edward),
Maclean (*York*),
MacNutt,
McGibbon (*Argenteuil*)
McGibbon (*Muskoka*),
McIsaac,
Marcile (*Bagot*),
Mayrand,
Michaud,
Mowat,
Paul,
Séguin,
Stacey,
Turgeon,
Verville,
Wallace,
White (Sir Thomas) and
Wigmore.—33.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of seven members.

No. 5.

ON PRINTING.

Messieurs

Bowman,
Brouillard,
Buchanan,
Burnham,
Cardin,
Charters,
Clark (*Bruce*),
Clarke (*Wellington*),
Crowe,
Currie,
Fontaine,
Hocken,
Hughes (Sir Sam),
Keefer,
Maclean (*Halifax*),
Michaud,
Murphy,
Prévost,
Reid (*Mackenzie*),
Richardson,
Shaw,
Verville,
White (*Victoria*),
Wilson (*Wentworth*) and
Wright.—25.

No. 6.

ON PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Messieurs

Andrews,
Archambault,
Ball,
Best,
Bonnell,
Boys,
Calder,
Cannon,
Chaplin,
Chisholm,
Copp,
Crerar,
Crothers,
McGregor,
McIsaac,
McMaster,
Maharg,
Meighen,
Merner,
Mewburn,
Michaud,
Middlebro,
Morphy,
Murphy,
Parent,
Proulx,

Crowe,
Davidson,
Demers,
Devlin,
Duff,
Edwards,
Fripp,
Fulton,
Gauvreau,
Green,
Griesbach,
Jacobs,
Kemp (Sir Edward).
Lapointe (*Kamouraska*)
Mackie (*Renfrew*),
Maclean (*Halifax*),
McCoig,
McCrea,
Redman,
Reid (*Grenville*),
Ross,
Scott,
Sheard,
Sifton,
Simpson,
Sinclair (*Antigonish*),
Spinney,
Thomson (*Qu'Appelle*),
Tobin,
Tremain,
Tudhope,
Tweedie,
Verville.
Vien,
White (Sir Thomas) and
Wigmore.—62.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of twenty-one members.

No. 7.

ON BANKING AND COMMERCE.

Messieurs

Allan,
Ames (Sir Herbert),
Argue,
Baldwin,
Best,
Bristol,
Burnham,
Calder,
Cardin,
Casgrain,
Chaplin,
Charlton,
Clark (*Red Deer*),
Clements,
Cockshutt,
Cowan,
Crerar,
Cronyn,
Currie,
d'Anjou,
Davis,
Déchêne,
Demers,
Denis,
Desaulniers,
Deslauriers,
Douglas (*Strathcona*),
DuTremblay,
Edwards,
Elkin,
Fielding,
Finley,
Fortier,
Foster (Sir George),
Foster (*York*),
Gauthier,
Gladu,
Glass,
Halladay,
Henders,
Hunt,
Jacobs,
Johnston,
Kay,
Kemp (Sir Edward),
Kennedy,
Lang,
Lavigueur,
Leduc,
Léger,
Lemieux,
Lesage,
Loggie,
Maclean (*Halifax*),
McCurdy,
McMaster,
McQuarrie,
Marshall,
Meighen,
Middlebro,
Molloy,
Nesbitt,
Pacaud,
Papineau,
Pardee,
Peck,
Pedlow,
Porter,
Redman,
Ross,
Sexsmith,
Sinclair (*Antigonish*),
Steele,
Stevens,
Stewart (*Hamilton*),
Sutherland,
Thompson (*Yukon*),
Tobin,
Trahan,
Tremain,
Tweedie,
Whidden,
White (Sir Thomas) and
Wilson (*Saskatoon*).—84

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of twenty-one members.

No. 8.

ON AGRICULTURE AND COLONIZATION.

Messieurs

Allan,
Anderson,
Argue,
Mackie (*Edmonton*),
Mackie (*Renfrew*),
Maclean (*York*),
Armstrong (*York*),
Armstrong (*Lambton*),
Arthurs,
Baldwin,
Ball,
Best,
Blair,
Bolton,
Bourassa,
Bowman,
Boyce,
Brien,
Brouillard,
Burrell,
Cahill,
Casgrain,
Casselman,
Charters,
Chisholm,
Clark (*Red Deer*),
Clarke (*Wellington*),
Cowan,
Crerar,
Cruise,
Davis,
Delisle,
Denis,
Desaulniers,
Douglas (*Strathcona*),
Edwards,
Finley,
Fournier,
Fulton,
Gervais,
Glass,
Halladay,
Harold,
Hay,
Henders,
Hughes (Sir Sam),
Johnston,
Hunt,
Kay,
Knox,
Lafortune,
Lanctôt,
Lang,
Léger,
Long,
MacNutt,
McCoig,
McCrea,
McCurdy,
McGibbon (*Argenteuil*)
McGibbon (*Muskoka*),
McGregor,
McIntosh,
McIsaac,
McLean (*Royal*),
Maharg,
Marcile (*Bagot*),
Marshall,
Mayrand,
Merner,
Molloy,
Morphy,
Myers,
Nicholson (*Algoma*),
Nicholson (*Queens*),
Paul,
Proulx,
Reid (*Mackenzie*),
Robb,
Savard,
Séguin,
Sexsmith,
Shaw,
Sifton,
Simpson,
Sinclair (*Antigonish*),
Sinclair (*Queens, P.E.I*)
Smith,
Spinney,
Stacey,
Steele,
Sutherland,
Thompson (*Hastings*),
Thompson (*Weyburn*),
Thompson (*Yukon*),
Thomson (*Qu'Appelle*),
Tremain,
Truax,
Wallace,
Whidden,
White (*Victoria*),
Wilson (*Wentworth*) and
Wright.—103.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of twelve members.

No. 9.

ON MARINE AND FISHERIES.

Messieurs

Ballantyne,
Butts,
Cardin,
Chisholm,
Clark (*Bruce*),
Clements,
Duff,
Fielding,
Gauvreau,
Gladu,
Hartt,
Hay,
Lang,
Lapointe (*St. James*),
Léger,
Loggie,
Manion,
Martin,
Munson,
McIntosh,
McKenzie,
McQuarrie,
Nicholson (*Queens*),
Pelletier,
Rowell,
Sinclair (*Antigonish*),
Sinclair (*Queens, P.E.I*)
Spinney,
Trahan,
Truax,
Tudhope,
Turgeon, and
Wigmore.—34.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of ten members.

No. 10.

ON MINES AND MINERALS.

Messieurs

Arthurs,	Knox,
Blake,	Lalor,
Bolton,	Lemieux,
Bonnell,	Loggie,
Burrell,	Long,
Cahill,	Marcil (*Bonaventure*),
Campbell,	Nesbitt,
Cochrane,	Nicholson (*Algoma*),
Cockshutt,	Pacaud,
Déchêne,	Peck,
Denis,	Pelletier,
Fortier,	Prévost,
Green,	Reid (*Mackenzie*),
Griesbach,	Sexsmith,
Harrison,	Smith,
Hartt,	Thompson (*Yukon*), and
Johnston,	White (*Victoria*).—34.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of ten members.

No. 11.

ON FORESTS, WATERWAYS AND WATER-POWERS.

Messieurs

Argue,	Foster (*York*),
Baldwin,	Fraser,
Béland,	Halladay,
Bourassa,	Knox,
Bowman,	Mackie (*Edmonton*),
Boyce,	Manion,
Bureau,	Michaud,
Campbell,	Pacaud,
Casselman,	Power,
Charlton,	Redman,
Cochrane,	Stewart (*Hamilton*),
Cooper,	Thompson (*Hastings*),
Cowan,	Thompson (*Weyburn*),
Ethier,	White (*Victoria*), and
Fafard,	Wilson (*Saskatoon*).
Finley,	—31.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of ten members.

No. 12.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF DEBATES.

Messieurs

Ballantyne,	Lemieux,
Burnham,	McKenzie,
Chabot,	McLeod,
Devlin,	Marcil (*Bonaventure*),
Elkin,	Munson, and
Foster (Sir George),	Richardson.—13.
Kay,	

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of five members.

No. 13.

ON THE LIBRARY.

Messieurs

Andrews,	Harold,
Béland,	Lapointe
Borden (Sir Robert),	(*Kamouraska*),
Boyer,	Lemieux,
Chaplin,	Meighen,
Clark (*Red Deer*),	Myers,
Cooper,	Pardee,
Copp,	Rowell,
Cronyn,	Sheard, and
Crothers,	Whidden.—20.
Foster (Sir George),	

On motion of Sir Robert Borden (Prime Minister), the report was concurred in.

Sir Robert Borden moved:

That the Select Standing Committees of this House shall severally be empowered to examine and inquire into all such matters and things as may be referred to them by the House, and to report from time to time their observations and opinions thereon, with power to send for persons, papers and records, with the exception of the Committee on Debates and that on the Library of Parliament.

Motion agreed to.

THE PEACE TREATY.

FIRST READING OF BILL TO CARRY INTO EFFECT THE TREATY.

Sir Robert Borden (Prime Minister) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 3, for carrying into effect the Treaty of Peace between His Majesty and certain other Powers.

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers and St. Maurice): Explain.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: This Bill is for the purpose of carrying into effect the Peace Treaty.

Mr. BUREAU: Is this the legislation that was intended to be introduced if the resolution be passed?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Yes.

Mr. BUREAU: Or is further legislation to be introduced?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: This is the legislation.

Mr. E. B. DEVLIN (Wright): I should like to ask the Prime Minister how it happens that this Bill and the resolutions are introduced in this House at the same time that the resolution is introduced in another chamber of this Parliament. The resolution has passed the Senate and is now under discussion in this House. Can the Prime Minister give any reason why such a procedure should have been adopted? Here we have a resolution which should have originated either in this House or in the Senate. It originated in this House, I presume, and I should like to know why it has been considered by the Senate before being disposed of by this House. What is the actual state of the resolution now?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I do not know that I quite understand my hon. friend. It is perfectly competent to proceed either by joint resolution or by a separate resolution in each House. The latter course was adopted, and it is perfectly proper.

Mr. DEVLIN: When we consider the resolution shall we be sitting as a court of appeal, or as revising the action of the Senate?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am not quite sure, still, that I understand my hon. friend. The resolution before the House is for the purpose of eliciting the opinion of the House upon the Treaty. The fact that the Senate has given its opinion already does not affect the action of this House in any way.

Mr. DEVLIN: Has the Bill which my right hon. friend has just introduced already been introduced in the Senate?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Certainly not. My hon. friend's experience as a member would indicate to him that no such procedure is possible.

Mr. DEVLIN: My experience in this matter is somewhat similar to that I have had during the past few years. I had been accustomed to Acts being passed by Parliament, but my experience of late has taught me that Parliament has given place to a Cabinet, and that we now proceed in most cases by Order in Council.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I do not appreciate the relevancy of the hon. gentleman's statement, inasmuch as this Bill is now being presented to Parliament and we are not dealing with the matter by Order in Council.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

INTERPRETATION ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty (Minister of Justice), Bill No. 4 to amend the Interpretation Act, was introduced and read the first time.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH. ADDRESS IN REPLY.

Consideration of the motion of Mr. Howard Primrose Whidden for an address to His Excellency the Governor General in reply to his speech at the opening of the session, resumed from Thursday, September 4.

Mr. MARIE JOSEPH DEMERS (St. Johns and Iberville): Mr. Speaker, although I have no desire to prolong this debate unduly, there are some questions in regard to which I should like to express my views and feelings at this session. We have been told that the main purpose for which we are assembled is the ratification of the Treaty of Peace and the Covenant of the League of Nations, but it is to be hoped that before prorogation we shall realize that there is something more urgent that faces us, and that it is incumbent on us to turn our attention to other questions of greater moment and of more importance for Canada than the consideration of the Peace Treaty. When I say this, Sir, I trust there will be no misapprehension on the part of this House as to my views concerning this question. I wish it to be understood that I in no sense lack an appreciation of the great importance of the Peace Conference and the Treaty which it has evolved. The fact is quite otherwise. At the same time, however, I must say that so far as I can judge there is no reason why this Parliament should ratify the Treaty, because that ratification has already been given by the only authority in the circumstances—His Majesty the King as representing the whole British Empire to which we belong. The Imperial authorities, I am of opinion, do not see any necessity for action on the part of Canada or any other of the Dominions in order that the Peace Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations may become operative so far as the British Empire is concerned; and I think that from the international standpoint the interpretation of the Imperial Parliamentt regarding our status as it affects other nations and powers is right. For myself, coming to the conclusion that our participation in the ratification of the Treaty is unnecessary, I cannot see why we should engage in any consideration of its terms, when the only direct consequence will be to bind ourselves to military and financial undertakings in the event of the violation of the Treaty by any of the contracting parties should the League of Nations decide that action on our part is imperative. What shall we receive in return for our assumption of these obligations and responsibilities? What clause of the Treaty can apply to Canada in the future apart from the obligations I have just mentioned? What clause of the Treaty can Canada violate? We are not a great power; we are not even a small nation; and there are no clauses of protection or security in the Treaty which can apply to Canada or to the colonies or dominions of the Empire. Why, therefore, should we endeavour to be a party to this pact? I think that the best and only thing that we could do would be to refrain from any undertakings which may involve us in future obligations. It seems to me that our palpable duty is to devote ourselves entirely and exclusively to the industrial and econ-

omic reconstruction of our country without any interference in European affairs.

There is another very strong reason why this Parliament should not ratify the Treaty, and that is the unconstitutionality of such approval on our part. We are limited by the British North America Act, according to which we have no power to bind Canada to military participation beyond our own territory, except for its own defence; and we are seeking to so bind Canada when we undertake to ratify the Treaty. It is not necessary to discuss this question at any great length. It seems to me that the mere enunciation of it is sufficient to show the soundness of the proposition that we have no power to bind this Dominion to participation in military matters outside our own territory. It is true that the Prime Minister on Tuesday told us that Canada had acquired a new international status since the Peace Conference. But, Sir, I should like to know what changes were brought about. I should like to know if our constitutional relations with Great Britain have been affected by the Treaty, and, if so, what the changes are. I am convinced, Mr. Speaker, that we have absolutely no power to assume such obligations as are proposed in the Peace Treaty, and particularly in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and that in so assuming them we shall be violating the provisions of the Constitution that governs us. It is not within our power to alter the Constitution which we have received from the Imperial Parliament, and without hesitation I express the sincere opinion that we should not ratify the Peace Treaty, or, at any rate, that we should not enter the League of Nations. We are not a nation in the international sense of the word. Consequently, we have no power to assume the obligations of a nation any more than we can enjoy the rights, powers and privileges of a nation. If ever a war happens in which the great principles of justice and humanity are at stake, I am sure that we will be ready to give our voluntary participation as we have in the past. Why should we tie our hands and not keep our liberty when our international influence is so lightly thought of that the Imperial authorities would have forgotten us had it not been for the strong representations made by the Prime Minister? Why should we insist under the circumstances upon taking part in a treaty by which we are assuming unlimited responsibilities without any compensation? For myself I am very much inclined to vote against the Treaty because the Treaty contains the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Now, I am coming to a most important subject which should, above all, occupy public attention at the present time—the cost of living. The general unrest in this country is, in great measure, the result of the high cost of living. We cannot expect any improvement in the situation unless we apply the necessary remedy. As long as the situation remains unchanged there will be strikes and trouble. We can settle a strike to-day by meeting the demands of the workmen for higher wages but the strike will be renewed as soon as the prices of foodstuffs and the necessaries of life are increased. There is no justification for such steady increases. There is no justification for the high cost of living. The speculators and the profiteers are according to my opinion, mainly responsible for the trouble and it is the duty of this Government and of this Parliament to put an end to their criminal extortions. In my opinion the cold storage is directly responsible for the terrible situation in which we find ourselves. The Government should see to it that the accumulation of food is made for the benefit of the public and not to its prejudices. The prices of foodstuffs are controlled by the cold storages and in an arbitrary manner. They constitute a monopoly of which they are taking reprehensible advantage. It is simply shameful. If this Government has any intention of avoiding crime, disorder or revolution it is time, if indeed it is not too late, drastic measures should be taken. The hon. the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Ballantyne) answering a question during the last session of Parliament, as to what was the intention of the Government concerning the cost of living, told the House that the Government was to build a large cold storage. This, Mr. Speaker, was an admission on his part that cold storages are largely concerned in the matter of the cost of living. If so, instead of building cold storages, why not take possession of those existing and then accumulate foodstuffs for the benefit of the people? I do not see any good reason for not doing so. This Government should have long ago taken the necessary steps to fight the enemy. In England, in France, and in the United States the fight has been on for many months and the results which have been secured are absolutely satisfactory. Practically nothing has been done in this country yet. It is true the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) gave figures

to this House in order to prove that the prices of certain goods were about the same in Canada as in the United States, but I do not think that the people of this country will be satisfied or that they will feel that they should keep still because the Prime Minister has shown that the profiteers in the United States are making 100 per cent when the profiteers in Canada are making only 99 per cent.

The time for investigation has passed. Deeds are needed: First of all, in my humble opinion, the Government should exercise a strict control over our exports, taking as their motto "Charity begins at home." There should be some action taken for the vigorous repression of monopoly and for the punishment of the profiteers. There should be absolute control of the cold storages, regulating them and compelling the owners to make public the cost prices of the goods stored up, and there should be an exercise by the Government of their right to sell the excess of food in these cold storages. There should be the removal of the tariff duties on all food stuffs and necessaries of life. There should also perhaps be established public stores where foodstuffs will be sold at a necessary profit to cover the cost of administration. This would be a great factor in the lowering of prices; it has proved to be workable and very efficient in some other countries. Such are the ways and means to solve the problem, and I think if this policy were strictly enforced in Canada considerable general relief would very soon result. Reducing the cost of living is the problem that confronts us. The future of this country depends on the proper solution of the problem, and it is the duty of the Government to devote its whole energies for a while at least, to that object.

There is another question to which I desire for a few moments to draw the attention of the House and of the Government, namely, the question of what action should be taken in regard to deserters and defaulters under the Military Service Act. Last session I took the opportunity of expressing my views on this very important subject, but I deem it to be my duty to again return to the charge and to once more impress upon the Government the necessity of enacting a law under which a general amnesty will be extended to these men. Let me give the reasons for my conviction that the passage of a law to afford such relief would be wise and proper. The infringements of the Military Service Act were numerous in many parts of Canada, and

I do not think we should be surprised at that when we remember that there was an absolute want of education of the public in regard to military service. Our population was not prepared to face conscription. Not only was there a complete lack of education of the people, but the idea of conscription was at first deliberately thrust into the background. In the next place, promises were made to a certain element of the population that they would not be made subject to conscription, and reasons were given as to the necessity for pursuing such a course. Furthermore, an Order in Council was passed in December, 1917, giving countenance to promises along those lines made by parliamentary candidates to their electors. Even the Prime Minister himself, speaking in this House in 1916, pointed out that compulsory military service was not to be contemplated in this country; and in February, 1917, one of the ministers of the Crown was elected in Dorchester as an anti-conscriptionist. That is the kind of education that was given to our young men with respect to compulsory military service, and under the circumstances is it surprising that so many of them were refractory to the law? Mr. Speaker, it should be remembered that the establishment of conscription was a very serious problem even in some countries more directly concerned with the questions at issue than Canada. The problem was only solved after a well-organized campaign of education of one or two years' duration and after the peril which threatened was fully realized for certain reasons that were not applicable to Canada. Moreover, in approaching this question, we must bear in mind that certain countries intend to proclaim amnesties to defaulters, although in those countries compulsory military service has existed for years. How much more necessary is it to adopt such a policy in a country like this, where the people had not the slightest idea of military service? I do not want to consider the various reasons why a general amnesty is necessary in Canada—for instance, the necessity of maintaining and enhancing production, which will not be realized if the Government continues to put all the young farmers in jail, as they are doing now, and the necessity of maintaining the peaceful industry where there is such a state of unrest, and so on. The actual and only result of the application of the Military Service Act to-day, as far as the defaulters are concerned, is that the poor are going to jail and staying there, whereas they should be at work in order to maintain themselves and families.

On the other hand, the rich are in a different position. They have their liberty. The poor man cannot pay the fine of $250 and is sent to jail each time he is called to account, and the lamentable fact is that the great majority of them are farmers. I ask the Government to take these facts into consideration, for it is not yet too late. I maintain that politics were responsible for the resistance which was shown to the Military Service Act in certain quarters. Such being the case, I say it is the duty of the Government to at least be merciful and to extend forgiveness to those who have erred against the law. I am sure that such action would be appreciated and that it would very much help in restoring our country to its normal condition. Mr. Speaker, I do not think I can close my remarks in a more appropriate way than by quoting the observations of General Smuts the other day in respect to the late General Botha:

> He returned to South Africa more than ever convinced that salvation and healing would only be found in a new spirit of humanity and in forgiving and forgetting old differences and wrongs.

Mr. W. K. BALDWIN (Stanstead): Mr. Speaker, it would seem to me that the leader of the Government has summoned the House as a result of what I would call "a half-cocked idea." Members have now been here five days, we are beginning the fourth sitting of this Parliament, and by reason of its demands the Printing Bureau is running night and day at high tension. The only conclusion to be drawn is that, for some reason or other, men of long experience have forgotten the preliminary work which is essential in connection with the calling of Parliament. The leader of the Government, with several of his ministers, has been overseas for the greater part of nine months. Whether they were summoned to Paris or went there on their own initiative we are not aware, but we do know that their work at the Peace Conference in the outer guard was infinitesimally small. While the Peace Conference was in session the legislators of this country were doing business at the old stand with a superabundance of Cabinet ministers. It was rumoured last winter that some of the delegates who went from Canada to the Peace Conference were going to the island of Prinkipo. It would not have bothered us had they gone there to hold a conference with the ancient cannibalistic tribes of the Orient.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: Amphibiological.

Mr. BALDWIN: It would not have troubled us, I say, because of the superabundance of ministers who were here to carry on the work of this country and squander the people's money. They were here under the leadership of the late Finance Minister, a man of noble bearing, fine character and good deportment. But yet he got rankled, he talked about dirty babies, he turned on the thumbscrew of the closure, he muzzled the Opposition, and then he and the other ministers went on at their own sweet will and put upon this country that great octopus, the railroads. That not being enough, they introduced a housing scheme to build houses for people too indolent to help themselves. Then they had a Good Roads scheme, but the provinces were not organized to receive the money and had no way to expend it properly. Not only that, but they multiplied expenses by putting upon the country a double portion of the Northwest Mounted Police——that excellent body which we have had for so many years—at a time when they had seen fit not to let any more people come to this land. And they have doubled the standing army. How did that co-ordinate with the action of our emissaries at the Peace Conference—a conference which directed all its energies towards rendering future wars utterly impossible. History has told us that any country that organizes a military machine goes on enlarging and perfecting it until at last an excuse is found to declare war. We do not want that condition of affairs in Canada.

Last session we were told time and again that we did not know our mind on the Good Roads question, the railroad question, or any other question; but after the closure was invoked we thought in the name of conscience we had better keep our seats than have the muzzle put upon us. I do not wish to repeat what the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) and the hon. member for St. Johns and Iberville (Mr. Demers) have said. We know that the Government has put a ponderous load upon this country, and that the leader of the Government last session reached the end of his tether in trying to find money to pay interest upon the stupendous debt and to meet our maturing notes. By the fore part of August there was one hundred million dollars due, and it was paid by that legerdemain finance that says: We have got to renew our notes. As a result our securities instead of standing at par have dropped to about ninety-five. We

cautioned them against that condition of affairs, but it was of no use. Therefore I I say that the superabundance of ministers that remained in Canada plunged the country into the condition in which it is to-day.

If you must have that great military machine in Canada I would say: take the criminals from the jails and penitentiaries and gather up the loafers of every description and put them on the public works under the care of this standing army, and so put it to some use. We do not want to feed men in this country three meals a day and clothe them and keep them indolent. Let them loose and give our soldiers something to do. But we object to such an army. We say it is not consistent with the attitude of our emissaries who went abroad to build up the peace of the world. Instead we are building up a machine for "a glorious war." You cannot help it, Mr. Speaker, for when you build up a great military machine, it must give vent just as when you put a fire under a boiler. Glorious war! War cannot be glorious and never was glorious. We do not want another war, and we will not have another war if we can help it. We are not jealous of our emissaries, because they do not have much power. We take pride in the great President of the United States who formulated those articles of peace for a League of Nations. We believe that if the best part of the world—seven-eighths of it—comes into a league to guarantee the peace of the world, there can be no war, because seven-eighths of all the resources of the world will be bound together by such close ties that no nation can venture to embark on war without its preparations being nipped in the bud. We understand that in general everybody wants everlasting peace, a peace that is abundant and abiding for all time.

But what do we think of the motives in calling this House together? Let me say that those motives are not very good. We believe that we are called here for another trap. We were called "traitors" in 1911, we were called "rebels" in 1917, and we have been good students, and should be good Bolsheviki now! Why, we have seen headlines in the papers as to the dissolution of Parliament, and I believe that the Prime Minister himself has uttered the word. My conclusion is that he wants to bring an election upon this country or he would not be threatening dissolution. It is an appalling state of affairs for the Government to get the country into, to talk of dissolution at a time when we are facing cold business facts in the administration of this country. It is abominable. The man who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind. When the Prime Minister was putting conscription before the country he said he would rather face the conscriptionists than face the returned soldiers. Now he stands between the devil and the deep blue sea. Let me make a comparison between our soldiers and the two million returned American soldiers. I can speak advisedly because I have a son in the American army. When they returned to the United States they had a paltry sixty dollars handed over to them and were transported to the place where they were enlisted. I said to my son: "Did you see in New York, Minneapolis, Chicago, or anywhere else, an aggregation of soldiers?" "No, I did not." He said: "It took more than sixty dollars to get the barest of an outfit."

I said a moment ago that we are appropriating money without any specific system to get "value received" for that money. Last week the United States Government appropriated $50,000 to link up with a proper piece of road two little villages about fifteen miles south of the boundary line—$50,000 to make a permanent road, through a sand-bank; they are even going to rubble the ditches so that the road-work cannot be washed out. They do things over there; they are offering the soldiers work and they are paying them for it. They do not simply pay their soldiers a flat rate equivalent to three, six or nine months' pay on discharge as is done in this counrty. But we do not do things as our neighbours to the south do. Besides, they have the money. This country is facing financial ruin; there is no question about it.

I have sat in this House for two sessions and I have seen that gentlemen on the other side are adamant when it comes to accepting any suggestions made by members on this side. The member for Renfrew (Mr. Pedlow) has introduced his Bill respecting Thanksgiving Day. I said to him: "I congratulate you upon that Bill; if it passes, it will be the first Bill emanating from this side of the House to which the Union Government has paid any attention." I come to this House with the intention of doing something in a progressive way. I have often desired to present a Bill on a given subject, but there is no use; I have seen that everything is turned down. Let me tell you right here that we have put the brakes on you people. We have tried to do things, but it is utterly impossible for us to accomplish anything. And now your members are resigning; you are

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replacing your ministers; you cannot stand the pressure. You want an election so that you can get a new mandate from the people to go on with your maladministration—either that, or you want somebody else to take the reins of power, because of the deplorable condition in which our country is at the present time. You are willing to spend money for anything under the sun except for that which is necessary—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I must ask the hon. member to address the Chair.

Mr. BALDWIN: Mr. Speaker, I apologize. I have said that we are building up a grand military machine in this country. While our peace emissaries were abroad working in co-operation with that conclave of men who were engaged in formulating the conditions of a world peace, we were building up a grand military machine, looking to a glorious war some day. But has there ever been a glorious war in the history of the world? No. War is destruction; war is murder; war is hell. Wars have destroyed the substance of this world; wars have destroyed the people of this world. During the great war, between eight and nine millions of people were killed. Thousands of people have died of broken hearts. Many fathers and mothers are now weeping for their dead; widows and children are sorrowful and in despair; tens of thousands of girls in this world will never be loved. And can we say that war is a justifiable thing? Why should we build up a military machine in this country, bounded, as we are, on three sides by broad oceans and on the south by that great and peaceable power, United States, the better element of the population of which is located along our borders? Should we build up a machine which has for its purpose the destruction of humanity? No, we should not, nor is it necessary that we should do so. We should reduce the standing army to the lowest possible number consistent with the safety of our country. The men who went overseas fought and died in order that peace might prevail and war be done away with. Let us carry out the ideals for which these men strove; let us not waste the money of this country by building up an expensive military machine.

I have said some things about the financial condition of the country. I have pointed out the deplorable state that we are in, and I have asserted that this Government cannot face its obligations; that its members are resigning, and that the Administration intends to spring an election on the country. I believe that is what this session was called for, but we on this side of the House are too shrewd to put our foot into your trap. At any rate, that is my opinion.

The Prince of Wales has been touring this country. His words have been magnificent; he is winning the hearts of the people. As he goes from place to place he grows in the estimation of the people of Canada because he evidences a democratic spirit. He shows that he feels for humanity and that he longs for the peace of the world; his is the heart of Abraham Lincoln and of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Never in all the history of Canada has a Government had such an opportunity of doing something for the people as it has to-day—the opportunity of carrying out the ideals to which our future King has so nobly given expression.

Persecution has gone on long enough in this country. When the League of Nations becomes operative I believe that there will be no more war; the great powers and nations of the earth will be united to prevent it. Then there will be no need for conscription; there will be no need for compelling people to engage in war; there will be no need for the employment of harsh measures. In order to liken the presence of the Prince of Wales in this country to the passing over our land of the Prince of Peace, we should declare an amnesty in respect of those young men who have been imprisoned for no further fault than that of being ignorant of the law and not doing the things that the State required of them. Where no act of violence has been committed, where the peace has not been disturbed, where there has been no treason or sedition, there should be an opening of the prison bars and a releasing of those who have been detained for committing no further crime than that of neglecting to come forward and go to war.

In the province from which I come the people believe in peace, harmony and happiness. The province of Quebec has saved the Dominion of Canada two or three times; she is saving it and has been saving it for the past six months. Her people have been doing what honourable, industrious and upright people should do; they have been sticking to industry; they have been working. We can prove that, because the capitalists of Canada and United States have their eyes on the province of Quebec as a safe place to invest their money; in that province there are no uprisings and no strikes. I repeat that it would be a splendid

consummation of the visit of the Prince of Wales to our country if the hearts of those who have the Government of the country in charge could go out towards these young men to whom I have referred. This is an age of democracy, an age when people are willing to live and let live. That principle was never better exemplified than it was when the Prince said: "Let the people come forward who have done the dirty work." The Prince has not been hobnobbing with the classes; he waits upon the blind, the afflicted, the troubled, the weak and the downtrodden. Let the Government, therefore, on the recommendation of its Minister of Justice, release from bondage these captives in our jails and prisons. Let them stop persecuting these young men in the back settlements and bringing them from distances of hundreds of miles at great expense, thereby breaking the hearts of their parents and relatives. When a man is apprehended in this way some one who has worked hard to make a few hundred dollars has to go down to the jail and pay the fine—simply because of the hard-heartedness of the Government.

Is the United States Government persecuting the young men over there who made mistakes? No, it is giving them a square deal; it recognizes that all men are human and fallible, and I plead with this Government also to do what is just and right. Let the Government turn right about face and do what is democratic and just and honest, for their day of reckoning is at hand.

Mr. FRANK S. CAHILL (Pontiac): Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of my privilege to speak on the Address to draw the attention of the Government to a matter which I think is of paramount importance to the people of this country, and that is the question of international transportation. I have a couple of letters here from two of my constituents complaining of the shortage of cars. The first one is from Amos, in the Abitibi district, and reads as follows:

> I would ask you to kindly lay before the proper department the situation at present existing at Amos with regard to shipping the lumber which we manufacture. I am one of the small lumber merchants here. I manufacture about three hundred carloads per year and so far this year I have only been able to ship twenty-five cars since April.

The other letter is along much the same line; it is from a larger shipper who is unable to get cars. Following up their requests, I called on the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals and received the following reply:

> I am now in receipt of advice that if the cars were for Canadian destination, there should be no difficulty in obtaining a reasonable supply, but that if the destination is to points in the United States, the difficulty is possibly due to general shortage of American railway owned cars, which exists all over the territory. You will understand that on account of the large excess of Canadian owned cars in the United States it is not considered advisable to continue loading Canadian owned cars to that territory.

Mr. Speaker, this is a matter that should receive the serious consideration of the Government. It is a question that should interest the Department of Trade and Commerce, the Department of Colonization, the Department of Railways, and the Department of Finance. The Transcontinental railway runs through a timber country, practically speaking, which is being settled by prospective farmers who first take out the pulpwood and the lumber. The whole investment is dependent on the transportation facilities afforded to the settlers, and owing to the lack of cars they are unable to take out what is their crop—the lumber and the pulpwood. The statement I have read, that it is impossible to ship Canadian cars over the boundary, is not a new one. This difficulty has confronted the shippers of Canada for some time and has been particularly acute within the last two years. This Government is lending money to foreign countries in order to find an outlet for our manufactured goods and finance our export trade, and surely it could arrive at some arrangement with the United States whereby an exchange of cars could be effected on a basis that would be satisfactory to both nations. These men are unable to ship their lumber simply because the Canadian Government has been unable to make an arrangement with the United States Government for an exchange of cars. There should be very little difficulty in making such an arrangement, especially in view of the fact that the American Government has control of the entire transportation system of that country. If we hope to improve the exchange situation between the two countries and secure a more favourable trade balance we must ship our products to the United States, and our principal products include pulpwood, lumber and hay. If the Government are unable to make an arrangement with the United States for the exchange of cars I would consider them incapable of promoting the export and import business of this country.

The Department of Colonization should also be interested in this matter, because the Quebec Government are colonizing along the line of railway owned by the Dominion

Government. I drew this matter to the attention of the Minister of Colonization last year, and I had hoped he would have taken some note of it and investigated the conditions, but I am sorry to say that he has done no such thing. I also brought the matter before the Department of Railways and Canals, but got very little response. We have an investment in that railroad which the present Government tells us amounts to something like $100,000 a mile; we have settlers in that district to the number of twelve thousand or more, and yet we are told that it is impossible to transport the products of that territory over this railway which cost us over $100,000 a mile. Surely there must be bad management somewhere, and the bad management is quite evident when you travel through that country.

I am not going to move an amendment to the Address, but I do sincerely trust that the Government will take into consideration the matter of an early arrangement with the United States Government whereby our products can be shipped to that country either in Canadian or American cars.

Sir GEORGE E. FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce): The hon. gentleman (Mr. Cahill) has put a perfectly proper case before the House and the Government in the interests of his constituents in that part of the country. It is an old question, as he will find when he commences to follow it up with the different departments. The exchange of cars between two countries situated like the United States and ours is a matter of great necessity and of the utmost convenience, but it is not so easy to effect as might seem at first sight. There have been times when we have had from ten to twenty thousand cars over on the other side in the service of the United States railways, in comparison with a much smaller number of United States cars on this side of the line. A railroad is, of course, very materially interested in having in the first place, its own cars at its disposal for freights within its own country, and it is but reasonable to expect it to put forth every effort to that end. The Government is interested in international trade, particularly in our resources which find a market in the United States and help to bring money into this country, and so stabilize to that extent the exchange situation or prevent it from becoming more adverse. Both Dominion and Provincial Governments are interested in colonizing portions of our country which are becoming gradually opened up, and I can assure my hon. friend that there is no criminal intent, and not even any neglect, which can properly be charged either to the railway companies or to the Government in this matter.

The difficulty is to retain the proper proportion as between our own country and the United States, and under the congestions which have been prominent and continual during the war, and which are so continuing to a great extent at the present time, it is one of the most difficult problems in the world to equalize that interchange. My hon. friend will see that if we send three hundred cars up into that district, load them with pulp wood, and send them to the United States, and then find that we cannot get them back for five, six, seven, eight, nine or even twelve months, we are diminishing to that extent the number of our cars that are utilizable and are necessary in our own country to carry our own products. So that it is a measure of caution that the railways must take to prevent as many of their cars as possible from going to the United States over the proportion that we have of their cars in this country. We are taking a great deal of stuff down into the United States and are much interested in doing so. I will bring the matter to the attention of my colleague, the Minister of Railways, and can assure my hon. friend that it will receive the attention which it deserves, and that any possible remedy that can be had will be applied; because it is greatly in the interests of the railway company and of the country that it should be.

Mr. J. E. FONTAINE (Hull) (Translation): Mr. Speaker, allow me at the outset, to tender my tribute of congratulations to the mover and seconder of the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne.

It required no small measure of cleverness and imagination to expatiate at such length and so cleverly as they have done, with such a meagre and limited subject to draw upon as the Speech placed by the Government in the mouth of His Excellency.

It is gratifying to find that the opening of the session synchronises with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

On several occasions, Canada has tendered a cordial welcome to members of the royal family. Twice already, Princes of Wales have visited Canada, and there was as much gratitude as loyalty in the cordiality of the reception tendered them; but none of those royal visitors have, I believe, won the esteem and heart of Canadians in

such a degree as the young and sympathetic prince whose democratic tastes have appealed to the whole Empire.

Therefore he was cheered by the people wherever he went. In our own city of Hull, which he honoured with his visit, I never witnessed such enthusiasm among the people. But he actually won the hearts of my fellow citizens when he replied in French to the address which was presented to him by the mayor of the city. We have heard so often politicians say and so often read in the newspapers that there should be but one language in Canada; we have witnessed so many endeavours on the part of lodges to deprive us of the privilege of having our own schools, that it is comforting and bids well for the future to hear our future sovereign address us in our beautiful French language. Because he recognizes that labour is a necessary factor and that the worker should be treated as well as the capitalists, he accepted the invitation which had been made to him by the president of the Labour Association of Hull to pay them a visit where they assembled for the Labour Day celebration.

Mr. Speaker, such are the facts with which our population was much pleased and it is with regret that we saw His Royal Highness leave us. Long life to him!

The only thing mentioned in the speech from the Throne is the ratification of the Peace Treaty which was signed at Versailles. I do not intend to discuss the subject at great length; let others, who are possessed of more experience than I am, criticise this Treaty, but anyway, even if if were not ratified by the Parliament of this country, what would be the result? Would the treaty be nullified as regards the allied nations? Certainly not. Would it be nullified as regards the British Empire of which Canada is a part? I say: No. Would it cancel obligations imposed upon Great Britain of which we are a colony? I contend that would be ridiculous. Therefore we are going through a mere technicality. If that be so what was the the use of calling a special session, of taking hon. members away from their activities in private life, and of spending a million dollars to cover the cost of this session, since the Government would not deal with any other legislature as stated in the speech from the Throne. However, it seems to me that there are many more matters which require our attention. What about the reconstruction scheme which the Government had promised? What are they doing in behalf of agriculture, which is the basis of our national development and wealth? What assistance is being extended to the farmers? They are compelled to pay duties amounting to twenty-five and even thirty-five per cent on agricultural implements which they require to cultivate the soil; they have no access to the American markets, because they are denied reciprocity, which would increase their returns. Is the Government doing anything for the returned soldiers? We owe a debt to these gallant men. The Government made all kinds of promises and now they pay no attention to them. What is being done for the labouring class, which has to bear all the burden of the taxes? Nothing is granted the workers; not only that but the Government put them in jail when they happen to strike in order to secure living wages. Meanwhile, they allow the trusts and profiteers to accumulate wealth and to pay dividends of one hundred and two hundred per cent, as was shown during the inquiry held by the Public Accounts Committee.

Mr. Speaker, I suggest that during the present session the Government should legislate toward securing the repayment of that money so shamefully obtained. It is contended that the number of millionaires has increased during the war. It is a shame. In other countries the profiteers are sentenced to prison, but here they are knighted.

The time has come when we should reduce the cost of living by fixing maximum prices for the essential commodities. I avail myself of the opportunity to ask the Government to legislate towards providing an eight-hour working day such as was enacted in France. I reiterate my request for old age pensions. I urge the adoption of an elections' Act which will be fairer and more equitable than the War-time Elections Act, and which will not enable the Government to remain in power against the will of the people. I ask that the country be no more governed through Orders in Council, but that we may have a Government by the people. I ask also that no legislation be passed which would affect our autonomy.

In conclusion, I ask that a general amnesty be proclaimed and pardon granted to all the defaulters and evaders of the Military Service Act.

Before resuming my seat, let me say that I shall vote against any Bill aiming at depriving us of any of our prerogatives or calculated to curtail our autonomy.

Mr. O. TURGEON (Gloucester): I promise, Mr. Speaker, that what I have to say in this debate shall be brief, for I have no desire to delay the House. At the outset I may be permitted a word or two to add my tribute of congratulation to the mover and seconder of the Address, and to qualify my approval to this extent, that in my opinion they have acquitted themselves equally as well as other speakers who, in this House, have had to discharge a similar duty; having brought to their task a degree of eloquence that is quite admirable. Concerning the principal purpose for which this session has been called, that is, the ratification of the Peace Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations, I shall reserve until the proper time any views which I may wish to express upon the subject, hoping in the meantime that as a result of the Treaty and the establishment of the League of Nations a great and lasting peace will be assured, and that the highest anticipations as to the outcome of the Peace Conference will be realized.

Meanwhile, since last session the Prime Minister has been left without some of his colleagues. Some have resigned to accept office and others to retire from active political life. The western provinces have lost one of their ministers, but he was replaced at once by another from the same district. The province of Ontario, in the resignation of the Minister of Finance (Sir Thomas White), has lost one of its ministers, but he was replaced at once by another. These two, while they have not been able to get seats in the House of Commons and to express their policies and feelings to the people of Canada, have at least represented their districts in the councils of the nation. The province of New Brunswick has lost the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell); he resigned to accept office and for the last two months practically that province has been left without representation in the councils of the nation.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Just as well.

Mr. TURGEON: That may be, but it is not according to the dignity or the duty of the Government to leave a province without representation for such a long time. It may be that it is difficult for the right hon. the Prime Minister to make a choice. However, I do not see why some one has not been called upon to fill the vacancy during the last six or seven weeks. The Government has six or seven supporters on the other side of the House from that province every one of whom, I am sure, would be willing to accept the responsibilities of office. It is impossible to believe that every one of these six or seven representatives of the people from the province of New Brunswick is so modest that he will not accept any office at the hands of the Prime Minister. Is it, that the sweets of office have turned sour and that nobody wants to taste them? The people of New Brunswick are anxious that something should be done, and, while the Prime Minister continues to lead the destinies of the nation, New Brunswick should be given its fair share of representation as well as assuming its responsibility for the administration of affairs. In the years gone by and up to the present time the province of New Brunswick has been represented by men of great talent, high position and enjoying a large measure of public esteem. We have had a long succession of able representatives from Confederation down to recent times. We had, first, Sir Leonard Tilley, and then we had the present right hon. the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster), who, as Minister of Finance, represented the province of New Brunswick in the councils of the nation not only with dignity to himself but with satisfaction and honour to his province. We consider him yet the great genius of finance on the other side of the House although he has not been given by this Government the position which would enable him to exercise that talent. We are anxious that we should be represented in this Government no matter what the difficulties may be. One more cannot add much more to its weakness while it may add something to its strength.

Before I proceed any further, as my voice is now raised on behalf of the province of New Brunswick and perhaps the last to be heard from that province in this debate, let me say that I do not wish to resume my seat without making reference to the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales who first set foot in Canada within the province which I have the honour to represent. It was in the city of St. John that His Royal Highness, our future King, who, in the years to come will succeed not only to the throne of his father but to that of his ancestors, every one of whom from Queen Victoria to George V has added lustre to the British Empire, first met the people of Canada. Let me say here to the House and the country that the people of New Brunswick received His Royal Highness with the same enthusiasm as has been manifested in the larger cities of Montreal,

Quebec and Toronto, and that thousands of citizens and thousands of returned soldiers went from the northern and other parts of the province, travelling hundreds of miles in order to be present at the reception of the Prince of Wales, their future King. They have gone back to their homes enthusiastic over his appearance and the development on his part of the true spirit of democracy which characterized the conduct of His Royal Highness not only at St. John but at Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa.

We were promised last session that a tariff commission would be appointed consisting of some of the responsible ministers who, together with experts, would travel through the country and acquire all the knowledge possible in order to be ready at an early date to take up the question of tariff reform. Two months have passed but no step has been taken that I know of yet with the object of forming that commission although many other commissions of different kinds have been appointed since. It has always been my chief aim to see the tariff reduced on the necessaries of life and reduced more particularly on behalf of the farmers. The farming industry is the chief industry of Canada. We stated last session that further reductions should take place more particularly on food and on the necessaries of life. We saw no effective reduction of duties in the last tariff presented by the Minister of Finance. It is true the Conservative papers of the country have busied themselves since the close of the last session pointing out to the country that an amount of $17,000,000 has been taken off the tariff by the abolition of the 7½ and 5 per cent duties imposed by this Government themselves at the opening of the war. Only a couple of days ago we found the Ottawa Journal calling attention to the question of the tariff and emphasizing the fact that when in June the Government brought down the Budget, $17,000,000 was taken off the tariff at one fell swoop thus giving the West lower duties on agricultural implements than reciprocity would have given.

Let me say for the edification of the people that the reduction of seventeen millions of dollars referred to has been effected by removing duties imposed by the Conservative Government in excess of the tariff that existed when the Liberal party were in power. After war was declared the Conservatives added special war duties of 7½ and 5 per cent to the general and British preferential tariff rates respectively upon, with certain exceptions, all imports. When the war closed, and at the persistent request of the Liberal Opposition, the Government saw fit to remove those duties which had not resulted in any great good to Canada. For my part, I always regarded the five per cent special tax on imports coming from Great Britain as evidencing a disappointing lack of loyalty to the manufacturers and workmen of that country, for it meant the imposition of $5 upon every $100 worth of goods coming from Great Britain before they could be landed in Canada. The newspaper in question also refers to the small reduction on farming implements made by the Government as a greater benefit than the reciprocity agreement would have been to the people of Canada. How can that be argued when under the reciprocity agreement the farmers of Canada, particularly those in the West, would not only have got free access to the markets of the United States for their wheat, but virtually for all their other grains, potatoes and live stock? They could have sold their live stock at better prices in the country to the south than they could realize in Canada and could have imported, free of duty, such animals as they needed to improve the stock maintained on Canadian soil. As to the duties on farming implements Canadian farmers would undoubtedly have derived a much greater benefit under the terms of the reciprocity pact than under the legislation of last session. Since 1913, however, the Canadian manufacturers have been given a free market in the United States and have been able to successfully compete in that market with their American rivals. Therefore, the necessity for the maintenance of the duty on the more important farming implements should have disappeared at once.

The people of Canada have now to consider the question of trade with the nations with which they have been at war. No doubt there will be great reluctance in the minds of our people to do any trade at all with Germany. Certain restrictions have been imposed upon Germany by the allied nations. I do not say those restrictions are too severe in view of Germany's conduct, but the question must be considered that the compensation to be exacted from Germany depends upon the possibility of her making payment in the future. We have not yet received any payments from that country, and if we deprive her of the power to trade with other countries we can

never expect that she will be in a position to pay any compensation. Canadian financiers may have to seriously consider the possibilities of trade between Canada and Germany. It must be remembered that Canada had commercial dealings of some importance before the war with the German Empire. In the period from 1909 to 1914 the exports of Canada to Germany were valued at 8,398,000 marks. In 1911 those figures had trebled, and in 1913 our exports amounted to 64,100,000 marks, nearly seven and a half times the figures of 1909. On the other hand German imports to Canada had only reached the sum of 60,500,000 marks, giving a trade balance in favour of Canada of 4,000,000 marks. There is this fact to be considered in connection with our trade with Germany before the war; unfortunately, the bulk of Canada's purchases were in the form of manufactured goods, while our exports consisted chiefly of raw material. That is quite contrary to what should have happened, and something we should be careful to guard against in future if trading with Germany is again resumed. Canada should only buy from Germany those manufactured goods which we cannot produce economically at home, and export to that country no raw material that we can profitably utilize here. As to the future trade relations between Germany and her Allies, the latter have been careful to provide for certain economic clauses which I consider are in harmony with my own principles as an old member of this House, and my desire to see this country move towards the goal of free trade with all reasonable rapidity. There are certain other provisions which tend towards freedom of trade between the allied and enemy nations, under the terms of which the enemy nations cannot impose a greater duty on goods imported from allied countries than are exacted on goods imported from friendly or neutral nations.

Let me take the liberty of citing to you, Mr. Speaker, two or three clauses of Part 10 in regard to commercial relations, from which you will observe that the principle of freedom of trade between the nations of the world is dealt with in such a way as, in my opinion, should convince us that the greater freedom of trade we have with the other nations of the world the sooner will Canada take its place among those nations. Article 264 reads:

> Germany undertakes that goods the produce or manufacture of any one of the Allied or Associated States imported into German territory, from whatsoever place arriving, shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those to which the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such State or of any other foreign country are subject.
>
> Germany will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the importation into German territory of any goods the produce or manufacture of the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States, from whatsoever place arriving, which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such State or of any other foreign country.

The principle of freedom of trade has been enunciated by the representatives of the Allied nations, of whom my right hon. friend, the Prime Minister, was one, and as he accepted that principle I hope he will endeavour to put it into practice.

Profiteering and unrest are still with us. In the United States prompt measures have been taken to stop profiteering and alleviate the sufferings of the masses. We have seen that the labour element is not without consideration for the position of the country. They have said that they wanted an increase of wages only because of the increase in the prices of the necessaries of life. Only a few days ago the Labour leaders in the United States who had been threatening to call a strike, demonstrated their intelligence by their manly behaviour, when they told the President that they would give him three months to reduce the cost of living, and if he succeeded in doing so there would be no strike and they would continue at the same rate of wages as they are earning to-day. It is not reasonable to always blame the labouring man if he is not satisfied with his fate. The labourer to-day wants a rate of pay that will enable him to support his wife and children and educate the latter to the best extent possible; and it is the duty of every Government to see that the necessaries of life are kept down to such a figure that the mass of the people may be able to live in peace and contentment. I admire the attitude of the labour element in the United States, and I believe that that attitude expresses the feelings of our own labour element.

The term democracy is often used. I say there is only one democracy that will give the people happiness, and that is Christian democracy. The returned soldier has perhaps not been able to receive at the hands of the people everything that was promised him, and we cannot expect him to enjoy life and to feel that we have been grateful to him until in addition to the showers of sentiment thrown upon his head, substantial means are afforded him to give his wife and family the life to which they are entitled. Under a Christian democracy dif-

ferent races and creeds will be able to live together in peace and harmony—and I am thinking more particularly of Canada—and will be able to enjoy the sweetness of life in fraternal fellowship. I hope that this great Dominion of ours will be able to enjoy this Christian democracy and that we will hear no more of the French race and the English race, nor of Catholics or Protestants, but that we will regard one another as Canadians. The expression of harmony between the two races and creeds is one of the great virtues of British sentiment, and we all know that the British flag is symbolical of fair play and sympathy for minorities and for races and creeds of all kinds.

In such a democracy the profiteer will have no contentment, and if he does not disgorge his millions made at the expense of the poor, he will be forced to go to Germany or Russia if he wishes to continue his nefarious practices. Fortunately we have at last a Commission with some power to deal with profiteers, and that Commission is sitting to-day in Montreal. May I be permitted to say that I hope the Commission may take the same drastic action as the Commission which the United States has appointed, which is empowered to impose a fine of five thousand dollars and a year's imprisonment upon profiteers of food.

It would be well for the Board of Commerce, now sitting in Montreal, to look into the conditions respecting the profits on clothing, including boots and shoes—more particularly the clothing, boots and shoes used by the masses of the people.

I wish to refer again to the fact that New Brunswick is in the unusual position of being without representation in the Cabinet. If New Brunswick had had a representative in the Cabinet during the past couple of weeks I should likely have conferred with him some days ago on a recent incident in my province. Much has been said about the arrest of defaulters and deserters. I shall not enter into a discussion of that question to-day; I wish simply to direct the attention of the Prime Minister to something which happened a few days ago in the county of Kent in my province. An officer who had been looking for defaulters lost his life and the verdict of the coroners' jury was to the effect that it was not known whether the officer's death was the result of an accident, or whether it was at the hand of a criminal. The evidence given at the inquiry leads to the conclusion that the death of the officer was due to an accident, the firearm which he was carrying having exploded and killed him almost instantly. I shall not give my version or judgment of the matter, but I wish to point out the seriousness of the situation. Here are men going round in search of human beings with firearms in their hands—using them, I might say, indiscriminately.

When conscription was put into effect thirteen hundred volunteers from the county of Gloucester had gone to the field of battle, and if during a few months no more enlisted it was because, in a county whose chief industries are agriculture and the fisheries, there were no more to leave; all the others were required at home. Of the thirteen hundred and more volunteers who went overseas, 1,150 were French-Acadians. No blemish rests upon the name of the Acadians of the Maritime Provinces. I deemed it my duty from time to time during the course of the war to call upon my constituents to go to the front—all who could possibly leave their fathers and mothers. They responded nobly to my call; yet to-day the county is scoured by officers simply because one or two or a few of these young men, most likely in ignorance of the law and of their responsibilities and duties under it, did not come forward. As has been said to-day and on other occasions in this House, the military service law was such that every young man in the back districts could not be expected to be familiar with it; many of them, therefore, remained at home and worked on the farm for their fathers and mothers. But now these men are being sought after, eight or nine months after the commencement of the negotiations for peace, when everybody is rejoicing in the hope of the enjoyment of priciples of democracy and justice to whose triumph we have looked forward as the result of the successful conclusion of the war. Houses have been opened and entered in the middle of the night; disastrous results have attended the intrusion of these officers into homes. I call upon the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) in the absence of the Minister of Militia (Major-General Mewburn), to make a thorough investigation into this whole matter, and in the meantime to stop chasing about for more defaulters in the county of Kent. I hope that these few remarks, made without any previous preparation or consideration, will have their effect, and that the Prime Minister will look into the case which I have mentioned.

Mr. J. W. EDWARDS (Frontenac): Mr. Speaker, may I be permitted to add my

congratulations to those which have already been so worthily bestowed upon the mover and the seconder of the Address? May I also, speaking for the people of the county of Frontenac, express their appreciation of the honour which has been conferred upon the Dominion of Canada by the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to this country and their pleasure at the cordial reception which he has received in every part of Canada which he has so far visited.

It is not my intention, Sir, to occupy more than four or five minutes of the time of the House. I would not occupy even that length of time were it not that I think it my duty to place some facts on Hansard in order that the hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) may correct in some particulars the essay which he read to the House yesterday.

I wish first to allude to the expressions which have fallen from the lips of certain hon. gentlemen opposite with regard to the losses which we have sustained on this side on the occasion of certain members leaving this side or leaving the Government. Up to the present time we have not noticed any very great decrease in our assets on this side, and I venture to say that hon. gentlemen opposite will not notice any appreciable increase in the assets on their side because of the movements of certain gentlemen who have seats in this House. The sympathy, however, comes from a source which at once commands our respect, because no persons could speak with fuller hearts about the loss of adherents to a party than those gentlemen who sit opposite and who have passed through the trying times of the last two or three years.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Turgeon) has made a plea for the defaulters—those who failed to do their duty in the time of war—and he apparently deprecates going after these persons in a way that will be effective. If we went after them with feather dusters or with ice cream cones, how would he expect us to induce them to come forward? The fact of the matter is that certain persons failed to do their duty; they violated the laws of this country, and it is no more than simple justice that they should be punished for their delinquency. I think it is due to the men who came forward and voluntarily offered their services that those who failed to do their duty should be brought to a realization of their responsibility and of the wrong which they committed. I appreciate what has been done by the constituents of my hon. friend. He has very much to be proud of, and I rejoice with him in the number of voluntary enlistments from his county, but in my judgment that should not excuse those who failed to respond to the call. They should be made to realize, whether they come from Gloucester county, Frontenac county, or any other part of the Dominion, that they failed in their responsibility as citizens of this country at a time of crisis, and they should not be allowed to go scot-free.

The hon. gentleman also alluded to the removing of some $17,000,000 of duties by the Finance Minister last session. Hon. gentlemen opposite, including my hon. friend, have seen fit at various times to advocate a reduction of duty, and it therefore does seem rather strange that when the duty is taken off they should not be satisfied—my hon. friend said that the removing of that amount of duty last session was of no great good to Canada. He also spoke of the increase of 7½ per cent. I think I am right in saying that when that increase was made my hon. friend made no protest, nor did those who sat with him on the other side of the House. It was generally accepted as the proper thing to do.

In regard to his observations concerning the removal of the duty on agricultural implements, the record of the Liberal party in that respect is such a peculiar one that I should think hon. gentlemen opposite would never refer to the duty on implements. For eighteen years they had denounced the duty on agricultural implements, and had promised the farmers of this country that if they were returned to power they would give them free agricultural implements; yet when they were returned to power, their fifteen years of office was characterized by an absolute betrayal of the people to whom they had made promises. When they did undertake to do anything with regard to the duty on agricultural implements, after being in office for a number of years, down to 1907, they made a reduction of 2½ per cent. They reduced the duty from 20 to 17½ per cent, but at the same time raised the valuation for duty purposes. The valuation of a binder, for instance, was raised from $80—the valuation when the duty was 20 per cent—to $100, so while they were trying to make the farmer believe that he was getting a reduction in the duty of 2½ per cent, in reality they made him pay $17.50 on a binder, where under the 20 per cent duty he paid

only $16. These are the gentlemen who to-day, out of office, appeal to the farmers as the farmers' friends. I make the assertion, which can be substantiated by fact upon fact, that the Borden Administration has done more for the farmers of Canada since it came into office than the Liberal party did during the fifteen years it occupied the treasury benches. I do not propose to follow that matter any further.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: In view of the excellent conduct my hon. friend ascribes to the Government, how does he account for the revolution among the farmers of this province against this Government?

Mr. EDWARDS: I do not admit for one moment that there is any revolution against this Government by the farmers of this country. My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) in spite of all the knowledge which is crowding his head, has still a great deal to learn about the people of this country. He did receive a lesson a short time ago from part of the people, which taught him that he did not occupy the place that he thought he did. He has yet to receive other lessons, and he will receive them from the farmers when the opportunity comes, be it soon or late. I want to tell him and those who support him that the day has long since passed when he and his followers can fool the farmers of this country as they did in 1896. That is not going to be forgotten. To quote my hon. friend from Antigonish and Guysborough (Mr. Sinclair), it will neither be forgotten nor forgiven. The farmers are a reading class, and they have read the record of the Liberal party during the fifteen years it occupied the treasury benches. The farmers have sized the Liberal party up right, and notwithstanding the platform adopted at the Liberal convention and the pledge in favour of free trade, against that pledge the people of this country have the record of the Liberal party, which record shows beyond question that the Liberal party can make promises when out of office which it does not fulfil when it gets into office.

As I intimated when the hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough was in his seat, my principal reason for rising was to enable him to make certain corrections in the essay he read to the House yesterday. He has seen fit to leave the Chamber, but if he will peruse Hansard to-morrow he will obtain the necessary data to enable him to correct that essay, which I presume he read to the House after careful preparation with the intention of sending it out to his constituents. He was so absent-minded yesterday that for a time he forgot that he represented Antigonish as well as Guysborough in this House; in fact, that is what he said himself. I asked him when he was criticising the expenditure of this Government and giving details of how much had been spent per day and per hour, how much of that expenditure was voted last session for the constituency he represents, and he answered "None at all." I have in my hand the Estimates of last session, which show that money was voted for several places in the constituency of Antigonish and Guysborough last session. Later, the hon. gentleman did come to realize that he represented Antigonish as well as Guysborough and admitted that there might have been something voted for his constituency last year, but his first statement, in order not to have his argument against the Government affected, was a flat denial that anything had been voted for his constituency last session. He found he could not get away with that, so after a time he admitted that something was voted for his constituency.

He also had a good deal to say yesterday about profiteering and the high cost of living.

A few moments ago the hon. member for Pontiac (Mr. Cahill) called the attention of the Government to certain things which he considered should receive their attention regarding transportation. He was referring particularly to transportation on railways, but there is another mode of transportation. There is transportation by water, and the hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough (Mr. Sinclair) has frequently spoken in this House on the subject of shipping, to such an extent as almost to make us believe that he was an expert on that matter. Where did that hon. member obtain his knowledge of shipping? In his part of the country there is a firm known as the Carmichael Shipping Company, and I believe the hon. gentleman has a very direct and personal interest in the prosperity of it. That firm before the war was receiving freight rates on deals and lumber of thirty-five shillings a standard, and during the latter part of the war it received as high as 350 to 380 shillings a standard. Now, Mr. Speaker, there are pirates in this country as well as profiteers. Some men take their profit on the land and others on the water, and I confess that I must take with a liberal amount of salt any statements made by the hon. member for Antigonish

and Guysborough to the effect that he is greatly concerned about the bleeding of the people by the profiteers. The hon. gentleman has had considerable experience along that line. He has profited very materially in the shipping business, and who will deny that the shipping business and freights on the water have a very important effect on the cost of living? Unquestionably they do. Profiteers! The hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough informed us that they did not have the power on that side of the House to stop the criminal extravagance of this Government. Well, I think, Sir, that if you will take Hansard of last session and look carefully over the pages that record the proceedings when the Estimates were going through, you will not find very many objections raised by hon. gentlemen opposite to the money voted. You will not find any objections from hon. gentlemen opposite who come from Nova Scotia to one dollar of money voted for expenditure in Nova Scotia. I have sat in this House for ten or eleven years and have never yet heard a member from Nova Scotia raise any objections to money being spent in that province. Occasionally they will raise a voice against money being expended in some other part of the Dominion but never against anything going to their own province. I am not finding fault with hon. gentlemen for that particularly, but I do say that the hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough is not acting in a way that appeals to me as being sincere when he criticises the Government generally in regard to expenditures, but, when the various matters come before the House, keeps absolutely silent and has nothing to say in the way of objection to the estimates that are going through. When the hon. gentleman had an opportunity, as he had, to support the party of his choice when they were in power, did he then raise his voice against expenditure? Was his voice heard then in this House, or out of it, in denunciation of the Grand Trunk Pacific scandal or the sawdust wharf transaction? Not a word. He accepted all that as a matter of course, but now he makes a general statement in regard to expenditure, a statement which I say is most unfair to the Government and to the country, and one that does not do himself justice because it cannot be taken as an argument of the matter on its merits. There have been reasons for cutting down the expenditure of the country, and the expenditure has been cut down. Five or six years ago a matter of a thousand dollars was voted and paid for a lot in one of the largest villages in my constituency to purchase a site for a new post office. The plans were prepared and tenders had been called for. But the Minister of Public Works informed me that the policy of the Government was to expend no money on new works until after the war at least. I interviewed the present chairman of the Railway Board, the ex-Minister of Public Works, regarding this matter and asked him if the work could not be proceeded with. It would mean only a matter of $6,000 or $7,000 for my constituency, which has never had a dollar of public money expended on it, apart from the Royal Military College, from Confederation down to the present time, and I thought I was within my rights in asking for some consideration. I could not get any, however. The ex-Minister of Public Works said that no money was to be expended for new works, and I found no fault with him. But when hon. gentlemen opposite, like the hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough, rise in this House and blame the Government for expending money, and do so with the apparent approval of the leader of the Opposition, while several of their immediate bosom friends on the other side have seen their constituencies profit more than others in the matter of expenditures on public works, then I enter my protest against the remarks of the hon. member and his criticism of expenditures made by this Government. Not in one place alone, but in half a dozen places in the constituency of the hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough was money voted at the last session of Parliament. The same thing might be said of the leader of the Opposition, the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff), the hon. member for Inverness (Mr. Chisholm), and several others.

There is another aspect of this matter of profiteering. We hear a good deal about profiteering to-day, and many are under the club for making excessive profits. The man who has made money during the last four or five years is charged with coining the blood of our soldiers who fell on the battle field. I will not for one moment champion the cause of any man who has taken advantage of the war to line his own pockets; I have on more than one occasion expressed my condemnation of such a man. You may say that the man who made his millions in the last five years is unworthy of our respect because he has taken advantage of the tears and agony of the women

and children of the country in order to make money.

In what respect, as a matter of principle, does he differ from the man who made his millions before the war started? How did this other acquire his millions if it was not out of the sweat and misery of the white slaves who worked for less than adequate wages in order that he might become rich? There is very little condemnation for that man; yet, I say that, as a matter of principle, the only difference between the two is the difference of opportunity. Men took advantage of the war. I do not believe they are one particle worse than the men who took advantage of the situation previous to the war to make use of the labour of thousands and hundreds of thousands of people up and down this country and to give them a wage by which they could scarcely provide the necessaries of life.

You tell me that the big problem of Canada is the high cost of living. When did it become a problem? Is there anything new about it? The only thing new about it, and the only thing that makes it a problem, is the fact that it is pinching people whom it did not pinch before. There has always been a cost of living problem in this country for the man whose wages were not sufficient to enable him to buy the necessaries of life. It did not require a great war for him to have a high cost of living problem on his hands. The high cost of living problem to-day is due, in so far as the prices of foodstuffs are concerned, to the relation of supply and demand, to the scarcity of the necessities of life and for the foodstuffs required for the people to live upon. What has brought about that scarcity? In the first place you have had 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 men, who formerly were engaged in production of one kind or another, destroying things for the last four or five years. You could not have anything else but scarcity. Let me go a little farther back to the time when there was a problem in this country. I refer to a time not within the last eight or ten years but to a time antecedent to that. We will go back to 1896 if you like, and we will recall the golden days when the Liberal party was in power. Was there no problem then? I will tell you what the problem was then. The problem then was that the people living in the cities and towns were buying their eggs for 12½ to 15 cents a dozen and their butter for from 20 to 25 cents a pound. The fact of the matter was that the farmer was selling his produce in very many cases at less than it cost him to produce. That did not constitute a problem at that time but that was the beginning and the basis of the problem of the high cost of living to-day. That is what drove people off the farms; they were not making one-quarter of one per cent on their investment and they went to the cities and towns. You need not take my word for that. Take the statistics, take the last census and you will find that the migration from the farms throughout Ontario and the older provinces went on steadily during the whole fifteen years that the Liberals were in power. I have stated the reason why they left the country, forsook rural life and went to the cities and towns. They went because young men realized that they could make a better living by going to the cities and towns than they could possibly make by remaining on the farm. They are up against the problem in the country of not having sufficient labour with the result that you have lessened production, scarcity and a greater demand for food than there is food to satisfy that demand. Beyond any question you must have higher prices for the various articles of food than formerly.

There has been a great deal of criticism in the press, and a good deal of unfair criticism by people who live in the cities, of the profits that are being made by the farmers. I have lived in a country constituency and amongst farmers all my life. I think I understand country conditions in the province of Ontario as well as any man. I have looked very carefully into the conditions under which farming operations are carried on and I have come to the conclusion that the prices that the farmers of the county of Frontenac and the adjoining counties are receiving for what they have to sell are not a cent higher than those which they should receive if they are to continue their business upon their farms. I do not care what it is that you mention, the farmer is entitled to every cent he is getting and he is getting none too much for what he produces and has to sell.

You say: Get more men on the farm; get greater production. Very good; I agree with that. Every farmer will agree with that. But we are up against conditions to-day in Canada which cannot be laid to this Government or to any party; they are conditions arising out of the war. Prices were paid for shells and munitions that attracted young men from the country to the city. Why not? If they could get $6 or $7 a day making shells, is it reasonable to suppose that they would not go to the towns and the cities to receive such an attractive wage?

They could not make any such money at home. They took advantage of the offer and they went to the towns and cities where they could get higher wages and shorter hours of work. The prices paid for shells were very high but the urgency was great. There was an immediate demand for them. If I fall into the lake and I am struggling to save myself and calling for somebody to help me, I am not going to quibble with him about the price he has to pay for the rope which he is going to throw to me. I say: Throw it in, no matter what it costs. That was the position we were in with regard to our troops in France. They were facing troops that were equipped with everything necessary to carry on the war and they were restricted in the matter of shells and munitions. They must have shells at once and it did not make any difference what these shells cost. Any man who had a boy over at the western front and who knew that that boy was handicapped by a lack of the necessary equipment and munitions to fight the enemy would not stop to quibble about the price paid for those munitions.

Those were the conditions which have unbalanced things in this country. A great many people throughout Canada are making a living by stirring up unrest. Some of them sit in this House; they are taking advantage of the position they occupy in order to exaggerate every little thing that can be brought up in order to stir up any person or any section of people against the present Government. I think the Government will live through it. I think the people of this country, when they have an opportunity of calmly considering these various matters, will size them up pretty nearly right and will also size up pretty nearly right the men who have the honour and privilege of occupying seats in this House. They will determine whether a man in this House is honestly and sincerely endeavouring to solve the problems we have to face in this country or is taking advantage of every little opportunity to make capital for his political party. I believe the people have sufficient intelligence to size up the men of this House and the men outside of this House who are agitating in various parts of the country.

The prevailing unrest is attributed to the returned soldier. I believe Sir Arthur Currie spoke correctly when he said at Toronto that the unrest in Canada was not caused by the returned soldier who went overseas and fought for his country at $1.10 a day, but by the men in this country who remained in perfect safety at home and pulled down from $5 to $6 and $7 a day. I believe Sir Arthur Currie was absolutely right in that statement.

In conclusion, I have this to say to the leader of the Opposition and those who sit with him: If they think they are capable of fooling the farmers of this country again as they did in 1896, they have another big think coming. I assure hon. gentlemen opposite that they cannot do it again.

Mr. J. A. ROBB: What about 1911 ?

Mr. EDWARDS: What is there notable about 1911 to which my hon. friend wishes particularly to allude?

Mr. ROBB: The reciprocity pact.

Mr. EDWARDS: Was there any doubt about the verdict on the reciprocity pact? So far as I can remember, looking back to 1911, the people spoke very decisively on the matter then at issue. However, since my hon. friend has referred to the reciprocity pact of 1911, let us discuss that for a moment.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. EDWARDS: Yes, let us discuss it for a moment. The reciprocity pact of 1911 was different in some respects from the platform which was worked out at the last Grit convention held in this city in the month of August. If I remember rightly the great concern of the thousand or more people who attended that convention was about the farmer. He was the man to whom my friends opposite were appealing, he was the one for whom they were expressing great concern. What was proposed by the reciprocity pact of 1911 ? Hon. gentlemen opposite proposed by that pact to force the farmers of Canada to compete against the world, and they left the manufacturers absolutely untouched with the slight exception of the change that was proposed in regard to agricultural implements. I appeal to hon. gentlemen opposite if that is not a fact? If I am making any misstatement I will pause for a moment and allow my hon. friends to mention any other manufactures that were touched by the pact in question. I ask, were hon. gentlemen opposite concerned then about the price of clothing, boots, or anything else the people had to buy? No, with the exception of the implement manufacturer they left the manufacturer untouched just as they left him untouched in 1907. Just as in that year they said to the manufacturers, who were showing some concern because of the promises the Liberals had made to wipe out pro-

tection. "Do not be a bit alarmed; we have devised a way by which we can fool the farmers to the limit and yet actually give you fellows more protection than you are now receiving." "How are you going to do that?" That was simply A, B, C to any person worthy of being called a Grit. The Grit understands political economy along that line; he is 100 per cent perfect where it comes to a question of that kind. "We will simply cut down the duty on binders from 20 to 17½ per cent. We will feature that in big headlines in the Globe and the other Grit papers in the country. The farmers will see that and they will say, "There you are. They are getting after these bloated manufacturers. Look at what they have done. They have cut the duty down from 20 to 17½ per cent." "Well, what then?" "We will simply raise the valuation on a binder, which is now $80, to a $100, and the farmer will never get on to that. You fellows will know all about it, and the duty will really be $17.50, whereas it was formerly $16." That is what they did in 1907. The farmers fell for that, so hon. gentlemen opposite said: "We will try it again in 1911. We are afraid to tackle these manufacturers except when we are in the House. We can swear at the manufacturers a little there as far as the rules of Parliament will allow us, but we won't interfere with them." When a big deputation of manufacturers came down to learn the plans of the Government Sir Wilfrid Laurier said: "I assure you, gentlemen, we have been very, very careful not to do anything to hurt the manufacturers." He used the word "very" twice, in order to carry conviction to the minds of these disturbed manufacturers. Sir Wilfrid said: "We propose to enact this reciprocity pact, but don't worry. We are not going to touch manufactured articles at all; we know you would not stand for it. But the farmer will stand for it, and we will take the duty off every blessed thing that he has to raise. We will make him compete with every other country on the face of God's earth in what he has to sell, but he will still pay through the nose—as we have always been telling him he had to under the tariff that we have —for what he has to buy." That is the history of 1911. Now hon. gentlemen opposite are playing the fiddle to a new tune. They have come forward with a certain platform and they pledge themselves to do this and do that. I notice there was a great hush—at least I presume there was a great hush, for I was not there—and a great solemnity throughout that great gathering, when they were preparing the resolution with regard to agricultural implements and cutting those duties off. They did not simply content themselves with passing a resolution, but with eyes lifted to the heavens and hands clasped—I suppose in prayer for success in their future political endeavours—they said "We, the Liberal party of the Dominion of Canada, pledge ourselves to carry this out and to cut these duties off if you will put us into power." I do not know that my friends opposite accompanied their pledge with prayer in 1896, but they made their pledge at that time just as strong as they could make it without prayer. I repeat the statement to hon. gentlemen opposite: You cannot put that over again; you can have all the conventions in the city of Ottawa that you like, and you can call the faithful—that is, all those who were against conscription, because any one who favoured conscription need not apply—you can call the faithful into conventions; you can deliberate on these resolutions and say what you are going to do, but the facts of history are staring you in the face. There is the past to be reckoned with, there is that great record confronting you; there is that great apostacy, there is that great betrayal; there is that great going-back on the pledges and the promises that you had made for eighteen long years. You declared when you were in Opposition that you were ready to wade in blood if necessary—because you were going to cut off the head of protection and trample on its body —you were ready to wade in blood if necessary to wipe out the protection on manufactured articles and give the farmer a chance. And when you got the opportunity you left the manufacturers absolutely alone; the only man you touched was the farmer. You told the farmers of Canada at that time: "We do not care what the climatic conditions of this country are, you will compete with the world." I say, Sir, to-day, as I have said before, that the policy of the Liberal party, or of any other party in this country, in that respect, is absolutely illogical, and it is unfair to the farmers of Canada to compel them to compete with the world in the things they produce.

The tariff, Mr. Speaker, gives us a means of equalizing conditions to a certain extent. We have got to take into consideration to-day not the distance we are from this or that country, but the length of time it takes to bring the goods of any country to Canada. Is it fair that the farmer of Ontario or of Quebec or of any other part of Canada, who has spent thousands of

dollars in putting up expensive barns and stables to house his stock during our rigorous winter, should be told that he must compete on equal terms with the farmers of the Argentine, who have to spend not one dollar on expensive buildings, for their stock are in the open the year round, and whose cost of labour is probably not one-tenth of what it is here? That is, in effect, what any person is saying to the farmers of Canada in general when he announces that he is going to adopt a free trade policy and force them to compete on equal terms with farmers in other countries, who, instead of having the most rigorous climatic conditions to contend with, possess every advantage so far as climate is concerned. I say it is absolutely unfair, and if hon. gentlemen opposite think the farmers of this country have not thought these things out for themselves and determined the kind of policy they want, then I believe my hon. friends opposite will have to give this matter a great deal more consideration in the future than they apparently have in the past.

When I rose I had no intention of doing any more than performing what I consider to be a duty on my part, Mr. Speaker—that of placing some facts on Hansard which would enable the hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough (Mr. Sinclair) to make the necessary corrections in that very beautiful essay which he read to the House yesterday. Although he is not in his seat I trust he will take advantage of the fact that my remarks will be found in Hansard to make the necessary corrections before he sends out his essay to his constituents.

Mr. EDMOND PROULX (Prescott): Is it the intention to sit to-night? If it is not, I can proceed.

Right Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN: If we should get through with the discussion we would not sit this evening. If, however, hon. gentlemen desire to speak we will sit.

Mr. PROULX: I will proceed immediately. I will not be very long.

I wish to join my congratulations, Mr. Speaker, to those of hon. members who have preceded me on this side to the mover and seconder of the Address for they acquitted themselves with honour. The visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales has caused much pleasure to the Canadian people. He has shown keen appreciation of our national sentiments, and he has demonstrated that he possesses a good knowledge of the French language—the language of an important portion of the people of Canada. He is a worthy son of the British Empire and has done his part nobly in this war, for he mingled with our soldiers in the trenches and was in a good position to know their valour.

I was surprised when I learned that the Government intended to have this special session. Last session I heard the Prime Minister say that he would give an account of his work at the Peace Conference, and I expected that that account would be delivered at the end of the session; I did not know that it would be reserved for a special session. There were rumours then that the ex-Minister of Finance (Sir Thomas White), who had led the Government for the major portion of the session, had succeeded in quieting the agitation among his supporters for an increased sessional indemnity by promising them a special session to consider the Peace Treaty. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that this special session has been called merely to implement that promise. I believe there was no necessity whatever for holding this special session, for whatever we do, whether we approve, amend, or reject the Peace Treaty, it does not make any difference. By international law we have no independent status. We may call ourselves a nation—indeed, we pride ourselves that we are a nation, but that is only to flatter our national pride. When we come to consider the matter in a constitutional way, we must admit that although we were represented at the Peace Conference, and two of our four representatives signed the Peace Treaty as representing Canada, it was a mere surplusage; their signatures, in my opinion, do not count for much, because the British plenipotentiaries who signed the Treaty derived their powers from the British Parliament and were representatives for the whole British Empire; therefore, their signatures bound us without the signatures of our hon. friends the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) and the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton).

Even if we ratify this Treaty, what strength would such ratification give it? We were at the Peace Conference as part and parcel of the British Empire, and when the representatives of Great Britain signed the Treaty it was binding on all parts of the Empire. In fact, this Treaty has not been submitted to the British Parliament for ratification, if I am not mistaken. The only document submitted to the British Parliament was an agreement made between the French representatives, the British representatives and the President of

the United States with regard to the protection of France in the event of another invasion by Germany. The British Government thought that when it had been signed by the British plenipotentiaries it was binding, and that there was no necessity to submit it to the British Parliament.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend is quite mistaken. The Treaty was placed before the British Parliament, and a Bill was passed to carry it into effect.

Mr. PROULX: Then I am mistaken. From the reports which I had read in the press, I was under the impression that the only thing that was submitted to the British Parliament was the agreement between Great Britain, the United States and France.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Both Treaties were submitted.

Mr. PROULX: Well, I accept the statement of the Prime Minister. But even if it was submitted to the British Parliament, it would have been binding without submission to or ratification by that body. I am not fully conversant with the questions that were discussed at the Peace Conference; I had not the opportunity afforded to the Prime Minister and his colleagues of being present and of obtaining full information with regard to the matters which were considered. I am not, therefore, in a position to submit any amendments to the Peace Treaty, and I shall not do so. It may not be perfect. It may not contain all the conditions that France would like it to contain. But the task of framing the conditions of peace was a very difficult one. The Premier of France has said that it was harder to make peace than to make war. There were many difficult problems to settle. Many nations were represented at the Conference; each nation had its own needs, its own desires, its own aspirations. After all, I think we may congratulate the world upon the fact that the Treaty has been entered into and that it has brought an end to the horrors of war which have prevailed for more than four years.

The Peace Treaty has been supplemented by the agreement which I have mentioned, entered into between Great Britain, the United States and France. The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain have assured France that their countries will always be ready to go to her assistance if she is again threatened with attack by Germany. This supplementary agreement may protect France for many years from any attack by Germany.

A concomitant of the Peace Treaty is the Covenant of the League of Nations. This Covenant is not binding upon Canada unless it is accepted by the Canadian Parliament. The League of Nations Covenant has been designed for a great purpose—that of avoiding wars in the future. But it may not serve this purpose. I had hoped that the Covenant would contain a provision for general disarmament, but I see no such provision in it. In fact, the nation which was most insistent upon the formation of this League is actually increasing its armaments, and other countries are doing the same. Indeed, we are increasing ours, because at the last session of Parliament legislation was adopted providing for the doubling of our military force. But the main purpose of the League seems to be that of avoiding future wars, and if it achieves that purpose—and I hope it will—it will be a good thing for the world.

But we must admit that under some of the provisions of this covenant we are assuming very heavy obligations. The Prime Minister says that if we ratify the Peace Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations our status will not be changed. It may seem at first sight that our status will not be changed. The Prime Minister says also that an Imperial Conference will be convened in the near future and that these questions will then be discussed. But if we become a member of the League of Nations; if we accept the Covenant and all the obligations which it involves, our status must change; we shall not be free, as we have been in the past, to take part or not to take part in any war, as we see fit. Our action will not be voluntary; we shall have to fulfil our obligations under the Covenant. It is true that we can get out of the League, but in order to do that we would have to give two years' notice, and even then we could not discontinue our membership in it unless we had fulfilled all our obligations. I shall defer expressing my considered opinion upon this matter until we come to deal fully with the Peace Treaty. But when the Imperial Conference meets I hope that our Prime Minister will insist upon preserving our autonomy. He will still be Prime Minister, I suppose—unless we have an election in the meantime—and I hope that his views will not change; that he will not consent to any change in our relationship with the Mother Country which would cause our autonomy to be diminished in any way. There has been a movement in England and even in this country, to cen-

tralize the Government of the Empire in London and to diminish the prerogatives of the British Dominions. I hope that the Prime Minister is not of that school. He may have shown himself at times to be a great Imperialist, but he has assured us that he is for Canadian autonomy and I am willing to trust him until the next Imperial Conference.

During the last few years we have been accustomed to Government by Orders in Council, and I could not help thinking that it was strange that we should be asked to meet in Parliament to ratify a Treaty the ratification of which was not absolutely necessary. Orders in Council dealing with very important matters have been passed during the last few years, even when Parliament was sititng. The Government would not trust the Canadian Parliament in connection with purely Canadian matters; yet Parliament is now asked to discuss Imperial matters—matters which have already been settled before being submitted to this House.

Mr. Speaker, I have some further remarks to make, and I move the adjournment of the debate.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I was hoping that we could conclude the debate this evening. Has my hon. friend any particular reason for moving the adjournment?

Mr. PROULX: I can finish now if the House will bear with me a few moments.

Mr. J. A. ROBB: Another speaker is ready to go on.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: In that case I would suggest that we go on this evening.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: I would suggest that we adjourn the debate until next Friday instead of going on with it this evening, because some hon. members who could not be present to-day have urged upon me that they would like to have an opportunity of speaking upon the Address. I think any further debate on the Address will be short, but these gentlemen desire to speak.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: How many are ready to speak now? Just one?

Mr. McKENZIE: Yes.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I should have been very glad to have the debate concluded this evening, but if there are some hon. gentlemen unavoidably absent, the request of my hon. friend is not unreasonable. However, we cannot adjourn the debate until any particular day; we can simply adjourn it.

Motion (Mr. Proulx) agreed to.

THE PEACE TREATY.

Precedence Over Other Business.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): With the consent of the House I beg to move:

That the orders for the consideration of the resolutions with respect to the approval of the Treaty of Peace have precedence over all other business, except the introduction of Bills, until disposed of.

That is to carry out the understanding I have with my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition.

Motion agreed to.

On the motion of Sir Robert Borden, the House adjourned at 6.10 p.m.

Monday, September 8, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

PRINTING OF PARLIAMENT.

On motion of Hon. C. J. Doherty (Minister of Justice) Messieurs Bowman, Brouillard, Buchanan, Burnham, Cardin, Charters, Clark (Bruce), Clarke (Wellington), Crowe, Currie, Fontaine, Hocken, Hughes (Sir Sam), Keefer, Maclean (Halifax), Michaud, Murphy, Prevost, Reid (Mackenzie), Richardson, Shaw, Verville, White (Victoria), Wilson (Wentworth), and Wright were appointed members, on the part of the House, on the Joint Committee on the Printing of Parliament.

LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT.

On motion of Hon. C. J. Doherty (Minister of Justice) Messieurs Andrews, Béland, Borden (Sir Robert), Boyer, Chaplin, Clark (Red Deer), Cooper, Copp, Cronyn, Crothers, Foster (Sir George), Harold, Lapointe (Kamouraska), Lemieux, Meighen, Myers, Pardee, Rowell, Sheard and Whidden, were appointed a committee to assist His Honour the Speaker in the direction of the Library of Parliament, and to act on behalf of the House of Commons as Members of a Joint Committee of both Houses on the Library.

PARLIAMENTARY RESTAURANT.

On motion of Hon. C. J. Doherty (Minister of Justice) Messieurs Douglas (Strathcona), T. J. Stewart (Hamilton), Steele

and Tobin were appointed to assist Mr. Speaker in the direction of the restaurant.

HOUSING SCHEME.

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Privy Council) laid on the Table the following copies of Orders in Council:

P.C. 1200, dated 11th June, 1919, approving clause 11-b of the Ontario Housing Act as part of the Ontario Housing Scheme.

P.C. 1721, dated 14th August, 1919, approving the General Housing Scheme of Nova Scotia.

P.C. 1725, dated 18th August, 1919, approving the application of the Government of Manitoba, to amend the Manitoba Housing Scheme approved June 11, 1919.

P.C. 1766, dated 23rd August, 1919, amendments to General Principles of Federal Government Housing Scheme respecting "Maximum Cost of Dwellings" and "Terms of Years for Repayment of Loans."

AN ACT RESPECTING THE POLICE.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 5, respecting the Police.

Some hon MEMBERS: Explain.

Mr. DOHERTY: The purpose of the Bill is to enact a prohibition upon members of the Dominion Police and the Royal Northwest Mounted Police becoming members of associations of employers or associations of labour men ordinarily described as Unions. It is to continue in force a provision contained in one of the Orders in Council which was passed under the War Measures Act and which it is anticipated will lapse at whatever date Peace is finally declared.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

PRIVILEGE—MR. J. H. SINCLAIR.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR (Antingonish and Guysborough): I have the honour of having been a member of the House for fifteen years and this is the first occasion on which I have risen to a question of privilege. During my absence from the House on Friday afternoon the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards), in referring to myself, made the following statement:

> Where did that hon. member obtain his knowledge of shipping? In his part of the country there is a firm known as the Carmichael Shipping Company, and I believe the hon. gentleman has a very direct and personal interest in the prosperity of it. That firm before the war was receiving freight rates on deals and lumber of thirty-five shillings a standard, and during the latter part of the war it received as high as three hundred and fifty to three hundred and eighty shillings a standard. Now, Mr. Speaker, there are pirates in this country as well as profiteers.

I wish to say that this statement is untrue and has not the slightest foundation in fact. I do not say that the hon. member deliberately made a false statement, because I have no doubt that this story was told him by some malicious person. Whoever told it to him must have had some knowledge of the deal trade, because the hon. member is about correct in regard to the rates. The firm in question carried no deals since the war broke out. They owned only one steamer which was commandeered by the Admiralty early in the war. She was placed on duty in the most dangerous part of the coast of Europe, carrying goods to the army at Saloniki. She made five trips to Saloniki and on the sixth when bound for an Italian port was torpeoded by an enemy submarine and is now at the bottom of the Mediterranean. Her captain and chief engineer were confined for nineteen months in a German prison and during that time their wages were paid by the firm that owned the vessel. This was the only steamer owned by the firm and there could be no question of profiteering, for the Admiralty paid monthly freight at what was known as the blue-book rate, which was less than one-third of the commercial rate current at the time. I would not have troubled the House with this explanation but for the fact that the statement of the hon. member involves to some extent the reputation of an important business firm that has borne an honourable name in the province of Nova Scotia for over a hundred years.

THE PEACE TREATY.

DEBATE RESUMED ON THE MOTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER TO APPROVE OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

The House resumed consideration of the following proposed motion of Sir Robert Borden, adjourned from September 2:

> That it is expedient that Parliament do approve of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany (and the Protocol annexed thereto), which was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth day of June, nineteen hundred and nineteen, a copy of which has been laid before Parliament, and which was signed on behalf of His Majesty, acting for Canada, by the plenipotentiaries therein named, and that this House do approve of the same.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, when the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden)

made his very important and illuminating speech on this Treaty a few days ago, I had the honour of moving the adjournment of the debate which we are now resuming. This question is one of the most important, if not the most important, that this Parliament has ever dealt with. It is more important perhaps than anything we have ever discussed because it is of wider international scope than anything that I at least have taken part in the discussion of in this House. It took a long time to draft and formulate this Treaty. The active operations on which this Treaty is based commenced on the 12th day of January, as we are told by those who know about it, and from that time until the 28th day of June, the ablest men, I suppose the world can produce, were busily engaged in discussing this Treaty and forging it into the shape in which it is before the House to-day. In discussing it, Sir, we require to bring to bear upon it the best talents we possess in this Parliament. I believe that the time at our disposal, or the time that will be given to the discussion of this Treaty will not by any means be sufficient to enable hon. gentlemen in this House to fully comprehend the meaning, scope and far-reaching effect of this document. However, we have to deal with it. It requires the best judgment and talent that any lawyers we have in this House can bring to bear upon it as well as the ability and talents of any international lawyers that we have here and those who are versed in the history of treaties, in the universal history of the world, and in negotiations between nations. All these talents and all this knowledge will come into play if we wish to effectively, properly and intelligently deal with this question.

I do not suppose, Mr. Speaker, that we have a great many men of that class in this House, speaking with all due respect. We have men in this House who have had largely to deal with the various matters of life, who have not specialized on any one of these subjects, and for that reason we are able to bring to bear on this question only such knowledge as we have gained in the different walks of life in which we endeavour to make our living.

We cannot too often refer to the position which Canada has occupied in connection with this war. It may be possible that sometime we are apt in the hurly burly and haste of life to be willing to get away quickly from all thoughts of the war and think no more about the part we took in it as a Parliament, or the part that our sons and daughters took in it both in Canada and overseas. That should not be. Our connection with this war, its effect upon this country and its effect upon the world are landmarks in the history of the world that should not be forgotten. It has brought Canada to a proud position in connection with the affairs of the world that we should not forget and that we should take care to refer to whenever the proper occasion presents itself. We have an example of this among the great men of the neighbouring republic. They always take care, and properly so, to refer to the milestones in the history of that great country and such references enable them to keep in mind the facts of which they have reason to be proud. In like manner, I am sure, that, in the days to come, now and forever while we live as a nation, we shall always be proud to keep fresh in our memories the honour of those who have won for us the proud position which Canada to-day occupies in connection with this war and with the peace which we are now about to consummate, if it is not consummated already.

We are, of course, two parties in this House—perhaps three now—at all events we are two parties. In most things we differ, in most things there is a controversy between us, but in connection with this treaty I do not think it is a party question and as far as I and hon. gentlemen on this side of the House are concerned, we shall give this important document fair and honest consideration, bringing to the notice of the Canadian people its salient points and the points that should receive careful attention. I do not think that any person in this House, or any Liberal in this country proposes to take any party advantage of this situation.

I regret exceedingly that the Prime Minister is not able to be in his seat to-day. He is slightly indisposed, which we all regret, and I am sure we all join in the hope that his illness will prove to be very slight and that he will soon be back in his place. I would be pleased indeed if he were present to-day so that he might hear for himself any references which I may make to the very able speech which he delivered in the House a few days ago. He was asked on that occasion by the hon. member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding) what would happen if we did not ratify this treaty. Among other things which the right hon. gentleman said that a change of Government would result as an effect or product of the refusal of the House to ratify this treaty. I do not think

that the right hon. gentleman should have taken that position. I do not think that it was a proper position for him to take. If the right hon. gentleman was looking for reasons why his Government should go out of office, it would not be necessary for him to cross the Atlantic to find them. The country is full of reasons, any one of which could be taken as a good and sufficient reason why the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues should come to the conclusion that the day has arrived when they should pass the reins of Government over to, we hope, more capable hands.

But the right hon. gentleman has thought proper to say that if ratification were not given to this Treaty it would be a good and sufficient cause for the resignation of the Government and for the Governor General to look for other advisers. This conclusion, Sir, was not, in my judgment, logical or well-founded. The causing of the war was not brought about by the Government of Canada. Therefore, it had no responsibility for the starting of the trouble which was the basis for this Treaty. The Canadian Government did not make this peace, it is not in any way responsible for the making of it—except that the representatives of Canada were at the Peace Conference looking on and helping by way of looking on, and perhaps advancing a slight suggestion here or there. But this Treaty cannot be said to be the product of the brain of the Canadian Government, and whether it is right or wrong, whether it is a good Treaty or not, it would be, I think, highly improper and an insane deduction for the Canadian people to say that this Government should be turned out of power because the King and his counsellors thought proper to put His Majesty's signature to this document. I repeat the Canadian Government is not responsible for the Treaty, and the failure on the part of this Parliament to ratify it is not in any way, as I understand it, a reason why the Canadian Government should go out of power. I can only understand the position taken by the Prime Minister in one way, and that is he is anxious to make a party question out of the matter, a question that is entirely free from partisan politics as far as we on this side of the House understand it.

It is important to us, Mr. Speaker, to see whether or not the status of Canada having regard to the past, the present, and the future, is in any way affected by this bargain. We are proud, Sir, of the position which we have held in the past, we are proud of the position which we occupy now, and we hope that we shall continue to conduct the affairs of this country and our relations with the Mother Country and the Empire in such a way that ourselves and our children will have reason to be satisfied, contented and happy, and so that we may look forward with confidence to the future.

Now, Sir, in the past such statesmen as Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, Hon. George Brown, Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., Sir Oliver Mowat, Hon. Edward Blake, Sir John S. D. Thompson, and Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, were proud of the position this country has occupied ever since Confederation. Sir John Macdonald, for example, was perfectly satisfied with the status of Canada and her relations with the Empire and her usefulness to it, without the Dominion being committed to taking part in any outside wars at all. That, Sir, as I understand it, was the position always taken by that great Canadian statesman, who, with perhaps the single exception of the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, filled a bigger place in the hearts and minds of our people than any other Canadian statesman. We occupied an important position in our relations with the rest of the Empire before we ever participated in European or foreign wars. It is true that we have moved forward. We first took part in the South African War. From that we grew and developed into participating in the war which is now closed and with which we have to deal more especially to-day. On both occasions we acted upon our own initiative, on both occasions we acted entirely upon the absolute free will of the Canadian people as expressed by this Parliament. I submit, Sir, that a decision of that kind—the exercising of our own will in that way in respect to the directions that we may give to our sons and our daughters as to the attitude they may take in connection with any European or foreign wars being in the hands of our own Parliament, it is the most satisfactory condition in which we can find ourselves.

One of the questions which this House has to consider is, are we, by implication or otherwise, giving our assent to a document which materially changes our position in that respect? Henceforth, is it going to be by the free will of the Canadian Parliament, the free will of the Canadian people, that we shall take any part in troubles between other nations, or are we going to be bound simply to do what we are called upon

to do and what we must do—or at all events what we are in honour bound to do—under the terms of this document? I submit, Sir, that it is the intention of this Treaty, it is the intenion of the signatories who represented Canada when this document was signed, if I properly gather the effect of their work—it is their intention that henceforth any action we snall take shall not be the free will of the Canadian people, but that it will be a compliance with the terms of the Treaty, whatever those may be. Those terms are to be from time to time interpreted by a Council which will sit in Geneva, which will deal with certain facts and make certain findings, and on which Council we are not likely to be represented. I think I am safe in saying that on that Council we shall not be represented at all as far as Canada is concerned. I presume that the British Empire will be represented, but there is no certainty that this Dominion will have representatives upon that Council. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, the condition of things shall be that henceforth and forever the action or part which Canada shall take in any foreign wars will be decided by that Council, a memo. of their decision will be sent to us, and we will simply be called upon to perform the will and wish of that Council whether we like it or not. I do not agree myself with the idea of Canada signing this document as a separate and distinct nation, because despite whatever we may say, or whatever ambitions we may attempt to put forward in the line of being a nation we are not a nation in the true sense of the term. We are part of a great Empire of which we are proud, and we are nothing else. I fully agree with the representatives of Canada who took every possible part in the deliberations, as far as the Empire was concerned, that the Canadian plenipotentiaries should sit in the Council as the plenipotentiaries of the Empire, and that whatever conclusions should be reached should be conclusions on behalf of the whole Empire.

I am not to be understood, Mr. Speaker, as saying that I do not attach any importance to Canada being represented on those Councils—I do say that we cannot be too strongly represented on those bodies—but at the same time I maintain that it is not a strength but a weakness for us to put ourselves to one side, to separate ourselves from the rest of the Empire, and attempt to become a separate nation, or a separate part of the Empire as far as those obligations are concerned.

That, Sir, is the position which I take as far as those deliberations are concerned, and I submit that as long as we are not a nation, and cannot under international law be regarded as a nation, that it is better, in any negotiations that may take place, for us to maintain to the full the proud position which we occupy as a part and parcel of the British Empire.

I said that we were not a nation in the sense of being able to deal exclusively with other nations; we are not. I wish to quote in that regard an authority on international law. Although a lawyer, Mr. Speaker, I do not profess that anything I might say on the point would be regarded as authoritative, and therefore I quote from Halleck, a recognized authority on international law. At pages 70 and 71 of the first volume it is laid down as follows:

> The sovereignty of a State has reference to its political character, rather than to the nature of its territorial possessions. The territory of some States is in one compact body, like Belgium and Mexico, while the territory of other States, like that of Great Britain, consists of detached parts situate in every quarter of the habitable globe. Under the general appellation of State are included all the possessions of a nation, wheresoever situated, so that a colony, however distant, is, in the eye of international law, as much a part of the State which establishes it as is a city or a province belonging to its most ancient territory. By a sovereign State is meant a community, or number of persons, permanently organized under a sovereign government of their own; and by a sovereign government is meant a government, however constituted, which exercises the power of making and enforcing the law within a community, and is not itself subject to any superior government.

I want hon. gentlemen to note particularly that essential to a nation, that it must have a parliament which can make laws and which is not subject to any superior government.

> These two factors, one positive, the other negative—the exercise of power and the absence of superior control—compose the notion of sovereignty, and are essential to it.
>
> As a colony, a possession or a dependency constitutes only a part of the State, it cannot in itself be regarded, in international law, as a distinct political organization. Hence, any public or private corporation, created by, and deriving its authority from, a State, cannot of itself constitute a separate and independent sovereignty.

According to that authority I do not think it can be questioned that it is useless for us to say that we are an independent nation. We comply with all of this definition. The Parliament of Great Britain created this confederation, and that parliament in many respects still has control over any legislation of ours. If hon

gentlemen choose to look at section 56 of the British North America Act, they will find that any legislation we may pass may be vetoed at any time within two years by the King in Council. If it were only by the King it might be said: Well, we have to recognize the authority of the King. But it is not by the King alone that Canadian legislation can be vetoed at any time within two years; it is by the King in Council. Therefore members of the British House of Commons, and possibly members of the House of Lords, can get together and advise the King that our legislation should not be approved. Consequently we are not an independent nation because our legislation is at all points subject to the control of members of the British House of Commons as they may be from time to time advisers of His Majesty. Therefore we come within the definition given by this authority, that we are not an independent parliament, and that our legislation is not absolutely within our own control.

If hon. gentlemen will look at section 132 of the British North America Act I think they will agree that it is easily deducible from that section that it was never the intention that we would ever in the making of treaties have to deal with any foreign country. That section says:

> The Parliament and Government of Canada shall have all powers necessary or proper for performing the obligations of Canada or of any province thereof, as part of the British Empire, towards foreign countries arising under treaties between the Empire and such foreign countries.

I think it is perfectly clear, Sir, that the intention of the framers of the Act of Confederation was that treaties would be made between the Empire and foreign nations, in which treaties we would be involved and in respect of which certain duties would fall upon us not as a separate part, but as an integral part of the body politic of the great empire to which we belong.

Therefore, I submit, Sir, that our professing to make a treaty or to call ourselves a nation, and as a nation to become a member of the League of Nations, is absolutely impossible and cannot be carried out, and that in attempting to do so this Parliament and this Government have undertaken responsibilities which they are not in a position to carry out. We are not in a position to declare war, we are not in a position to declare peace. How can any nation be said to be a member of this League of Nations, which league has largely to do with the imposition of conditions which will prevent war or which will bring about peace? We are not in a position to do any of those things, and therefore, Sir, I think we are attempting to do what is not within our power.

I purpose to refer to only a very few of the articles of this very lengthy and very important treaty. Article VIII provides:

> The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments.
>
> Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.
>
> After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.
>
> The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.
>
> The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

Mr. Speaker, that Article involves maintenance by Canada of a standing army, a navy and an air force, and we are binding ourselves, with the other parties to the League, to lay before those other powers from year to year full information with regard to our various war materials, our war implements, our war preparations, and so on. I submit that that is not desirable. It is not the wish of the Canadian people that they should be forced into a condition of this kind; that they should be required to maintain a standing army, a navy and an air force. We are willing and we have always been willing to take our part side by side with the Mother Country whenever that was necessary; we have always been willing to stand by the flag. But I do not think it is consistent with the feeling of the Canadian people that they should be called upon, for instance, to enter into some petty quarrel between any of the new kingdoms or republics that are being formed in Europe, or to intervene in some trouble that may exist between Mexico and any of the minor republics of South America. Under this Article, when this Council, in which we have no representation, calls upon us to do so, we are bound to take a part in such

quarrels as I have mentioned. I submit that we can only do consistently and constitutionally what we agree to do under and by virtue of the machinery provided by and for the British Empire, of which we are a component part.

Of course, this agreement is already ratified. I do not think it is good politics or very high statesmanship—nor do I think it is necessary—to tell the people and Parliament that we must ratify this Treaty. The Treaty is already ratified; we are not called upon to ratify it. My authority for this assertion may be questioned, but if hon. gentlemen will take the trouble to read the speech made by the Right Hon. Lloyd George when he introduced the Bill concerning the Treaty, they will find that Lloyd George told the members of the Imperial Parliament simply that they were to pass a Bill enabling the Government to furnish the necessary means and money and appoint the necessary officers to carry out the provisions of the Treaty. The purport of his speech was that he was introducing a measure to provide the necessary funds and the necessary power to implement the Treaty. He says, in distinct English—any person can see it in the English Hansard—that the Treaty itself does not require ratification. I am indebted to the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) for a copy of the English Hansard in which the Right Hon. Lloyd George's speech may be found. I quote:

> The Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) (whose rising was the subject of a general ovation, members standing and cheering): I have to lay on the Table of the House, and to ask the leave of the House to introduce two Bills to enforce the most momentous document to which the British Empire has ever affixed its seal. There are two Bills which I shall have to ask the leave of the House to introduce. It is unnecessary to obtain the ratification of Parliament to a Treaty, except in one or two particulars. The ratification is for the Crown, but there are certain provisions in the Treaty of Peace, signed last Saturday, which it is necessary to obtain an Act of Parliament in order to enforce.

There were two treaties, one the Peace Treaty, which we are dealing with here; the other an agreement, which may or may not come before us, entered into between Great Britain, United States and France. In that agreement there was a specific provision that its ratification by the Parliaments of the countries concerned was necessary. Bills respecting both these Treaties were introduced at the same time by the Right Hon. Lloyd George, and he specifically said that the Peace Treaty proper had already been signed by the King and did not require ratification.

There is no authority or justification for saying that our ratifying or not ratifying the Peace Treaty will have any general effect upon it or interfere with it one way or the other.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Did Mr. Lloyd George ask this Government to submit the Treaty to the Canadian Parliament for ratification?

Mr. McKENZIE: There is nothing in his speech about it. I have read the whole of his speech.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Has not the statement been made in this House that we are asked by Mr. Lloyd George to ratify the Treaty?

Mr. McKENZIE: I very closely followed the remarks of the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) and as I understood him he did not mention Lloyd George. He said—Hansard will show that he said it—that we made a promise—I think that was the language of the Prime Minister—we promised or undertook that this Treaty would be submitted to the Canadian Parliament. At all events, that was the effect of the Prime Minister's statement. I understand that to mean that our representatives promised the King or his advisers that this Treaty would be submitted to the Canadian Parliament, and that they are now carrying out that promise. Our ratification of the Treaty does not involve any international negotiations, does not have any international effect, does not change it in the slightest degree. I suppose our representatives said to themselves. It is better; it is better politics, to submit this Treaty to the Canadian Parliament; it may please the Canadian people; it may tickle the fancy of members of Parliament to be asked to deliberate upon it. That is all it means. The Treaty is absolutely obligatory upon us now; whatever we may say about it will not change the situation in the slightest degree. Indeed, we have already signed it. I may be wrong in my assertion, but I do not think the plenipotentiaries from Ottawa received their power from us; I think they received their commissions from the King; I think they were appointed on the other side of the water. In that way, although hailing and saying that they were from Canada, they were simply plenipotentiaries of and directly representing His Majesty the King, and as such they signed the Treaty.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: It is quite true the plenipotentiaries were plenipotentiaries named by the King, but upon an Order in Council of the Government of Canada recommending such nomination.

Mr. McKENZIE: Anything else would be inconceivable to me. I could not conceive that His Majesty in Council would undertake to name representatives from any self-governing colony like Canada without consulting the Government of that colony in regard to the matter, and it was only a matter of propriety and politeness and well-sustained practice that the King in Council would ask this Government to suggest who should be the plenipotentiaries for Canada at this conference. That is all it was, and once that was done, they were no more Canadian plenipotentiaries than Lloyd George himself or the Right Hon. Mr. Balfour, or any other representatives of the British Empire. They were all in the high and honourable position of representing the Empire,and as such high and honourable representatives they signed the Treaty, and that is the end of the matter. That they are laying the Treaty before us now does not make the slightest difference one way or the other.

Speaking, however, entirely for myself and having nothing to support me but my own opinion, I believe that the position might be different as regards the League of Nations. By what is known in law as the doctrine of estoppel, if we want to insist upon our rights as a member of the League of Nations, other powers might be estopped from denying our ability to become a part of that league if any advantage were to accrue to Canada from it. We might say to them: You cannot now deprive us of any benefit we might derive from being a member of the League of Nations, because you have accepted us and as a matter of law this doctrine of estoppel might apply. But beyond the fact that other nations might be estopped from refusing to grant us the status of a nation, because they have recognized us as such, I do not think that by signing the League of Nations covenant and calling ourselves a nation, we derive any advantage or by any means change our constitution.

There is, however, another point in which our position in connection with the League of Nations differs from our position in connection with the general treaty. I think that by signing the League as a separate nation we would be in honour bound to recognize the decision of that General Council which is to meet at Geneva and which is to allocate to the different powers the parts they have to take in any war.

4 p.m. If we reserve to ourselves the right to say whether or not we shall recognize that Council, we shall be very much as we were before, following the lead of the Mother Country and taking such part in the wars of the future as the honour, standing and importance of this country may demand and require. If we reserve to ourselves the right of staying just where we were before so far as that Council is concerned I do not think we shall be in any very different position from what we would be in if our plenipotentiaries had not signed as representing a separate nation. As far as I understand the matter, that is the position.

As regards section 10, we are undertaking for all time to come to be policemen, so to speak, along the lines dividing any countries in the world who are parties to this League. We are binding ourselves to go down to South America at any time that there may be trouble between any of the score of small republics there, which almost every month are to be found in a revolution of some kind or another. By this covenant we are binding ourselves that, if we are asked by this Council to go down and take part in those fights we shall obey its behest.

There is in section 16 another extraordinary condition of things, namely, that we put ourselves in the position of possibly being in arms against the Mother Country. It is quite possible that some trouble might arise, say, for instance, between Great Britain and the little republic of Uruguay. I mention Uruguay because some years ago we had with that republic some trouble which was very effectively aired in this House, and we were obliged to send a Canadian commissioner down there to try to settle the trouble which ultimately was settled. Supposing another such trouble arises and Great Britain finds it necessary to send a warship there and to declare war upon Uruguay, what is our position? We undertake to say that if Great Britain goes to war without consulting and getting the consent of the whole League of Nations, and if she asserts her right by the power of her warship, we shall cut off further relations of any kind by trade or otherwise with the British people and furnish whatever means we can to fight Great Britain in her trouble with Uruguay. Hon. gentlemen may smile, but that is the position.

In section 16 we say that we shall refuse to have any intercourse with any member of

the League that goes to war or raises any trouble without our consent or the consent of the whole League. We undertake to be a separate member of that League. Our plenipotentiaries undertook to say that they signed that Covenant separately and apart from Great Britain, and we cannot blow hot and blow cold. We cannot say one minute that we are a nation and apart by ourselves and then when obligations arise that may embarrass us, take shelter under the wings of the Mother Country, and say: We are not a nation; we were only playing that; we did not mean it, and we will not take any part in this affair at all. It is for us to consider carefully those three articles, 8, 10 and 16 which, to my mind, are the most important as regards the League of Nations. I ask hon. gentlemen who are responsible for their position in this House, whether or not we should carefully consider them and get the fullest possible explanation from hon. gentlemen of the Government, particularly from the plenipotentiaries who represented us at Paris, as to what effect those three articles have upon Canada.

I wish to refer to the Bill that was introduced by the Prime Minister of Great Britain when this Treaty was under consideration. The language of that Bill will indicate that nothing was done in connection with ratification; and except for the necessary change to make our Bill a Canadian instead of an English Bill, there is not one particle of difference between this one and the Bill which was given its third reading there. I shall read the English Bill, which is not very long:

Whereas, at Versailles, on the twenty-eighth day of June, nineteen hundred and nineteen, a Treaty of Peace (including a protocol annexed thereto), a copy of which has been laid before each House of Parliament, was signed on behalf of His Majesty, and it is expedient that His Majesty should have power to do all such things as may be proper and expedient for giving effect to the said Treaty;

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. (1) His Majesty may make such appointments, establish such offices, make such Orders in Council, and do such things as appear to him to be necessary for carrying out the said Treaty, and for giving effect to any of the provisions of the said Treaty.

(2) Any Order in Council made under this Act may provide for the imposition by summary process or otherwise of penalties in respect of breaches of the provisions thereof, and shall be laid before Parliament as soon as may be after it is made and shall have effect as if enacted in this Act, but may be varied or revoked by a subsequent Order in Council and shall not be deemed to be a statutory rule within the meaning of section one of the Rules Publication Act, 1893.

(3) Any expenses incurred in carrying out the said Treaty shall be defrayed out of moneys provided by Parliament.

2. This Act may be cited as the Treaty of Peace Act, 1919.

That is the whole of the Act, and hon. gentlemen who have obtained a copy of our own Act will find that it is practically the same, word for word. There is not a word about ratification of the Treaty in the English Act and not a word about it in our own Act. We are therefore admitting, at any rate by implication and by our actions, that the Treaty is already ratified, and we are simply passing an enabling Act to provide for such actions as may be necessary in connection with the operation of the Treaty.

There are many other things that should be said on the subject, but I realize that there are several members who will no doubt wish to express their views in connection with the Treaty. The time at our disposal for its discussion is limited and for this reason I do not think that I should speak much longer. Let me say in conclusion that so far as party feeling in connection with this question is concerned, there was never in this House from the beginning of the war up to the present day anything but the greatest unanimity in doing whatever was necessary to carry on the war successfully. We all remember very well our meeting in the old House on the 19th day of August, 1914. You will recall, Sir, that on that occasion our great chieftain the late Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier made the declaration that whatever would be necessary or whatever could be done by the Liberal party or by himself and those who followed him would be done until Victory was won, and truth, justice, and liberty were fully assured. That, Mr. Speaker, was the position which was taken by him at that time as a Liberal, and it was also the position that was taken by the great leader of the Liberal party in the Old Land. The words of the Right Hon. Mr. Herbert Asquith when he was Prime Minister have frequently been quoted and it will do no harm to have them repeated in Hansard. Mr. Asquith, speaking in regard to the objects for which we entered tthe war, made this memorable statement:

We shall never sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium recovers in full measure all land more than all that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of oppression, until

the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed.

That was the position taken by the great Liberal leader of Great Britain, and it is no stronger than the position taken by the equally great Liberal leader of Canada. Now, Sir, some people may think that we had differences about the war. True, there were differences of opinion as to the way in which the war should be carried on, but there was never any difference as to whether Canada should do her best and utmost to win the fight, and I am sure it is the privilege of independent thinking men to have their own views as to how such matters should be conducted. Invariably men fail to see things in exactly the same light and there were some differences as to how the war should be managed; but that Canada should participate was a question on which there was absolutely but one heart, one soul, one mind, and one purpose from start to finish; a common determination to stand by the Mother Country with every man, with every dollar and with every resource. That being the case, all of us, Liberal or Conservative, irrespective of our political affiliations, can equally rejoice to-day in the happy condition in which we find ourselves as regards the consummaton of the agreement that brings this awful conflict to a peaceful and satisfactory end.

Hon. A. L. SIFTON (Minister of Public Works): Mr. Speaker, I regret exceedingly that there are a few things in connection with the eloquent address of the leader of the Opposition with which I must differ—not with his closing sentiments, but with some of the constitutional aspects of the question. Although possibly it may not be pleasing to the hon. member that I should disagree with him, I will at least give him the added knowledge and credit that in his constitutional arguments he agrees absolutely with the most conservative representative of the Government of Great Britain, and the representative of the most conservative people in Great Britain; that they are better able to look after this matter than are the people of Canada. It might be nice for the leader of the Opposition to know that so far as that is concerned he has the assistance in his argument of one of the most eminent men in Great Britain. As regards the ratification of this Treaty, there is no statement in connection with the matter which the hon. member has read that shows that the Treaty has been ratified at all. Up to date, so far as I have heard, there has been no ratification of the Treaty by Great Britain. It certainly had not been ratified on the date on which this Bill passed in the House of Commons, because it was after that I left Great Britain; and it is not ratified yet. One of the principal arguments in regard to the matter of ratification was as to whether the British Dominions would have the power to advise the King, because the House of Commons of Great Britain has not had the privilege that the House of Commons of Canada has, for this is the first occasion within the confines of the British Empire on which any Parliament has been asked to approve a Treaty. Great Britain has never done so; Canada has the advantage, at least from a democratic standpoint, of being the first Government which has ever submitted a question of this kind to the Parliament of its country.

This Treaty is going to be ratified, when it is ratified, by the King of England on behalf of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. It is going to be ratified by him on the advice of their government. When it is ratified on behalf of Canada it is going to be ratified by the King of the British Empire upon the advice of the Government of Canada. The promise that was referred to by the hon. gentleman (Mr. McKenzie) was not a promise by Lloyd George to the Government of Canada but it was a promise to this Parliament last session made by the Prime Minister of Canada that before ratifying this Treaty he would submit it to this Parliament and that for the first time in the history of the world it would be given an opportunity of expressing its opinion on such a matter. There is no question in the motion of ratifying the Treaty. It is a motion to approve as a whole or disapprove of the Treaty. I am not going to discuss this afternoon the details of this Treaty. This Parliament has a perfect right to discuss these details if it sees fit but it only can accomplish anything by either approving or disapproving of the Treaty as a whole, and that is the motion that is brought before us to-day. We are not here to deal with one or two little things in the Treaty but we are here to deal with it as a whole and it is for Parliament to either approve of it or disapprove of it.

There have been those, I am told, in Canada who say that there should be no change in the constitution of Canada without a vote of the people. I agree with that in one respect; I believe that there should

be no change for the worse in the constitution of Canada without the consent of the people. But any one who has taken the former point of view has studied to very little effect the constitution of the British Empire, or the constitution of that portion of it that we have the pleasure of living in. The constitution of the British Empire has gone on improving from day to day, from year to year, slowly, no doubt, but to-day we have an example of the most radical change in the constitution of this portion of the empire in the submission to Parliament of this treaty which the Government, under the British constitution, might have ratified by Order in Council as soon as they had a copy of the Treaty presented to them in Ottawa. That would have been a constitutional way of doing it but instead of doing that we have submitted it to Parliament. That is a radical change in constitution but it is a change which I think the members of this House will approve of and I have no doubt the people of Canada also will approve of that kind of radical change in the constitution.

There are people no doubt who think that the statesmen of Great Britain can legislate for Canada better than we ourselves can. Possibly they can but that has not been the feeling of most Canadians in the past. The feeling has been that matters that affect the interest of Canada, whether for better or worse, should be looked after by the people of Canada. The people of Canada have the idea that they prefer not to revert to the old Crown Colony conditions but to look after their welfare themselves.

The powers that were given by the King to the plenipotentiaries were not powers to act for the British Empire as a whole, but powers to sign treaties for the Dominion of Canada. The question has been asked as to what difference it would make whether we ratified or did not ratify this Treaty. I regret to see that the hon. member (Mr. McKenzie) has misunderstood the position in regard to that matter, but the answer was given that this motion was submitted to Parliament and if the motion did not carry, the Government, having submitted it as a Government motion, would be defeated and would resign. That is the natural consequence. They did not submit the Treaty; they submitted a motion and if that motion is defeated the constitutional course would be for the Government to resign. I hope the Government will not make another amendment to the constitution and endeavour to hold on to office for any further length of time if this Parliament thinks they are not carrying out their duty in submitting this motion.

In connection with the Treaty, there are certain matters that may possibly be of interest. When people, the representatives of Canada, have been away for seven or eight months dealing with matters of such transcendent importance, whether the recital is dreary or not, I think that some information as to what they have been doing should be laid before the House.

The Parliament of Canada will recognize the fact that Canada, in going into this war, occupied an absolutely different position from almost all the other allied and associated powers. Canada had no special interest to serve. No attack had been made on Canada, and no special objection had been raised by the people of Canada to the conduct of Germany up to that time. Canada entered this war for various reasons, one of which would be for the purpose, as an integral part of the British Empire, of assisting the Empire. Another object was the purpose of seeing that democratic institutions were kept alive. For these two reasons, among others, the people of Canada went into the war, but in so far as this war was concerned there was no particular right of theirs attacked and she had no interest peculiar to herself to serve. In that respect the people of Canada differed from almost all the other nations and from a number of the British dominions which had German colonies close to them and which had material interests which were endangered. We were in the war because we thought it was our duty, and when we went to the Peace Conference we went there on a different basis from most of the other nations which had special interests to defend. Canada was interested in the fact that she had taken part in the war and she was interested in seeing that there should be a good treaty made, in that respect there being no difference between her and the other nations. But, in so far as the actual Treaty was concerned, aside from the League of Nations and the labour provisions, Canada had no special interest in connection with this Treaty except to see that the best possible treaty was made. In that respect the delegates from Canada and from the other British dominions gave every possible assistance. The first question that arose after the delegates left here in November last and during their two months' stay in the city of London was as to representation of the Dominions at the Peace Conference. The claim was made by the Prime Minister of Canada, on behalf of Canada, and the

claim was made by other Dominions, that having taken part in the war, having spent their hundreds of millions of dollars, and having sacrificed their hundreds of thousands of lives, they had a right to be present when the Treaty of Peace was negotiated. If it was going to affect their interests in any respect, as it afterwards did in respect to these two matters which I have mentioned, they insisted that they had a right to participate.

There was a long discussion in regard to that and I would say in my opinion there was an absolute impossibility that it ever would have been granted if those delegates had not been there during those two months fighting for the rights of Canada and of the other British Dominions to be represented, and to at least express their opinions so far as circumstances might render it necessary to express them. We do not claim that we negotiated this Peace Treaty. We do not claim that it is the result of the efforts of the people of Canada or the peoples of the other British Dominions; the Peace Treaty is very largely the result of the efforts that were made by the representatives of the five Great Powers, and any one who was present will recognize the fact that these five Great Powers were doing the bulk of the work and the bulk of the deciding. I do say, however, that so far as the British Dominions were concerned the circumstances were such that their representatives occupied perhaps a much more important position than the representatives of any of the smaller nations or powers that were there, the reason for that being that the British Parliament was in session at the time, and it was absolutely impossible for British Ministers to be there. The five British delegates were not able to be present, only three members of the British Government were able to attend continually in regard to these matters, and it was absolutely essential, a great portion of the time being taken up with other matters, and it was a great assistance to them, that the chief Ministers from the various British Dominions, with some practical experience at least, should be there to work. And undoubtedly they did work. In conjunction with the permanent officials of the British Government in respect to all these matters, they worked hard six months, for the purpose of assisting in the formation of a treaty that would be to the advantage of Great Britain, to the advantage of the British Empire, and, so far as possible, a fair and honourable treaty for the world at large. That work was performed in connection with what I may call the Peace Treaty proper.

Mr. DEVLIN: Without wishing to interrupt the hon. gentleman, would he give further light upon his statement? What particular nation objected to Canada taking part in the Peace Conference? The hon. gentleman has said there was considerable difficulty in getting Canada represented, and the Right Hon. the Prime Minister made the same statement a few days ago. Can the minister say from whom the opposition came to Canada being represented.

Mr. SIFTON: From all of the five powers.

An hon. MEMBER: Including Great Britain?

Mr. SIFTON: Some of their people. I could give the hon. gentleman the names at another time.

Mr. DEVLIN: I would not ask the Minister to disclose what might be regarded as secret information.

Mr. SIFTON: That would not be secret information. It is only a question as to whether the disclosing of the information might not create trouble in the rest of the world and result in setting one nation against another.

Mr. DEVLIN: By all means, let us have peace.

Mr. SIFTON: That very considerable work was performed by the delegates from Canada and elsewhere, is demonstrated by the voluminous book which has been published. The manner in which this work was done, and it probably could not have been carried out otherwise, was that probably hundreds of committees, largely international committees composed of representatives of all the allied delegates, sat for the purpose of going into various matters and made reports. Each of these international committees had sub-committees. France had sub-committees, Great Britain had sub-committees, also Italy, Japan and United States. Each of these sub-committees worked and prepared and presented reports upon the various items which are included in the Peace Treaty. I happen to have a trunk full of documents, the preparation of which was necessary, to say nothing of several other loads that were destroyed. These were compiled in connection with reports made upon points that were finally crystallized into the Treaty. These reports were gone over from time to time, referred back to committee, and finally in completed form

presented to the Council of the five Great Powers for the purpose of being finally passed. Nothing was ever considered there except objections that had been raised and dealt with previously, and over-ruled in the international committees, and were submitted to the Council for final arbitration. In that way it was possible to carry out the enormous amount of work that was performed by the representatives of the various countries during that time. As it happened, the formal meetings of the Peace Conference were not at all meetings for discussion, but meetings for the purpose of registering the decrees that were practically completed before they got to the Conference, except upon one notable occasion when the Prime Minister of Canada held the Conference up for a few minutes for the purpose of getting a motion passed in connection with the rights of Canada. Upon the larger questions no discussion took place among the delegates assembled at the general Peace Conference, everything practically having been agreed upon before the questions were submitted for the final registration of the Conference.

As to the work of the Canadian delegates, apart from that of the delegates of the other British Dominions, I do not wish to enter into details further than to say that Sir Robert Borden, on behalf of Canada, wrote and circulated a memorandum in regard to the League of Nations which exercised very considerable influence upon the final arrangements in that regard.

The leader of the Opposition contends that we can take no part in the League of Nations. Let me say that Mr. Clemenceau, President Woodrow Wilson, and Mr. Lloyd George disagree absolutely with the hon. gentleman in that contention. I quote the following:

> The question having been raised as to the meaning of Article IV of the League of Nations Covenant, we have been requested by Sir Robert Borden to state whether we concur in his view, that upon the true construction of the first and second paragraphs of that Article, representatives of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire may be selected or named as members of the Council. We have no hesitation in expressing our entire concurrence in this view. If there were any doubt it would be entirely removed by the fact that the Articles of the Covenant are not subject to a narrow or technical construction.
>
> (Signed) G. Clemenceau,
> Woodrow Wilson
> D. Lloyd George.
>
> Dated at the Quai d'Orsay,
> Paris, the sixth day of
> May, 1919.

So far as that is concerned, I am quite satisfied, Mr. Speaker, to leave it, as those gentlemen will probably all be present at the first meeting of the League of Nations, and if Sir Robert Borden happens to be there with their letter, there will probably be very little discussion as to the true meaning of this clause.

The only other point in connection with the Treaty is the Labour Convention. Possibly thousands of people agree with the leader of the Opposition that this and the League of Nations Covenant might better have been dealt with separately and disassociated from the Treaty of Peace proper. I am not prepared to argue that there is not a great deal to be said in support of that contention; but the fact of the matter is that it was absolutely impossible to negotiate the Treaty unless the League of Nations Covenant and the Labour Convention were associated therewith, and the delegation would have broken up absolutely without accomplishing what they were attempting to do. It was only by the association of the three documents that they were able to get the final unanimous consent of the Allied and Associated Powers to what was done during those six months. If there had not been a League of Nations to come into existence for the purpose of guaranteeing some of the important considerations of the Treaty, it would have been necessary to continue to occupy Germany with a big standing army for the next thirty years until all the regulations were carried out. That was the reason why these three documents were joined together, and it was the only reason why a great many of the representatives consented to associate themselves either in the League of Nations or in the Labour Convention. But those who were there on behalf of the Dominion of Canada took the position that if it was absolutely necessary for the making of an honourable peace that there should be a League of Nations and a Labour Convention. They thought, with the labour conditions in Canada so far superior to the labour conditions in many other countries, that it was proper for them to join in any international union that was absolutely essential for securing the peace of the world.

In connection with this labour question, I may say, Mr. Speaker, that for the first time in my life while I was over-seas I assumed the duties of the Minister of Labour in his absence and took a special interest in this matter. I did this the first day that I saw the report of the Inter-

national Labour Convention, which was prepared for the purpose of being submitted, without change, to the Peace Conference. I found that so far as that Convention was concerned the gentleman who drafted it thoroughly agreed with the leader of the Opposition—they thought that the delegates of the British Government could better look after the labour interests of the Dominion of Canada than we could; and it contained a special clause to the effect that a member with its self-governing Dominions should only have certain representation upon that governing body, and under no circumstances could there be any other. So far as I was concerned, Mr. Speaker, although I would have been willing to sacrifice many things in connection with the matter, I said that that was not in the interests of the Dominion of Canada, and that the fight would be kept up until the last minute before I would ever consent to a document of that kind under which the labour men of Canada, who were so proud of their International Union, would have to go to the city of Washington on a footing inferior to that of the negroes of Liberia. I kept up the fight, and Sir Robert Borden kept up the fight and made it stronger perhaps, and finally, only the day before the Peace Treaty was presented to the Germans, those clauses were struck out and the Dominions received exactly the same recognition in regard to that International Labour Convention that was accorded to any of the thirty-two Allied and Associated Powers.

Now, Mr. Speaker, having detained the House long enough in regard to this matter, I would in closing just like to say what a vote does mean as to whether we approve or disapprove of this Treaty. I cannot go so far as to answer the question, what would be the result of not approving the Treaty, further than it was answered the other day, because the result depends upon other people. But we know some things that might happen. If the Government of Great Britain advised the King to ratify this Treaty, for the British Empire, regardless of whether or not it was thrown out by this Parliament, then it would be for the people and the Government of Canada to decide what should be done next. If the Government of Great Britain decided to ratify it on behalf of the United Kingdom and leave out Canada, then the question remains, whether Canada is still, technically, at war with Germany. To such a question the most abstruse study would have to be given by the Government and the Parliament of Canada. Therefore I think that in the interests of the Dominion of Canada and in the interests of the British Empire it is not well to raise a question of that kind. If the leader of the Opposition still thinks the Treaty is already ratified, then there is no reason for raising the question. We, who think it is not ratified do not desire to raise the question. The Government desire to take the position that the Dominion has up to date done everything it could for the purpose of assisting and keeping within the British Commonwealth, and we have no desire to raise any question of that kind at this stage of our history. Neither is there any object in raising such a question when, as the hon. leader of the Opposition has stated, there is no political interest in connection with it. We will have lots of opportunities to quarrel in the future—human nature is not going to change materially, even though we have a League of Nations—and the political feelings of the people will remain very similar to what they have been in the past. But I would ask, Mr. Speaker, that the members of this House, as representing the Dominion, should upon this one occasion set aside all personal bickerings or political differences in connection with this matter and unitedly say that, as a whole, it is better for the Dominion that they should approve of this Treaty as the eve of a horrible war and the dawn of what we hope and pray is an honourable and lasting peace.

Hon. HENRI SEVERIN BELAND (Beauce): Mr. Speaker, in conformity with the wish expresssed so eloquently by my hon. friend (Hon. Mr. Sifton) I want to assure you that my intention in rising to speak this afternoon is not to approach the subject before the House in a party spirit or in a spirit of hostility.

The subject is such as to impose upon all members of this House the necessity of forgetting their party affiliations in whatever observations they deem it proper to offer. It is in that frame of mind that I venture to present to the House a few remarks, which, I hope, will not be prolonged.

The Peace Treaty of 1919 is certainly the most momentous event in the history of the world. It throws in the shade, as it were, treaties like that of Westphalia and Utrecht, the Congress of Vienna, the Treaty of Paris of 1763, and the Congress of Berlin. For Canada this Treaty is full of possibilities and of far-reaching consequences and it is incumbent upon all the members of the House to give to it a few moments

at least of their earnest, honest, and undivided attention.

The Treaty is a striking evidence of the fact that the war which for four years devastated humanity has, so far as the Allied nations are concerned, reached a victorious and a happy conclusion. Canada, which of its own volition, in the full independence of its Parliament, took such a conspicuous part in the war and contributed so much to the downfall of imperialistic Germany and of the powers associated with Germany, has every reason to rejoice in the result achieved. The provisions of the Treaty point out in an unmistakable manner that the instigators of the war have received at the hands of the Conference of Versailles the treatment they deserve. As one who for over four years was the constant witness and in many cases the victim of Prussian methods and of pan-German aspirations, a perusal of a large number of the clauses of the Treaty affords me deep satisfaction.

The plea so repeatedly made that the war had been imposed on Germany, that theirs had been a war of defence, was with the object of galvanizing at first the attacking power, and later the power of the German nation to resist and endure. This plea, of course, is false and deceptive. May I be permitted, Mr. Speaker, before I deal more fully with the Treaty itself, to refer to one or two events that developed during the early period of the war in connection with the pretended disclosure of certain documents by Germany in Belgium. The particular event to which I want to refer has not been given as much publicity in the press of the Allied nations as it has, I assume, in the press of Germany.

On many occasions, as the House is undoubtedly aware, the extreme Socialists have in the Reichstag attempted to secure from the German Government a straight declaration of renunciation to the territory of Belgium and to the political and military subjection of that country, but they failed always to secure a satisfactory answer. The German press, obviously inspired by the military authorities, carried on a campaign the chief argument in connection with which was that Belgium had failed before the war to observe certain responsibilities and obligations imposed upon her by the Treaty of 1839. A few months after the occupation of Brussels, the semi-official organ of the German Government, The Nord Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung published what purported to be a secret understanding between the military authorities of England and the military authorities of Belgium in connection with the landing of troops on the Belgian coast. The publication of this document, as one would surmise, excited a good deal of sentiment in Germany and in Belgium, as I was able to find out then and later. In this connection, however, the Germans failed to bring out prominently before their people a stipulation which appeared in the margin of this document to the effect that the landing of English troops in Belgium should not take place before the German troops had invaded Belgium. A similar arrangement, for all we know, might have been entered into by Belgium with Germany. The only logical conclusion of it all is that Belgium was determined to protect her neutrality against all comers with all and by all honourable means.

But there is more than that. The Nord Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, with an evident desire to justify the invasion of Belgium on the first of August, 1914, added a semi-official declaration to the effect that the document to which I have referred was known to the competent authority in Germany before the war. One can readily see that it is here attempted to give a reason and a justification for the invasion of Belgium. But let us go one step further and witness the sitting of the Reichstag which took place on the fourth of August, 1914, when the then German Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, made, in substance, the following declaration; "Our troops"—meaning the German troops—"are at the present moment on the territory of Belgium; it is against the rights of peoples; it is against international law; but necessity knows no law, and Germany undertakes to restore Belgium to her independence and to recompense her for all damages caused to her civilian population or to her property as soon as Germany shall have attained her military ends."

If we take this declaration in conjunction with the statement of the German semi-official organ that the famous document was known to the competent authorities before the war, we have sufficient indication that the German Chancellor did not consider that Belgium had failed in the least degree in the discharge of her international obligations. The varying, incomplete, unsatisfactory and in many cases, nebulous statements made during the long years of the war by the successive chancellors of Germany, Baron Von Bethmann-Hollweg, Von Michaelis and Hertling, reveal only too clearly the well-considered intention of the German Government at all times to annex Belgium in toto or par-

tially had the fortunes of war been favourable to them.

Their treatment of Poland is also marked with an ill-design of exercising their peculiar gifts of domination over that country. From the day that the German Emperor proclaimed the Kingdom of Poland, (I think in the month of December, 1916), one would have believed that all the Polish prisoners in Germany would have secured their release. But the corridors and cells of the prisons of Berlin continued to be flooded, so to speak, with prisoners of Polish nationality, and those prisoners were gradually, by processes which I do not care to describe, converted into labourers for the munition factories, each of those prisoners thus releasing a German soldier for the front. Those who refused to work in the German factories were tendered another bait; they were asked to join the Royal Polish army, created for the purpose, as it was claimed, of protecting the independence of Poland, but that army, as the House knows, was under the high command of German generals. In Courland, Lithuania, Esthonia and Livonia skilful canvassing of the population by the creatures of the German Government was devised to bring over them the rule of the Hohenzollern sceptre.

It is in a retrospective glance of the mind, when all these machinations appear anew, that the various clauses of the Treaty, severe and drastic as they might appear, seem only too just. The lust of conquest, and the desire for domination have received a decisive check. The acquisitions of territory by Germany, in the East, the West, and the South, achieved in some cases in violation of solemn treaties, and in all cases in complete disregard and utter disdain of the laws of humanity, have been reversed against their authors. To the Conference of Versailles, that is, to an imposing array of victorious nations assembled for the purpose, has devolved the task of rectification and settlement in a general sense. The task is now done.

We are now asked, not as a sovereign nation—we are not and we could not be considered as a sovereign nation—but as a British dependency, to give our approval to the provisions of the Treaty of Peace, this Treaty which deals not only with matters pertaining solely to the settlement of the war, but with matters bearing upon social subjects and also having relation, as in the case of the Covenant, to the autonomy of some of the nations.

It may be that some reservation should be made here. The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) has in his remarks referred extensively to labour, and for my part I have no objection to offer to the provisions of the Treaty that deal with labour. It is eminently proper that a whole chapter should be devoted to the organization of labour and to the principles which apply to its diversified aspects. This particular feature of the Treaty is highly commendable, and the nine methods and principles enumerated in section 2 of that chapter will and may well be considered as the Nine Commandments of labour. Taken all in all, and even with the imperfections pointed out by some critics, chapter 13 of the Treaty dealing with labour is as perfect a document as could be devised and may well be regarded as a sure foundation on which satisfactory industrial relations will in future be established.

5 p.m.

The chapters which deal with the delimitation of the boundaries of Germany and other European, Asiatic, and African nations; with the limitation of armaments, naval and military of Germany; with transportation by land and sea, and commercial problems; with reparation, by financial and economic means; with the general subject of colonies and the mandatory system—these chapters, although open to much criticism and likely to give rise to friction in the future, ought to be unreservedly endorsed by this Parliament, if the action of this Parliament were in any degree necessary to give them any validity which they would not otherwise have.

A feature of the Treaty of Peace, and one which is very important and which calls for special attention, is the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Peace Conference has been persuaded into accepting this proposal, conceived and laid before it by the President of the United States, Mr. Woodrow Wilson. Constituted by no less than twenty-seven different powers, it has for its object and task to administer justice in the world, and, in doing so, to endeavour to maintain peace. What more noble rôle could be assigned to a body of powerful nations, especially after the iniquities and atrocities committed without number, and the bitter sufferings and mournings accumulated during the fifty-two months of the war! This League of Nations is devised to give that peaceful era for which the world longs. There is on the part of the desolate and devastated world to-day an ardent thirst for peace and rest, a thirst which is a thousand times more ardent than was felt after the Napoleonic wars.

The Covenant of the League of Nations forms an integral part of the Treaty. It is its first chapter. Whether it is subscribed to by a sufficient number of nations to give it efficacy, a number of nations powerful enough to enforce its decisions, remains to be seen, and the future only can tell. But at this moment the League of Nations fills with hope the hearts and the souls of many millions of people who have been torn from their homes and daily occupation and hurled into war for the sole purpose of vindicating certain principles heretofore considered essential and fundamental by civilized nations. So far as I am concerned, I wish God speed to the League of Nations.

But one cannot fail to recognize the fact that, for the first time in the history of Canada, Canadian representatives have attached their names as signatories to a Treaty of Peace. We have here the spectacle of twenty-eight sovereign powers, of which nine are kingdoms or empires and nineteen are republics, affixing their signatures to a document, and together with them appear the signatures of five dependent nations, all of them bearing allegiance to the same Sovereign power, England. These dependent nations are: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India. Are we, representatives of the Canadian people, given to understand that we are asked to approve of the Treaty because the political status of Canada in the world has undergone a change? Are we to understand that if the Canadian Parliament should refuse to ratify the action of our delegates, the hon. Minister of Customs (Hon. A. L. Sifton) and the hon. Minister of Justice (Hon. C. J. Doherty), who signed for Canada, the signatures given on behalf of the British Empire by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Balfour, and Lord Milner, would be questioned or impaired? My impression, nay, my conviction, is that no consequence of any importance to Canada, nationally or internationally, would result from our abstention, any more than if India's approval failed to be given. The clock of the world would continue to strike the hours and half hours as before. We are assured, however, by the Government, and by the Right Hon. the Prime Minister in particular, that we have gained in political status, and what the new status of Canada will be is to be decided at a conference which is shortly to be held. Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that Canada is gradually assuming more and more international obligations without any corresponding international status. A fever of imperialism, the main symptom of which is a blind desire to centralize in London the administration of Canadian affairs, is haunting the mind of some of our public men. In the interests of the solidarity and the permanence of the British Empire, and of the happiness and prosperity of its component parts, it is the duty of the Canadian Parliament to resist this tendency. Imperial Federation is considered by some as a forward step politically, but I have no hesitation in saying that in my humble opinion it is a retrograde movement. Pending some more definite information from the Prime Minister we are bound to come to the conclusion that Canada, as a result of the establishment of the League of Nations, has assumed obligations and responsibilities of tremendous dimensions without corresponding political advantages. Not being a Sovereign State, Canada could very well have left it to the representatives of Great Britain to enter the League of Nations. In such an event, ipso facto Canada, as an integral part of the British Empire, would have been a member of the League and would have shared in its benefits without being exposed to most difficult and dangerous situations politically and militarily. Let no hon. gentleman construe my words as the expression of a sentiment of selfishness and egotism. I lay claim to being as true a Canadian as anyone of those who from the housetops make pretentious declarations of their Canadianism. Had Canada been a sovereign nation like Belgium, Portugal, or the United States, my advice would have been to join the League of Nations. Mr. Wilson, in his speech delivered the day before yesterday, said that the League of Nations was impossible without the concurrence of the United States. That is perfectly true, and we can agree with the President of the United States in this contention. But if Canada were not a member of the League of Nations the British Empire would remain in the League, with whose proper existence nothing done by this country could interfere. But Canada is not a sovereign state. It has, I confess, many of the features that distinguish independent nations; but the domain of its political action has its limitations and restrictions, and those limitations and restrictions are numerous and important. I may be told that there are precious compensations; there are precious privileges; there are precious powers that are granted Canada by the British North America Act. That I admit. By the British North America Act in particular, and by subsequent legislation adopted by the Canadian Parliament, the Canadian Parliament alone

has the power to dispose of the Canadian militia either in this country or out of it. Without any interference, without any coercion from outside, it has been exercised on many occasions, and on no occasion with more glory and more brilliant results than during the last five years. But if this Parliament approves without a single reservation that part of the Peace Treaty which is called the Covenant of the League of Nations it ties its hands. It surrenders to a council of nine men sitting in Geneva the right to dispose of Canadian troops to quell any eventual disorder in any of the five continents, or to carry on any war, great or small, on the surface of the earth. Everyone remembers the Siberian expedition, and confesses that it was unpopular. It was a great blunder politically and militarily. But there was a redeeming feature about the Siberian expedition in the fact that it was entered into by the independent, or at any rate the seemingly independent, action of the Canadian Government.

An hon. MEMBER: Not the Parliament.

Mr. BELAND: It is true Parliament was not consulted. It was one of the numerous mistakes that were made by the Government. Can any one picture to himself what the result would be if, after the League of Nations is duly constituted, a council of nine men in Geneva should order 5,000 Canadian soldiers to the Antipodes? The dissatisfaction, I venture to say, in Canada would be so great as to border on revolution. My contention is that it is not making for the consolidation of the British Empire but rather for its disintegration.

But there is more than that, Mr. Speaker. The various clauses of the covenant vest in the Council of Nine the most extensive powers. Let us see how this Council of Nine will be composed or constituted. My hon. friend the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) in his eloquent remarks a few minutes ago, pointed out that there was nothing in the Covenant of the League of Nations that prevented Canada from being represented on the Council of Nine. Technically we must agree with the minister, but how is the Council to be constituted? It will be constituted of nine men, five of whom will be representatives of one of the five big powers—Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, Japan.

Mr. SIFTON: I see the hon. gentleman has made a mistake; it is the British Empire, not Great Britain.

[Mr. Béland.]

Mr. BELAND: Yes, I should have said the British Empire, because it carries out my view more effectively. The British Empire is exactly what I had in mind. That is the reason why, in the selection of the four other members, the 27 other sovereign and independent nations will never select another member from the British Empire. The British Empire is already represented, ipso facto as France, the United States, Italy and Japan are. Would any one for one moment contend that the 27 other nations, having to select four members, will resort to the selection of one member from the British Empire? No; the four other members will be selected from the other nations from amongst themselves and Canada will not be represented on the Council of Nine.

We have the Council of Nine. Now, I will go one step further than my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition in reference to this particular feature that I want to draw the attention of the House to. Let us suppose that a dispute arises between England and Italy over a strip of territory in Africa and that war is threatened. The final decision being in the Council of Nine, such decision is binding on all the members of the League if it is unanimous, but in an instance like this the two parties to the dispute have no vote; the decision rests with seven members of the Council. Let us suppose that the decision of the seven not interested in the dispute is against England and in favour of Italy, and that England, in spite of the decision, chooses to resort to war; will any one kindly tell me what exactly the position of Canada then will be? Will Canada, bound by the signatures of those gentlemen who were there feel under an obligation to side with Italy against the mother country? That is a question. I may be told that these are remote possibilities. I admit they are remote possibilities, but they only illustrate the futility, if not the absurdity of the contention that Canada of its own status becomes a real member of the League of Nations. The Minister of Public Works, in answer to a question by my hon. friend from Wright (Mr. Devlin) said that all the five big powers objected to Canada joining the League of Nations.

Mr. SIFTON: I do not mean that Great Britain objected; they were making a fight for us.

Mr. BELAND: I had anticipated, Mr. Speaker, that we would have this admis-

sion on the floor of the House. It is very important. I myself believe that England would rather not have Canada join the League of Nations. Great Britain is satisfied that whenever her interests, or the interests of the British Empire are threatened, she can count upon the hearty and generous co-operation of this leading dominion of hers —Canada. I understand, though I do not approve of the sentiments of pride—of personal pride—which must have expanded the breasts of the Minister of Public Works, the Minister of Justice and the Prime Minister when they returned to Canada. Having landed here with this Covenant of the League of Nations, they seemed to say to every one who cast his eyes in their direction "We are it; we are responsible for this marvellous feat." On many occasions we have said and repeated that Canada enjoyed almost complete autonomy. That was true in many respects and may it remain true.

I surmise—and I think I am right in surmising—that the representatives of Canada at the conference at Versailles made serious and persistent objections to some proposals. We have been unable so far to detect what those objections were. But one of the proposals to which they must have objected very persistently was that of making the Covenant of the League of Nations a part of the Treaty of Peace. They have been overruled if they have objected. We all know how steadfast, how persistent and how persevering was the President of the United States in this opinion of his that the Covenant of the League of Nations should be one and the same document with the Treaty of Peace proper.

The next proposal to which, I presume, they must have objected or taken exception to is undoubtedly that embodied in Article X and part of Article XVI of the Covenant. I see my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works smiling. It is a smile of approbation. These articles fail to establish any distinction between sovereign powers and dependent nations in regard to contributions in armed forces to carry out in any part of the world the decisions of the Council of Nine.

I assume that our delegates then realized that by those clauses Canada surrendered the right of Parliament to decide the question of sending troops out of Canada. Our delegates have signed the Treaty, and unless this Parliament attaches a reservation to it we are committed completely, and, as long as we remain members of the League of Nations, irrevocably. A reservation, Mr. Speaker, does not necessarily imply blame of our delegates, does not necessarily imply blame of the Government. A reservation does not affect the existence of the League. A reservation does not mean that we intend to shirk any responsibility or any duty. We have only to take as an illustration what has happened during the last four or five years; and in spite of the fact that our endorsation affords no validity to the Peace Treaty, and the Covenant of the League, which is a part of the Treaty, if the Government insists upon having the opinion of the House in an academic resolution I submit that with such a reservation Parliament should approve of the Treaty.

I submit equally, Mr. Speaker, that we should approve of the Treaty of Poland which, I understand, is going to be submitted equally for our endorsation, although our representatives did not sign it.

An hon. MEMBER: They did.

Mr. BELAND: They did sign it? Then I do not understand a remark that was made by the leader of the Government in the Senate the other day in reply to a question put to him by the Hon. Mr. Dandurand. Referring to the Treaty of Poland, Mr. Dandurand said:

> Although it does not seem to have been signed by the representatives of Canada.
>
> Hon. Sir James Lougheed: No, by the representatives of the British Empire; and the British Empire has been treated in the Treaty as being made up of Great Britain and the overseas dominions.

Perhaps I do not rightly construe the words of Sir James Lougheed, but it is immaterial. There is before me a copy of the Treaty and I notice that in the preamble to it the British Empire is designated as in the other Treaty. I was under the impression, though it was so designated, that the representatives of Canada had not been asked to sign it. I say that we should approve of the Treaty of Poland. We cannot read this remarkable document without feeling deeply gratified at seeing this unhappy nation at last restored to her independence.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. BELAND: We all rejoice in it. The mistakes the sufferings, the injustices, and the cruelties of a long era, are blotted out and Poland is conveyed to the table of nations, as it were, to start to write history in common with all the free nations of the world. But before I resume my seat, Mr. Speaker, I beg the privilege of

requesting all my colleagues, and for that matter all Canadians, to devote a little attention to one clause in the Treaty of Poland, and I beg them to read that clause carefully. It is clause 9 which provides for the protection of all minorities, racial, religious, linguistic. It sets forth that in towns and districts where a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents, adequate facilities are provided for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. BELAND: It also provides that all public funds under the State, municipal, or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes, be equitably distributed.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Which was signed by the representatives of Canada.

Mr. BELAND: I imagine that from such a tribunal as the Conference of Versailles, a tribunal on which sat representatives of the British Empire, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy, that provision ought to commend itself to all men imbued with sentiments of tolerance and justice. Let the mind of every Canadian, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, be pervaded with this sentiment of toleration, in order that in this country out of its diversified elements, a unity of peace having been attained, we may pursue our course, and we may see that the task, the tremendous task, of reconstruction which lies before us is carried to a successful and to a happy completion.

Brigadier-General W. A. GRIESBACH (Edmonton West): Mr. Speaker, the debate on this matter falls into two parts—a discussion of the Treaty and a discussion of the League of Nations, which is comprised in the document before us. The German people have been described as a nation in arms, and what has been said of the German army may be said of the German people. For fear that the public, and some of the members of Parliament, may have forgotten certain things of interest about the German people, I propose to lay before the House some of the things which have been done by them, things which have come under my own observation, because such matters are intimately connected with the Treaty which we have made and with the due observance of that Treaty.

I can tell of an instance at a place called Jemappes in Belgium where a British soldier, a prisoner of war who entered a garden for the purpose of picking some leaves off a tree to satisfy the pangs of hunger, was kicked to death by German soldiers, in the presence of the burgomaster and his two daughters. Again, British prisoners of war were brought up to a point south of Douai, where they were compelled to work for the Germans under British shell fire. I saw the buildings in which they lived, I saw that where they were housed there was an absence of all sanitary conveniences. I met some of the soldiers who were imprisoned there and I learned from them that they had not been supplied with blankets or clothing of any kind, that there were no sanitary conveniences whatever, that they were covered with lice and filth, received very little to eat, and suffered from our own shell fire.

The sinking of merchant ships and the firing upon their crews who attempted to escape in lifeboats, the bombing of undefended cities—these are things which we may forget, and I think it proper to bring them to the attention of the House at this time.

I have before me the report produced by a committee of jurists in England under the presidency of Lord Bryce, and I propose to read some extracts in order that the memory of our people may be refreshed. By the terms of their appointment the Committee were directed:

> to consider and advise on the evidence collected on behalf of His Majesty's Government, as to outrages alleged to have been committed by German troops during the present war, cases of alleged maltreatment of civilians in the invaded territories, and breaches of the laws and established usages of war; and to prepare a report for His Majesty's Government showing the conclusion at which they arrive on the evidence now available.
>
> A noteworthy feature of many of the depositions is that though taken at different places and on different dates, and by different lawyers from different witnesses, they often corroborate each other in a striking manner. . . . . .
>
> But the further we went and the more evidence we examined so much the more was our scepticism reduced. There might be some exaggeration in one witness, possible delusion in another, inaccuracies in a third. When, however, we found that things which had at first seemed improbable were testified to by many witnesses coming from different places, having had no communication with one another, and knowing nothing of one another's statements, the points in which they all agreed became more and more evidently true. And when this concurrence of testimony, this convergence upon what were substantially the same broad facts showed itself in hundreds of depositions, the proof of those broad facts stood out beyond question. The force of the evidence is cumulative. Its worth can be estimated only by perusing the testimony as a whole. If any further confirmation had been needed, we found it in the diaries

in which German officers and private soldiers have recorded incidents just such as those to which the Belgium witnesses depose.

I will not weary the House reading many of these extracts, but there are a few to which I want to draw attention:

In Hofstade a number of houses had been set on fire and many corpses were seen, some in houses, some in back yards, and some in the streets.

Several examples are given below.

Two witnesses speak of having seen the body of a young man pierced by bayonet thrusts with the wrists cut also.

On a side road the corpse of a civilian was seen on his doorstep with a bayonet wound in his stomach, and by his side the dead body of a boy of five or six with his hands nearly severed.

The corpses of a woman and boy were seen at the blacksmith's. They had been killed with the bayonet.

In a café a young man, also killed with the bayonet, was holding his hands together as if in the attitude of supplication.

Two young women were lying in the backyard of the house. One had her breast cut off, the other had been stabbed.

A young man had been hacked with the bayonet until his entrails protruded. He also had his hands joined in the attitude of prayer.

In the garden of a house in the main street, bodies of two women were observed, and in another house the body of a boy of sixteen with two bayonet wounds in the chest.

That is some of the evidence upon which these charges are based. This evidence has been circulated, but I fear it may be forgotten, and yet it is of the utmost importance in enabling us to form some opinion of the people we have been fighting with, and with whom we are now making peace. Here is the story of a Belgian refugee:

My wife's mother and my sister-in-law, who lived also in Werchter, went to my house to look after the cattle. This was about six weeks ago. I was then with my family at Bael, near Tremeloo. My house was burned and my sister and mother-in-law said that they went into a little place near the stable which had not been burned, and while they were getting ready for a little meal four German soldiers arrived. They asked if there were any men near. The women told them that the men had run away from the town because the Germans were taking the civilians as prisoners. The soldiers then said, "You need not run away from us, you are in safety here." At midnight the four soldiers returned, and after two of them had searched the stable to see if any men were there, the four soldiers violated my mother-in-law and my sister-in-law. They held a revolver at the two women before violating them.

These cases demonstrate beyond peradventure that the massacres and violations and the destruction of property were not committed by the Germans because of any lack of discipline, but rather because of the fact that they had the discipline necessary to commit them. This volume is filled with instances of outrages on the civil population, the use of civilians as screens for soldiers to advance, the killing of the wounded, ill-treatment of prisoners and wounded, firing on hospitals, stretcher-bearers, etc. Extracts from diaries of German officers and soldiers and proclamations issued by German generals and the German Government confirm the evidence of these barbarities.

Now, these are the people with whom we have concluded a Treaty of Peace. The terms of this Treaty extend over a period of thirty years, and I leave it to this House, to this country, and to the world at large to say whether this Treaty, without a League of Nations to enforce it, is anything else but a scrap of paper. Knowing the German people as we do, can any reasonable man doubt that so soon as a divergence of opinion appears amongst the Allied and Associated Powers, Germany would repudiate the Treaty? Therefore it seems to me that without a continuance of the alliance of the Powers which won the war, the Treaty which is before us is of no value whatever; and I say we should support the League of Nations Covenant, which is an integral part of this Treaty, in order that we may secure the compliance of the Germans with the terms of the Treaty during the next thirty years. If we do not succeed in doing so, then the blood that we have shed and the treasure that we have poured out will have been in vain.

A second object of this Treaty is the maintenance of peace. The study of the phenomenon of war has always been neglected in this country, and yet war is the most disturbing, the most devastating and the most stupendous incident in human life.

I have on another occasion said that we in Canada have had war once every fifteen years. During my own lifetime of some forty years we have had eight and a half years of war in Canada. To say that there will be no war in the future is to deny the logic of history and to repudiate human nature.

Now, why is there war? In our relations with the people whom we know, in the communities in which we live, we can see every day the factors that make for war. Two men have a transaction over a horse, or something of that sort; they disagree. Now, the State forbids them to settle their grievance by force of arms and requires them to go to a court for adjudication. A court is the substitute for private war, and behind the verdict of the court stands the power of the State. The analogy between the individual and the State is

complete to this extent: that individuals and states may quarrel; but it is incomplete to this extent: that as between States there has not been in the past a court to which states could appeal, coupled with the power to enforce the verdict of that court. True, there has been arbitration, but arbitration has been only partially successful because there has been nothing to compel the parties to carry out the verdict of the court of arbitration. The League of Nations comes before us now with a court for the trial of cases and with an agreement to provide the necessary power to enforce the verdicts of the court.

In the past we have experienced many unscientific methods for dealing with common ailments. Well-meaning people have sought to deal with the question of the liquor traffic, the question of venereal disease, without taking into consideration the factors of human nature, without calling science to their aid, without dealing with these matters logically. Some attempts have been made to put an end to war. The most common proposal to end war is not to prepare for war. We have followed out that policy—which is still strongly advocated—but it has not kept war away from us. On the other hand, we have had our wars; we have gone into most of them ill-prepared, and we have had to pay, in the lives of our young men and in a tremendous expenditure of money, to a larger extent than would have been necessary had we been prepared. So that it would seem to be of no particular advantage to be unprepared.

The proposal which we have before us may not end war, but it is a logical and reasonable proposal whereby war may be made more difficult, if not altogether avoidable. Consider for a moment the history of the social state. The development of the man who went out and took vengeance with a club brings him into the community. There private war is forbidden; his quarrels must go to the head of his clan for settlement. Then comes the formation of the state, made up of these communities. Private war is again forbidden, but war still remains as between states. What is more logical and more reasonable than that states should now join together for the purpose of forbidding war between themselves, at the same time providing that court to which they may resort and that force or power which is necessary to enforce the verdicts of the court? That is what we are face to face with in the League of Nations—a court to which quarrels may be carried, and that power to enforce the verdicts of the court which has been lacking in our previous arbitration treaties.

Now, there are two points for consideration: first, will this League prevent all war, and, second, ought we to participate? I can see at once the war to enforce the verdicts of the court. If the League is a failure, we shall be back to where we were before.

Then, ought we to participate? We have participated in this war, and it logically follows that if we would secure the peace which we struggled for, we should now participate in this League in order to ensure the carrying out the terms of the Treaty. Without the League there will not be fulfilment of the Treaty, and, as I said a moment ago, the blood and treasure which has been shed will be largely in vain.

What are our obligations? Our obligations are, according to our strength, to march with the free and liberal nations of the world to the suppression or the punishment of the outlaw nation. I do not fear that obligation, because, in the first place, we shall probably march in a just cause; and, in the second place, we shall have the previous deliberation and discussion through our representation in the League which is essential to the waging of a just war. In the past there has not been, so far as we are concerned, that previous discussion, that previous consideration in connection with wars in which we have participated. That is a state of affairs which ought not and cannot continue; it is a state of affairs which is dealt with by this League. We are given a representation; we are given an interest; we are given the opportunity of discussion and of deciding upon the justness and wisdom of the proposal which is made which brings us into a war.

We enter this League as a sovereign State. The Prime Minister very eloquently put that aspect of the case before us in the speech which he made the other day, from which I should like to quote in this connection. He said:

> That in this, the greatest of all wars, in which the world's liberty, the world's justice, in short the world's future destiny were at stake, Canada had led the democracies of both the American continents. Her resolve had given inspiration, her sacrifices had been conspicuous, her effort was unabated to the end. The same indomitable spirit which made her capable of that effort and sacrifice made her equally incapable of accepting at the Peace Conference, in the League of Nations, or elsewhere a status inferior to that accorded to nations less ad-

vanced in their development, less amply endowed in wealth, resources and population, no more complete in their sovereignty and far less conspicuous in their sacrifice.

That, in my judgment, supplies the most complete argument in favour of our belief that we ought to enter—that, as a matter of fact, we have entered—this League of Nations as a sovereign State.

It is true that many of the incidents and attributes of sovereignty are absent from our status. That is so because of the peculiar relations which exist between ourselves and the rest of the Empire. The League of Nations and the world must take us as they find us; they must have regard for the conditions under which we live. They must accept us and realize that we are a nation and a company of nations with a common Sovereign and a common flag, and that we have no desire to alter that, and that, I think, is the spirit of the League.

Throughout the drafting of this document there is the evidence of British statesmanship. It has studied vagueness in order that it will be capable of that evolution which has brought the British constitution to the point where it now is, and the League recognizes and the world must recognize that the great Empire to which we belong is still in process of evolution and that that evolution must continue. This document makes us a world power in law and promotes us from the condition of a colony or dependency to that of sovereign status. It confers upon us rights and obligations which startle us with their magnitude and far-reaching consequences. But after all we are asked to do only a formal thing, namely, to make legal that which already exists in fact. By the solidarity and determination of our people in waging this war to a triumphant conclusion, by the splendid efficiency and unquenchable courage of our troops in the field, we have won our place in the world, and no document which we may be called upon to sign, can add to or take from the place that is ours, for it is written in the hearts and minds of our people and upon the bloodiest fields of France and Flanders.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight oclock.

Mr. P. MICHAUD (Restigouche and Madawaska): Mr. Speaker, the magnificent speech delivered this afternoon has fairly well covered the ground for us. If I were possessed of the information which the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) has and which he did not give to us, and if I knew what the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) knows, and has not so far told us, I am sure my remarks would be quite interesting. The speech from the Throne which was delivered on the first of September contains the statement that our participation in the war "has involved heavy burdens and vast sacrifices which the people have borne with an unflinching spirit;" and, further, that "the labours of reconstruction may be difficult and even painful." These words were uttered in view of the subject now under consideration. The ratification of the Treaty by the Dominion Parliament has no importance whatever for us except for the fact that we, the representatives of the Canadian people, are asked to approve in a direct way what already the British Crown and the Canadian delegates have duly signed in the name of the British Empire. I am not satisfied with the manner in which we are asked to deal with such an important question as that which we are now considering. We, as a young people having to meet the financial obligations that have arisen during the war and having borne great sacrifices in men, are not only called upon to-day to carry a heavy burden and bear a vast sacrifice but are also asked to endorse without delay the Peace Treaty, including section 10 which reads:

The members of the League undertake to respect and observe as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

I believe this is too strong an obligation on the part of the Canadian people, for it pledges them to the world for the future. For my part I do not wish to undertake more than we can do. At present there is no one in Canada who can say what would become of this country, with our two billion dollars of debts, with the great unrest in the different parts of Canada, the strikes, the high cost of living, the interest due on war loans, the pensions to disabled soldiers, and the pensions to widows. I say in all sincerity that before plunging into unforeseen undertakings in future wars in Europe we should carefully weigh the circumstances and be circumspect in our actions. If in the name of humanity we were again called upon to send an expedition to fight the Bolsheviki in Russia, would we be ready at this moment to do so? What would you, Mr. Speaker, think of being called

upon to join an army for service in Armenia or Serbia, for instance, during the coming winter? The British Crown has pledged Canada, with the consent of its delegates, and now whether or not we ratify the Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations, the League will carry on its business as though we were not a nation. The Crown has already done for us what it expected us to do in regard to the League of Nations and the covenants of the Treaty. I learn from the papers that Germany is aiding the "Reds" to give Poland trouble, and is still helping the Russian army; that Roumania makes a threat to pass the Red menace on and says it will not oppose the Bolsheviki if the Allies disregard her claims. What does all this mean to the Canadian people? It means that more men will be sent to the battlefield; it means more money out of the treasury and it means that there will be more widows and orphans. It means more sacrifice. I am of the opinion that this country at the opening of the present session was entitled to a balance sheet well prepared by the Department of Finance, and that a balance should have been struck showing where we stand financially. Before pledging ourselves deeper in enormous expense in connection with future wars in Europe or Asia we should put ourselves in a better position at home. Reconstruction and re-establishment at the present hour are matters that should particularly occupy our attention. We owe not only a debt of gratitude to our soldiers; we owe them our support and help. We owe a living to the widows and orphans whose position the war has made extremely difficult. In the speech from the Throne there is not a word of praise to the soldiers or widows. Great Britain and the Allies called upon the Canadian people for help during the war and we responded beyond their expectations. Surely, then, we can be trusted in future, whenever in our judgment our action is necessary, to do all we can when called upon to defend the weak from the strong, and prove ourselves again, as we have done in the past, true and loyal to the Mother Country. Why a written guarantee on the part of the people of Canada when the Treaty has already been ratified? Have we not a better proof than any written guarantee in the 400,000 soldiers who voluntarily enlisted to help the Motherland? Have we not a better proof in the number of widows and orphans we have at home? Have we not a better proof in the large number of Canadian women who crossed the ocean to take care of the wounded soldiers? These facts, to my mind, are a better pledge to the League of Nations of Canada's righteousness than our ratification of this Treaty. Let the Mother Country trust us, for we are still the same young and vigorous people who did not lose the opportunity of showing our readiness to join a good cause when called upon to do so. Mr. Speaker, allow me to read in French a statement made lately in Europe as regards the result of the war and what we should do:

(Translation). Humanity is paying the price of the unprecedented effort that it has just put forth. Having struggled beyond its strength, it now needs rest, that it may relax its muscles, soothe its nerves, recover possession of its will to live, by turning away from visions of death.

Mr. H. M. MOWAT (Parkdale): I agree that in discussing the question which we are privileged, to debate to-night, opinions should not necessarily be shadowed by the position in which members sit in the House. However, as the debate proceeds it is increasingly evident that those who are not in favour of the Treaty are on one side of the House and those who are more enthusiastic for it are on the other. Perhaps this is a result of our political way of doing things in Canada, but whether that is so or not and in any event, I am sure that we have heard nothing here this afternoon or to-night which transgresses the courteous course of the debates which have characterized this House, and I shall try not to offend. At the same time, in regard to opinions expressed on the opposite side, it seems to me that we might divide them—not to speak offensively—into those who are pessimistic about the result of the Treaty and our joining in it, and those, on the other hand, who seem to be anti-imperialistic, as they would like to call themselves, but whose position I regard rather as one of standoffishness. In the first group of these I think we must put the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) who is gallantly and unselfishly occupying his vicarious and somewhat delicate position in a manner which should gain for him the gratitude of his own followers and which, I assure him, has the admiration of members on this side. He is the leader of those who might be called the pessimistic school. He minimizes everything. His speech to-day throughout minimized the efforts of the Canadian statesmen who were plenipotentiaries in Europe; he minimized the position of Canada. He might be called—I see he has just come in—the leader of the

Little Canadian party, if there is such a thing. He seems to idealize or embody that feeling which is of the shrinking, shivering kind, typified in people who do not like to see Canada emerge from the position which it has hitherto held, do not like to see Canada make progress, and are afraid that any step made in a new direction may land her in trouble and tribulation. I venture to say, however, that the people of Canada are not of that build. We have built ourselves up from something very small and tottering, a small nationhood at the beginning but gradually growing. And I am surprised, as indeed we must all be surprised at this new attitude of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition and some of his followers, because he was not taught thus in the last few years of political life in this country. There is one man in Canada whom we all admired to a great extent, and that is the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I admired and followed him until he failed us in a great crisis in which it was impossible to continue under his leadership.

If Sir Wilfrid Laurier did one thing more than another to accentuate his leadership of the Canadian people, it was to teach them to realize that they had become a nation, and when he used that expression on an important occasion it created an enthusiastic feeling on the part of the people of Canada, a feeling which had never before entered their breasts. Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke of the nation. He spoke of the twentieth century being Canada's century, and he continued with all the ability and acumen that he possessed to urge his fellow-citizens towards greater and bigger things. Yet, we find his supposed followers coming into the House to-day and taking an entirely opposite position. Not one cheerful word, not one word of optimism has been uttered that I can recollect but rather have we heard words of fear and pessimism. Is this really the feeling of those who are on the other side, is it really the feeling of many in Canada; or is it just the old fashioned way we have got into of presenting acute political differences and accentuating party ideas? If these ideas are not held so strongly as is indicated, there is still hope for us.

Canada, I contend, is a nation, not because somebody says so but because it has gradually emerged into a position of strength and vitality and is being recognized by the world as a nation. I do not care for the British North America Act—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. MOWAT: Wait until I say it and then I will give you a chance for applause. I do not care for the British North America Act because it deals with legal matters, questions of jurisdiction and extent of jurisdiction. Section 56 provides that within two years an Act of this Dominion may be annulled and not ratified. Seldom has anything of that kind occurred; in fact scarcely within our memory has an Act been annulled. We are not bound by the clauses of the British North America Act which is our charter, when we begin to have national aspirations. I venture to say that no Parliament in the United Kingdom would fail, on the slightest reason being presented, to modify the British North America Act if it was found to be coercive or restrictive of our national ideals. We are too closely in touch in spirit with British statesmen and the British people component of the British Parliament to have an obstacle like that thrown in our way.

Canada has asserted its claim to nationhood for many years. In 1878 the right to set up its own tariff walls; it was felt in 1878 to be a grievous thing towards the tradesmen in England. There was exasperation expressed. The opinion was expressed by prominent lawyers that the fixing of tariffs, which is one of the greatest causes of war and differences between nations, was not competent to Canada because she was a colony. Canada held to her lines rightly or wrongly on the matter of free trade and protection or anything of that sort, and contended for the right of the Government and the majority in this Parliament to pass restrictive high-tariff legislation. Then the feeling in Great Britain subsided. They said: "All right, if you are going in for nationhood, we are not going to put anything in your way." We had that tariff for many years.

Again, in 1893, the Liberal party came to the conclusion that we should have a preference in favour of British goods as against those of foreign countries, and when they came into power in 1896 they did enact a preferential tariff which brought about a feeling of codiality between the Mother Country and ourselves that has prevailed to the present day. Mr. Kipling, who was looked upon as the greatest poet in so far as national affairs and aspirations are concerned, wrote some verses which were accepted in the Old Country and this as significant of the change which had taken place in the status of Canada. They ran thus:

A nation spoke to a nation;
A queen sent word to a throne;
Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own.
Mine the gates to open;
Mine the gates to close;
But I abide by my mother's house
Said our Lady of the Snows.

What was said by Kipling—"a nation spoke to a nation"—was accepted by us. That is many years ago, and it is altogether too late now for us to be arguing or debating in this House upon the question or to attempt to change the flow of Canadian thought so as to minimize our position in the world.

But none of these things was entirely sufficient to put us in the position we are in now—neither the enactment of the high tariff nor the change in the tariff, nor the mere calling of this country a nation. None of these was sufficient to bring us to a full realization of all that we really are. But to-day, fortunately, we have the sturdy action of the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) at this very Peace Conference which we are discussing. We know the difficulties he had and they were natural difficulties. No one wonders at other countries feeling that the Mother Country was thoroughly competent to legislate for the whole Empire and the Mother Country itself may have had doubts as to the propriety of our entering as a full-fledged nation. They might have anticipated difficulties with other countries as a result of sponsoring the claim of the right hon. the Prime Minister that we should be recognized as a nation. But he had his way and when it was known that we were recognized by the world as a nation there was nothing that could have thrilled the people of Canada more or caused them to look forward with greater confidence and hope to the future than the struggle which he made.

Then, besides the pessimists and the minimizers, and the Little Canadians whose views have been expressed through their representatives to-day, there are those who want to stand off from any closer relations with the Empire. Many on this side do not understand that attitude but we are quite ready to listen in order to appreciate if possible what is said in that connection. I was surprised, I must say, to find my hon. friend from St. Johns and Iberville (Mr. Demers), whose speech gave great pleasure on this side of the House, setting a bad example by calling Canada a colony. I am unable to appreciate why it is that anybody wishes to minimize the position of Canada instead of giving her the position which her importance merits. The word "colony" was also used by the Leader of the Opposition.

That may be effective in debate but I venture to say again that it does not express the real feeling of the people of Canada at the present time. We have the strength of a nation, we have the robust and virile people to make a nation, we have all the natural resources which a rich and powerful nation should have. And if we are to be a nation when we have a population of eighty millions why should we not be a nation now, why not so arrange and adapt things that we will be ready with a population of eight millions for the time when we become a nation of eighty millions? There is no time like the present.

I also suspect my hon. friend from Kamouraska (Mr. Ernest Lapointe)—although I did not have the pleasure of hearing his remarks, I read his speech—of having what I might call a scunner towards closer relations with the Empire. But we must remember that we form part of the British Empire, and that Empire is not a state but a nation. There is this difference between a nation and a state: nationality means the getting together, by accident, conquest, or other reason, of people of the same ideas who wish to live together, to understand each other, and to be left alone. That constitutes nationality, but a state is something more than that. It is having all these feelings, or perhaps not having them, but having the machinery or organization to get the peoples together. Now surely, belonging as we do to the British Empire, there is no one in this House or this country who does not deem it important that we should be as close as we can to the different component parts of that Empire. The British Empire may be likened to a wheel or rather the hub of a wheel with many different coloured spokes running out, if I may use as illustration the vari-coloured advertisement which we all see in the streets. And when we speak of an English-speaking Canadian or a French-speaking Canadian, or an immigrant Canadian, a Maori, an Australian, a Boer, or a New Zealander, they are all from the same hub. But remember, as we get nearer to the hub of that wheel we are all ourselves drawn closer together. That is my idea of what the component parts of the British Empire are to-day. It is my belief that there is nothing to-day in the world in the way of nationality or government that has done more for the world than the British Empire, with

its sense of justice, with its vigour, and with its ability to improve the countries which it peacefully incorporates. There is nothing which has contributed more to civilization than the British Empire. Of course, we are all proud of the British Empire, and proud of belonging to it and for that reason we should endeavour to strengthen it wherever we can.

I hope that my hon. friends opposite who have this feeling about shrinking against what they call centralizing things in London will not take that position with regard to this Treaty. Why, what is going on is the very reverse of centralizing in London. When we are asked to approve of this Treaty, not to ratify it, but approve of it, we are doing it independently. As was said to-day before, we are the first Parliament or legislators in the British Empire that has discussed the matter, and there is no centralizing in London unless we are prepared to give that centralization. My idea of Canada is that it is the biggest, the richest, and the greatest component nation of the British Empire, and with proper feeling there is no reason why all, no matter what may be the nationality of this country, should not go on and help towards that result. We must needs refrain from saying exasperating things of each other and try to understand each other's point of view. There is no reason why we should not think of Canada in the words of a robust Canadian, Charles Mair. I do not know whether he is living yet, but he was alive a few years ago and was liviing near Calgary. It is Charles Mair who gave us this ideal:

> Make Canada a home of generous life
> Of ample freedom, slowly won,
> Of modest maid and faithful wife,
> Of honest love 'twixt sire and son.
> First feel throughout the throbbing land
> A nation's pulse, a nation's pride.
> The independent life. Then stand
> Erect, unbound, at Britain's side.

I think we might all agree upon the sentiments in those verses.

Now, to deal with the question of the Constitution before I finish. It does not seem to me that we can settle this question or bring this debate to any good conclusion by carping or being too critical of the constitutional elements which surround the question. We cannot settle the question of the nationality of Canada by taking a detached sentence from Halleck's International Law, as was attempted here to-day, in order to prove a point—it cannot be done. Halleck had not this particular state of affairs in his mind. I doubt if he had Canada in his mind; he was thinking more of the European nations. We are beyond the ordinary international law, or constitutional law, as it is generally understood in Europe. We cannot be so circumscribed by it. The British constitution is an extraordinary erection in that it has come on bit by bit, liberty upon liberty, line upon line. Nobody can tell you how it has been made, but it suits our purpose. It is in no way like the American constitution where you have a formal agreement entered into and which requires specially voted amendments. We govern well and satisfy the people of the British Empire because of the elasticity of our Constitution, and we hope nothing will be done to restrict it or make it less elastic. It is not a written constitution; it has been built up by word of mouth and by the sane, proper and patriotic action of the Parliaments which go to make up the British Empire.

This League of Nations is not a new thing. It is not a new proposition that we have to discuss, except that it has new features. Leagues of nations have been made before. In 1815 there was the Treaty of Vienna which provided for the internationalization of the River Danube by an agreement between the powers. In 1856 there was the Treaty, or the Declaration, of Paris, made after the Crimean War, in which the practices of maritime warfare were discussed and settled upon between the different nations meeting at the time. Then there is the Red Cross Agreement of Geneva, made in 1864, for the treatment of the wounded; and in 1874 the Treaty of Agreement of Brussels, by which the methods of warfare on land were discussed and which were mainly, as I understand it, the basis of the subsequent Hague convention. But the trouble with all these agreements and treaties was that there was no enforcing power, and history having taught us the fact that agreements without the enforcing power were futile and scarcely worth the paper they were written on—barring the Red Cross Treaty which, with the exception of one country, has been carried out by the nations of the world—not being able to enforce these treaties they lacked an essential quality when they were entered into. So we come to the present League of Nations which means simply that the civilized nations of the world shall do the policing of the world. If there is an invasion of the integrity or the territory of one of the nations composing it, we must go to her rescue—we bind ourselves to do it. Such a thing was never incorporated in

any previous treaty, but we are bound to do that because we are turning ourselves for the good of the world into international policemen. Let me give a very ordinary illustration: In every well-constituted town there is a police force which has certain regions and certain beats, and on the whistle of one constable or roundsman, the others will come to his aid if he is being attacked, and no police force is worth anything unless there is this co-operation and instant rushing to help the belaboured man. What would Canada be able to say if, as a result of the action of this Parliament, we should stand aloof and say: "We do not want to get mixed up in any European country's affairs, which do not concern us at all; this is our beat and we do not want to go outside to help anybody else; we are afraid of the results that might follow"? So by this Treaty, the most important in the history of the world, the civilized nations have agreed to do the policing of the world, and it would ill become Canada churlishly or shrinkingly or fearingly to excuse herself from participating in a work which must, it seems to me, redound to the good of the world. The Treaty contains an enforcing clause. My hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, asked: Does the approving of the Treaty take away our liberty of choice as to entering into a European war? Yes, it does. And I thank Heaven that it does, because if we were left without the obligation which we have voluntarily taken upon ourselves, and if, owing to the politics of the times, any nation could divorce itself from the general action of the associated nations, then the League of Nations would not be worth the paper it is written on. Of course we are bound together, and we will be proud to do our small part in enforcing generally upon recalcitrant nations that peace which will redound to the good of the world.

We say, perhaps: We do not want to mix ourselves up in foreign affairs. But has it never occurred to some, Mr. Speaker, that Canada may need protection of such a league in a very few years to come? It was declared here to-day, when the Minister of Public Works was interrogated as to who said this or that, that it would be improper to mention names. I think it was a wise declaration on his part, and therefore I am not going to mention names—what is the use? But as anybody with any sense must see, there are elements at work which may leave us open to attacks from well constituted maritime powers which may become dissatisfied. It may be that we will be the first country to need the protective force of this clause 10 of the League of Nations, and it would be a pitiable thing if we were to discard it simply because we have a shrinking dislike to enter into European troubles.

Here for the first time we have real internationalism, not mere pious agreements which have no force—not Hague conventions which anybody may break, and which nations did break in the late war—but we have internationalism reduced to a definite and obligatory basis. Let us see how it is going to work, this agreement between the best nations of the world to do certain things and to refrain from doing certain other things. I say it would be a pity to send this Treaty back with a stab of disapproval. It must not be forgotten that we are going to be a respected nation in the League. We sent over five hundred thousand men, most of them voluntarily, to a war which they believed had to be fought for the sake of humanity. Do you suppose that has not had its effect upon the peoples of the world? We know it has, and we have had many a tribute of admiration and praise that we, so far from the battleground, and with our extensive territory stretching from the Yukon to the Atlantic coast, could send men from every quarter of our Dominion to enter into this war. It was a glorious thing to do, and our Allies have acknowledged the value of our contribution to the victory which crowned our united efforts. We won the respect of the world, and let us not now be laggard in doing our share for the success of the world's greatest Treaty—a Treaty which may become the greatest boon that mankind has ever experienced.

Mr. LUCIEN TURCOTTE PACAUD (Megantic): Mr. Speaker, in availing myself of this opportunity of discussing the Treaty of Peace, it seems hardly needful for me to say that I fully recognize and appreciate not only the vastness of the problems involved, but also the far-reaching consequences which they will ultimately have on the future of Canada. Laying aside for the time being the reservations and the criticisms which a perusal of this document may suggest to one, I feel prompted at the very outset of my remarks to recall the magnitude of the task of those whose mission was to draft this Treaty, to pacify a world which had, during four years of war, suffered the greatest carnage known in history. I could not better illustrate the thought which I wish to convey, Mr. Speaker, than by citing

the word of a great French writer and statesman: That during the seven months which preceded the signing of this Treaty it was as if humanity had been placed on the dissecting table so as to better discover the mystery of its new organism and of its new life, to detect and to stamp out from its very soul the venom which had poisoned it in the past and nearly brought it to its downfall. This was the lofty purpose which the representatives of the great powers had in view, and to what extent their efforts were crowned with success a study of the document which is now the subject of this debate can alone enlighten us.

A Treaty, Sir, which has for its object the re-modelling of a whole world, when presented for ratification to this Parliament —though I strongly hold, as others have done before me, that this ratification is alike dangerous and unnecessary—should not at least have prompted the Government to pursue the course which they had intended to pursue—to snatch from any individual member of this House the time and opportunity to study this Treaty with the care and attention which the interests of this country demand. Such hasty action, Sir, as it was intended to impose upon us was not justified, in my opinion, on any ground of reasoning, and furthermore, may I add, it was in direct contradiction of the attitude which had been taken by the governments of France, of Great Britain and of the United States where the statesmen seem to respect more clearly the privileges and the rights of Parliament than the gentlemen who for the time being are occupying the treasury benches of this House.

Wishing, Mr. Speaker, to curtail my remarks as much as possible, I will endeavour as briefly and as clearly as I can to lay before the House the general conclusions which I have reached and which will explain the vote I intend to cast on this most important matter. It is a fact that this Treaty has been severely criticised and in some quarters unmercifully assailed by men of outstanding character and reputation in all the allied countries. Let us not be surprised at this divergence of view on the part of men who are not responsible for the framing of this instrument, when we recall that the Treaty itself is but the result of a compromise between those who had the responsibility of drafting it.

Bearing this thought in mind, what do we find in this Treaty? We find features which will assuredly have the hearty support of the interested people. We find clauses which do not live up to our expectations; we find others, again, which seem to shatter the very hopes of those who have sacrificed so much, by endangering the safety and future freedom of action of the countries which they indirectly affect.

Sir, what appeals to me most strongly in this Treaty is that in it are to be found, though modified and amended, the principles which prompted and inspired the famous fourteen articles of President Wilson, which at the time of their pronouncement on the 8th of January, 1918, stirred the Allied world, and commanded its hearty and enthusiastic support. What are these principles? Could they not, when considered in their last analysis, be reduced to the following three political axioms:

1. That each part of the final settlement should be based on justice, under reserve of dispositions the most proper to guarantee permanent peace.

2. That no territorial settlement should be made that does not comply with the interests and advantages of the populations involved in the said settlement.

3. That each well-defined nationality should see its aspirations realized in the fullest measure.

Mr. Speaker, looking over this Treaty from cover to cover, though we may perceive that these axioms were not always rigorously adhered to, can we not proclaim that it is through the instrumentality of these principles that new nations have come to life, endowed with the blessings of freedom, at last delivered from the yoke of oppression? Unfortunately, Sir, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that great as has been the advance in the right direction, there are still many flaws in this Treaty, regrettable omissions which we may hope soon to see remedied and adjusted. I am frank to admit that for myself I should have liked at this moment, when we are witnessing the births of nations, the resurrection of Poland, the transfer of Alsace-Lorraine to its rightful owners, to see also the final settlement of the Irish question. I only hope and pray that the bitterness engendered through centuries of struggle in that country may soon disappear through the influence of freedom, generously accorded to her people.

These, Mr. Speaker, are the three considerations which the study of this Treaty from its larger aspect have suggested to me.

I now come to the last and most important point which I wish to raise, as many others have done who preceded me. Is it necessary for this Parliament to ratify this Treaty? What would be the consequence of our ratification or of our abstaining from ratify-

ing the Treaty? In what direction lies the surest safeguard of Canadian interests, which we are here to protect? These questions have been raised and fully discussed in the course of this debate. I unhesitatingly range myself with those who have argued, to my mind so well and so conclusively, that ratification by this Parliament is unnecessary and that whatever may be our action in this House, the Treaty will remain unaffected. No amount of sophistry, from whatever quarter it is launched, can, in my opinion, effectively veil this truth: that in the authority within the British Empire to which belongs exclusively the right to declare war in the name of the Empire—the King and his constitutional advisers—is alone vested the power to make peace for that Empire. What, therefore, are the motives that have prompted this Government to such hasty action—to the calling of a special session to ratify a Treaty that needs no ratification by us? It is in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and especially in Article X, that we may find a reason for their action.

I do not wish, Mr. Speaker, to be understood as being opposed to the principle of the League of Nations. I strongly believe that permanent peace cannot be hoped for without the closest co-operation between the democratic nations of the world. These nations are called upon to protect and to defend two principles: the principle of justice inherent in the aspirations of their people, and the principle, too often forgotten, of mutual respect among all nationalities. In the defence of these principles, and to better assure that peace and justice may in the future triumph in the world, we are now erecting a new organism representing alike nationalities and democracies—an organism which is embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations. But, Sir, could we not have attained this same high purpose through other means than by those which bind this country in the future to abide by the decision of a Council in which we shall not be represented—a decision which may be so far-reaching in its consequences as to have the effect of dragging us into a war, of conscripting our young manhood and our wealth for the purpose of protecting the territorial integrity of other nations, and this without giving to our Parliament the right to deliberate and to decide on the merits of the case?

The Government, by forcing us to ratify a Treaty though no good can be derived from such action and though no necessity is apparent for it, are only taking advantage of the reluctance that a member may have to reject it on general grounds, in order that they may better pursue their old policy of imperialism in disguise—always ready to raise an altar to Canadian autonomy, but never failing to undermine in action what they so highly praise and proclaim in words.

This, Mr. Speaker, is the situation as it presents itself to me. It is grave and critical, endangering, as it does our future freedom of action. By the adoption of Article X we are stripping this Parliament of its most valued prerogative; we are placing the Canadian people at the beck and call of a Council not responsible to the nation for its actions. By one stroke of the pen we are mortgaging our freedom, receiving practically nothing in return.

Our prospects under this arrangement are not bright. Let us at least comfort ourselves with the hope that the prophecy of President Poincare of France may yet be realized, when he said that "real and permanent peace will not emerge from any single instrument of peace, but will be the outcome of a never-ceasing and collective effort on the part of the allied and associated powers."

Mr. FRANK B. STACEY (Fraser Valley): Mr. Speaker, as I recall the words of the hon. gentleman who leads the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) in his opening remarks this afternoon, with regard to what should be the characteristics and qualifications of those who take part in this debate, I assure you that it is with the greatest hesitation that I rise to offer any observations whatever upon the subject which is occupying the attention of this House.

When Parliament assembled a week ago I had no intention of making any remarks upon this subject. I mistakenly assumed that the language of the document which we are now considering would be couched in legal and technical phraseology and that an ordinary man would have difficulty in understanding it and should, perhaps be silent when the time for discussion came.

But I found that what is, to my mind, the very heart of the document was capable of interpretation by an ordinary layman or workingman like myself. While I do not presume to discuss the question from the standpoint of its constitutionality, I purpose offering some observations as to the Treaty, especially that part of it called the Covenant of the League of Nations, as it appeals to the ordinary man, to the man in the street, to the man who is not versed in the technicalities of legal inspection and

discussion, but as it is, I believe, regarded by the great majority of ordinary men and women who are interested in knowing something about the real, practical meaning of this Covenant of the League of Nations. I shall not pretend nor attempt to speak respecting the Treaty of Peace itself.

It strikes me—and I believe it appeals in this way to hundreds of thousands of our citizens—that after five years of agony, heartaches, carnage and immeasurable destruction, the allied nations conceived an idea, that grew into a plan, which was finally formulated into a document, which gives greater promise and hope of a lasting peace in this world than has ever before been seen or known by men in the long and chequered history of humanity. The preamble itself is a remarkable and striking statement, a tribute alike to the high spirit of the signatories, and, under the circumstances, to their magnanimity as victors.

I shall presume to offer a few remarks on the article that has been referred to so frequently, not only this evening, but on previous occasions, namely, Article 10. As I have intimated, I have not had a legal training. I do not pretend to read into this Treaty possible difficulties; I do not pretend to be able to discuss the constitutional difficulties which may arise, which are possibly real and genuine and which this nation may have to face in the future. But I remember this, that objection has been taken to Article 10 by hon. gentlemen opposite because its provisions may involve us in conflicts in some far-away section of Europe, or in some distant portion of South America. We must not forget to-day that the world is very small, so small that Jules Verne's book has long since been thrown into the bonfire, and it is quite possible that there are within this Chamber hon. gentlemen who themselves may voyage around the world in less than eight days. All those manifestations and conditions which obtained a generation ago are changed. If distance is to be measured by time, the Atlantic ocean is not any larger than some of our great Canadian lakes used to be. Why should not Canada have a place in the League of Nations? During half a century or more we have grown out of a national infancy and childhood and youth into a young manhood; we have been under the protection of the great Mother Country, and there is, I am sure, no disposition on the part of any one to-day to break with England. She has, in a sense, led us by the hand until now, reaching the stage of manhood, we are, I trust, prepared to take our place beside her, shoulder to shoulder, in every great plan which looks towards the peace, prosperity and happiness of the world. Hon. members opposite have to-day been searching the pages of history to ascertain some precedent for the action that is now proposed to be taken. As I see it, we are not reviewing history, we are making history; we are not following precedents, we are establishing precedents. And, why should we not, as a self-governing nation, be prepared, at this stage in our history, to assume our place and take our full measure of responsibility at this critical time in the history of the world?

9 p.m.

In my province, which province by the way sent more than 10 per cent of her total population to the front, there were, during the course of the war—I regret to say this, but I want to be honest—a few men who apparently did not realize the duties of citizenship. True they claimed and desired all the privileges of citizenship in my province; they claimed the right to the franchise; they sought the protection of the British navy and also the protection of the allied forces, including the protection of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. But for one reason or another they did not enlist. Sometimes they had a fluttering around the heart; sometimes they thought they had a flatfoot, and occasionally we found them obsessed with the idea that they needed a change of climate. For the benefit of their health or for the advantage of their pocket, they concluded that a trip across the line to the south would be of advantage to them, and so they went. At any rate, they failed to join up, and we had in our province a few men who, while they desired all the privileges of citizenship, refused to assume the responsibilities of citizenship.

I fear lest there may be some spirit akin to the foregoing in the action of those gentlemen here or elsewhere who would like to have the full protection afforded this country by the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, including the League of Nations and including Article X—who would like to have all the advantages and all the privileges, without assuming the responsibilities and obligations which are embodied in that article. It was very aptly pointed out by the hon. member for Megantic (Mr. Pacaud), if I mistake not, that this proposition is the application of the idea and principle of co-operation—national co-operation. This is true. I cannot conceive of the Canadian Parliament or the

Canadian people refusing to approve of the Treaty of Peace, especially with regard to this Covenant of the League of Nations. The preamble, I may say, is a marvellous introduction to a state paper that will take its place by the side of any state paper in the annals of human history. I shall read two or three sentences:

> In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security —by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war.

I call attention to the three succeeding clauses:

> By the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations; by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments; and by the maintenance of justice and the scrupulous respect of all Treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another.

As I understand it, Mr. Speaker, these three last clauses that I have read contain the very reasons which led 32,000 of our young men five years ago to rush to Valcartier. These three clauses give the reason why, a little later in the dark and awful days of the four years that followed, over half a million more of their brothers and sisters went to their aid. The reason is found in this preamble. There is no additional reason to be ascertained; it lies here and here alone. But the words of this preamble are words and only words. They are great words; they will be historic words, and will ever be read as an expression of high statesmanship and of splendid ideas; but they are words only. The essence, the acid test of this preamble, is found in Article X. You cannot make use of the preamble legitimately, reasonably, logically, without also accepting Article X. I believe in my heart, Sir, that it would be an example of the very personification of audacity for any man or any Parliament to say: "We refuse to approve of Article X," and then have the nerve to proceed to approve of the remaining two hundred pages. In the days of the future should the storm break over our heads or over the head of some other small nation, we are united in our aim to speedily bring the struggle to an end and protect the weaker nation. I claim that there is a greater probability, amounting almost to a certainty, of actual peace than could possibly be secured without the provisions of Article X. And should the storm break and troubles come, then we are prepared to do our share. I take it, Mr. Speaker, that Article X of this Covenant means in substance, in commonplace phraseology stripped of all legal technicalities, that we believe in peace and want peace. It means that we want peace ourselves and want peace for all nations of the world; and because we want it and because we hate war, we are willing to co-operate with other nations in keeping the world's peace so far as may be humanly possible. Is it not reasonable and sane, and comparatively sure, that with these provisions and with these ideas there is greater probability of peace than if we and all others refused to say "We shall bind ourselves together in the joint interests of humanity." Moreover, is it not a laudable aim for any young nation just entering upon its maturity to ally itself with the very highest civilization of the globe in its determination to be, in a very broad sense, the safeguard and advocate of the peace and prosperity and liberty of the world?

There is one view of this question that has not been presented to this House. It may not, strictly speaking, be involved in the letter of the Treaty, indeed, I am willing to admit, that it is not; but it appears to me to be a question of very great and serious import. And not only in my humble judgment but, I believe, in the judgment of the great bulk of the citizens of Canada the question is agitating their minds: They are thinking and speaking about the matter which I am going to venture to introduce to this House now. I shall assume that this Parliament will ratify the Treaty of Peace; I shall assume that our country is entering upon a new era, upon a new and larger life. She has won by the valour of her sons upon the battle field and by the statesmanship of her legislators in the councils of the nations a very high place in the world's record of great deeds. The world over the magic word "Canada" upon the shoulder straps of every Canadian soldier from the humblest private to General Sir Arthur Currie, has been both the pride of the wearer and the admiration, if not indeed the envy, of every observer. With these facts and results behind us, and with a future that one can hardly overestimate ahead of us, and entering now upon a larger national life my problem is: How shall we the Canadian people so relate ourselves to the new conditions and to the new national life to ensure that our country will become not merely great in population or in wealth, but in all those higher attributes of mind and spirit which alone are the assured factors in national prosperity? This, Sir, is the question that has been in my mind and

which is in the minds, I have reason to believe, of our best citizens and I believe also, although not expressed as yet, in the minds of the members of this House.

Where is the Canadian citizen who has not been thrilled, who has not even been moved to tears at the recital of deeds of unparalleled heroism by our soldiers overseas? And of equal courage and matchless devotion of our daughters as they have taken their places in ministering to the needs of those who have been wounded? How can we, I repeat, in view of all these things, so relate ourselves to the future that we shall be equal to the increased responsibilities and obligations which are resting upon us as a nation? If there is any phrase or single sentence that better embodies or suggests the answer to my query than another, it is this: The character and the development of our Canadian citizenship. I am well aware of the fact that this is neither the time nor the place to discuss that question at length, but I shall venture to give a few moments to it because of the reasons I have assigned.

If I might express in the most general terms my appreciation of the character and the qualities suggested in the term " Canadian citizenship " I would do it by referring to four main factors which contribute to such a true and desirable Canadian citizenship. First, in our homes we shall be compelled through youthful inquiries in the future to lay greater emphasis upon patriotic principles and the relation of the family to national life than we found it necessary to do prior to 1914.

Then there is the Canadian press. I suppose that in referring to it I am treading upon sacred ground—or otherwise.. I cannot help but feel that, notwithstanding the very efficient service rendered by the Canadian press to Canadian ideals and to the true spirit of Canadian citizenship, there is one thing that I would fain see changed and changed for the better. I do not think that the cynical spirit sometimes continued almost to exaggeration by the press is conducive to the development of the highest type of Canadian citizenship and ideals. I come to another factor that enters vitally into the character and development of our Canadian citizenship and that, Sir, is found in our school system. We are coming to a day of change. The best citizens behind our public schools realize that mistakes have been made in the past and that some change is necessary. Throughout this land there is an idea that the day is not far distant when the passing of an examination will not be regarded as the be-all and end-all of our public school life. Greater attention must be given to the expression of the individual as a factor in our national life. But speaking of our educational work as a great factor in our national life, I place special emphasis upon the opportunities and obligations of our Canadian colleges. I do not now refer to the technical institution which furnishes our country with experts either industrial, economic, professional or scientific. I have in mind the college of liberal arts whether for ladies exclusively or the university course for both sexes leading to the Bachelor's degree. These institutions are in the main turning out not professors or scientific or economic experts but citizens who will take their place in the ordinary ranks of domestic or commercial life, but who, by reason of their extraordinary educational advantages, should be more than ordinary citizens. That is to say, the main objective of the college of liberal arts should not be scholarship but citizenship. The latter must become the goal, the former, a means of reaching it. Our country's future will be largely determined by the ideals of citizenship inspiring our people. The great opportunity and business of the college and university is to project upon society broad-minded, or rather spacious-minded, men and women, well-balanced and sane, who will become big citizens. Our country's supreme need to-day, to-morrow and for all time, is not so much bright scholars as big citizens. We need more bigger, broader, better citizens, and the college system or curriculum which fails to produce the goods must either be changed or ultimately go to the scrap heap. The citizen does not exist for the college, but the college for the citizen. Education is of real value only as it qualifies for, and results in, good citizenship. Many a good citizen has never had a college life, but a good citizen is always a truly educated man, nevertheless. Perhaps I can best explain my meaning by the following illustration: A few weeks ago I ran across a man in my province who, from the standpoint of the schools, would be called an uneducated man. In fact, Sir, he himself claimed to be an uneducated man and deplored the fact most sincerely and heartily. But I found that he could give me the name and the characteristics of every plant that grew in that district. He could tell me the names and describe the uses of all the trees in that section of the country. If a bird flew by or alighted upon a tree he could

tell me its name and give me all its characteristics. If he saw the footprint of an animal on the ground he could tell me its name and describe its habits—in fact, he was a reliable authority on the entire flora and fauna of that district, and yet he claimed to be an uneducated man. As I said, from the standpoint of the schools, he was uneducated. He knew little of mathematics, less of literature, I doubt if he could spell the word "philosophy," and he thought he knew nothing of science. Moreover, Sir, he was a good citizen, inasmuch as he took his part in the great war faithfully and well. And last June, when the whole of the West between the Red river and the Pacific was threatened with an incipient Soviet revolution resulting in some of its leaders being imprisoned and not, as the hon. the leader of the Opposition described the other day as being driven to prison because they were labour leaders—far from it, and let me say that the records of the courts have vindicated the position I took here last June and take here to-night—during that unsettled month this man acted as a steadying force in the community. He counselled against rocking the boat. He was a sort of moral and social anchor during the troublous times of last June. He counselled quietness, and steadiness, while some so-called scholars counselled otherwise. That man, Sir, was a good citizen, and from the standpoint of Canadian citizenship well-educated, although from the viewpoint of the schools, he would not perhaps, in the past at least, be so designated. My argument comes to this point: that our university life must so shape itself to meet the demands of the coming generation that the great aim of every college of liberal art in this Dominion, from ocean to ocean, would be nothing less than to turn out the very highest type of Canadian citizenship that can be produced within its walls. This man to whom I refer, I think, illustrated better than any one I have ever met the thought that was given expression to by John Milton two hundred and fifty years ago, and I doubt if his definition has ever been excelled, when he said:

> I call therefore a complete and generous education that which enables a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, public and private, both in peace and war.

Now, I come to discuss, for a few moments only, another factor, another great force, in the creation of a right ideal of Canadian citizenship. I have briefly

touched upon the home, more briefly upon the press, and perhaps at greater length upon the college. But, Sir, there is still another factor which plays a most important part in the development of that type of citizenship which will enable us as a people and as a nation to take our place and maintain it in the days to come through the new relations that are put upon us. I refer, Sir, to the influence, and the power, and the work of the church. The college man says a good citizen must be an educated citizen. I agree with him, I accept his statement. The church-man will say a good citizen must be a Christian citizen. I do not deny the statement, I am inclined to agree with him. But, Sir, I believe this country has come to realize that notwithstanding all they have done in the past the churches of this land must lay more stress, more time, and more energy, upon those means which tend towards the development of a high ideal of Christian citizenship. That church, individual or denominational, will take its place in the Canadian life which, in the largest degree promotes a true and strong citizenship, and not very much longer will there attach to the cloth as such any special recognition or any inherent authority in the social world.

The churches of our realm have done a grand work for the Empire during the past four or five years; but they have a greater work to do from ocean to ocean in seeking upon all occasions to inject into the minds of their people the paramount importance of Canadian citizenship. I said a few moments ago that the college existed for the citizen, and not the citizen for the college. I go further and say that the church exists for the citizen, and not the citizen for the church. That church will take its place and do its work that sets before its people the highest type of true Canadian citizenship. It is not the cut or the colour of the leader's garb that to-day has or to-morrow will have any influence along the line of real leadership. It is not what is below a man's collar that makes for citizenship, but what is above it. What is above it is of prime importance; what is below it is of very minor importance.

The ratification of this Treaty of Peace, including the Covenant of the League of Nations, Mr. Speaker, will take place, I believe. That means that we are entering upon a new era with a new and a larger life. Our responsibilities are great, our obligations are heavy, but our resources are

almost boundless. With faith in our future and with confidence in one another and with a sincere purpose to give the very best that is in us to our country and to posterity, I believe that we can and will not only take our place but maintain that position in the world's great League of Nations.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 9.40 p.m.

Tuesday, September 9, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

MEMORIAL TO THE LATE LIEUT.-COL. BAKER, M.P.

Mr. W. S. MIDDLEBRO (North Grey) moved:

That the following members of Parliament, to wit: Sir Sam Hughes, Messrs. Kay, Boivin, and Arthurs, be appointed a special committee to act with a like committee of the Senate, to confer and act with the members of the Senate and House of Commons who have in charge the building and arrangement of the new Parliament Buildings, for the purpose of considering and reporting upon the form of the memorial to the late Lieutenant-Colonel Baker, M.P., for Brome, to be erected in the said building; and that a message be sent to the Senate to acquaint Their Honours therewith.

Motion agreed to.

WAR INDEMNITY.—CANADA'S SHARE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. I. E. PEDLOW (South Renfrew): I desire to ask the Government for information in relation to the share of Canada in the war indemnity. I notice that the Premier of New Zealand has stated in the House of Representatives that they expect to receive a war indemnity of £10,000,000 from the Germans. I also noticed that Senator Lougheed, in the Senate a few days ago, made the statement that the Dominion of Canada would be entitled to a share of the indemnity. Has the Government figured out how much of that indemnity the Dominion of Canada expects to receive?

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): I cannot say that the Government has figured out what the expectation will be. Hon. members have before them the provisions of the Treaty which determine the method under which the total amount of the indemnity is to be arrived at and fixed. Hon. gentlemen will also have observed that when the sum of the indemnity is established the treaty provides that it is to be distributed amongst the allied and associated powers under an agreement to be reached and upon equitable terms which no doubt will involve some distribution proportionate to the losses established by each of the countries. I do not know what material Mr. Massey had at his disposal for establishing that particular figure for New Zealand, but I do not think there will be any advantage gained through our endeavouring to arrive at an estimate at the present moment when the amount has to be determined in the manner I have indicated.

THE PEACE TREATY.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN IMPERIAL AND CANADIAN GOVERNMENT ASKED FOR.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING: As a motion for a return would involve a very considerable delay, might I suggest to the Minister of Justice that it would be desirable if he should bring down forthwith copies of the correspondence which may have taken place between the Imperial and Canadian Governments on two branches of the subjects; first in regard to the representation of Canada at the Peace Conference, and, second, as to the steps that might be deemed necessary for the ratification or approval of the treaty? It is very desirable before the House comes to a vote on this question that the correspondence should be laid before it, and I hope the Government will see the desirability of producing it.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: I am not aware that there is correspondence upon either of these two subjects. I, however, will be glad to consult with the Prime Minister and ascertain if there be.

PRIVILEGE.—MR. GAUVREAU.

Mr. C. A. GAUVREAU (Temiscouata): Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege. It is very seldom that I bother about attacks coming from the newspapers but I cannot allow this one to pass without a protest. I hold in my hand a copy of the paper La Minerve of Montreal (a very respectable paper sixty years ago) whose chief editor is Mr. Sauvé, the Conservative leader of three members of the Opposition in Quebec. Dealing with the question in regard to defaulters that I have placed on the Order Paper of this House, here is what he says, speaking about myself:

What has he not said against England? What has he not said against Englishmen in this country? What has he not said against this Government?

If it is a crime, Mr. Speaker, to speak against the Government in this House or out of it, I plead guilty; but as to the other accusation, I say it is totally unfounded, malicious, and untrue. The best proof of that which I can give is the fact that I have had six elections in a riding where there are numbers of English speaking people who have voted for me. If Mr. Sauvé, in the next issue of his paper, cannot give proof of what he has stated in this article, I think I will be entitled to brand him as a low, common, cowardly liar.

Mr. BELAND: Have you not a son in the Imperial navy?

Mr. GAUVREAU: Two.

GREAT WAR VETERANS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. C. G. POWER (Quebec South): I would like to inquire of the hon. the Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Mewburn), or the hon. the Minister of Justice whether or not any protests have been received by the ministers or by any members of the Government relating to the refusal of the Prime Minister to grant to the Great War Veterans a commission to inquire into the proposed bonus of an undefined sum of money which the Great War Veterans have requested them to grant.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): The Minister of Militia informs me that he has received no such protest, and I am not aware of the receipt of any by the other members of the Government.

WINNIPEG STRIKE LEADERS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly-Verchères): I wish to call the attention of the Government to a despatch which was recently published in the press containing a statement made by Mr. J. B. MacLachlan, secretary of the United Mine Workers. The despatch in question which appeared in the Ottawa Citizen of September 5, reads:

> Unless the Winnipeg strike leaders now imprisoned in the West are released on bail before the 17th of this month Canada will be tied up from coast to coast by a gigantic strike embracing every industry under union control according to a statement made to the Canadian Press to-day by J. B. MacLachlan, United Mine Workers district secretary.
>
> MacLachlan represented the situation as serious in the extreme unless the authorities grant the Winnipeg men bail. The threatened strike will tie up the coal mines in this district and practically close down the industry in Sydney.

[Mr. Gauvreau.]

I would like to know if the Government is aware of this despatch, and if so what steps it intends to take in the matter.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: I do not know that the Government has had its attention specially called to the statement, but I might observe that the court refused to grant bail in this case. I doubt very much if the court would look upon a threat of that kind as an argument which would justify its altering its decision.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear .

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Even if that was the decision of the court, we may be threatened with a repetition of the events which happened a few months ago.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. gentleman has put his question and received an answer.

CANADIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE. OVERSEAS PAY LISTS.

Mr. J. A. M. ARMSTRONG (North York): I would like to ask the Minister of Militia if his attention has been called to an article which appeared in this morning's edition of the Ottawa papers, emanating apparently from Wingham, Ontario, in which Mr. McMillan of Seaforth, who, according to the press of last week, made certain charges against that department, as to the padding of pay lists, has repeated the charge and gone further and stated that he had obtained his information from a pamphlet which had been public property for some time, and he adds that he is willing to come to Ottawa at any time he is needed. In view of the very patriotic stand that this bucolic figure has taken, I would ask whether or not it is possible for the Government to provide him with a pass and bring him to Ottawa? If it is not, whether the Government would have any objection—I am a poor man myself—to buying a ticket for him to bring him here so that he may have the opportunity of proving whether or not the statement he has made is true or false. I think the people of this country have a right to know whether the pay lists of the boys overseas have been padded to the extent of 30,000 names, and whether or not, according to Mr. McMillan's statement, this country has wrongfully paid out $30,000,000?

Major General MEWBURN (Minister of Militia): The hon. gentleman (Mr. Armstrong) a few days ago brought to my attention the statement of Mr. McMillan. I stated then that I intended to have a

letter sent to him asking him to give me any information on which an investigation could be based. I sent the letter to Mr. McMillan, and I have had no reply. My attention has not been drawn to the article to which the hon. member now refers. I have no personal knowledge of the pamphlet alluded to, but the matter will certainly not be allowed to rest where it is at the present time.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MILITARY POLICE AND THE USE OF FIRE-ARMS.

Mr. AUGUSTE T. LEGER (Kent, N.B.): I desire to ask the Minister of Justice a question. It seems that members of the military police force throughout Canada, and especially in some parts of the Maritime Provinces, are using fire-arms very freely. I know of one or two, or more, instances where such officers have fired revolvers against pretended defaulters, and wounded them. My question is, have the military police the right to use firearms in the performance of their duties?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: The hon. gentleman would have to give more details of the circumstances he has referred to before his question could be answered. It is difficult to answer a general question of the kind. I think there are circumstances under which it might be desirable, and even necessary, for a police officer, in the performance of his duty, to have fire-arms and possibly to use them. I do not think I can give a general abstract answer as to whether or not under any conditions he has a right to do so. I should say that there are conditions under which it might be the right of the officer to do so.

Hon. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers and St. Maurice): May I ask if there are any general regulations as to the use of fire-arms by these police officers in the discharge of their duties, and if so will they be laid upon the table of the House for the information of members?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: I shall look into the matter and if there are such regulations they will be brought down.

Mr. BUREAU: If there are no such regulations, shall we be informed of the fact?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: If there are none, it will be so stated.

THE PEACE TREATY.

DEBATE RESUMED ON THE MOTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER TO APPROVE OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

The House resumed consideration of the following proposed motion of Sir Robert Borden, adjourned from September 8:

That it is expedient that Parliament do approve of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany (and the Protocol annexed thereto), which was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth day of June, nineteen hundred and nineteen, a copy of which has been laid before Parliament, and which was signed on behalf of His Majesty, acting for Canada, by the plenipotentiaries therein named, and that this House do approve of the same.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): Mr. Speaker, the members on this side of the House have been criticised for having requested a short delay for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the provisions of the Peace Treaty before giving their decision on the most important resolution now submitted to them. May I say that I do not offer any apology for the course I have followed and for having refused to be a mere registering machine to record the will of any man, even the distinguished Prime Minister of this country. Nor should any criticism of the provisions, or some of the provisions, of the Treaty, be branded as party politics. The real danger to Canada lies in the action of those seemingly irresponsible persons who are ready to approve without knowing, or to promise without acquainting themselves with what they are promising. If what the Right Hon. the Prime Minister has suggested is right, and that our adoption of the proposed resolution is necessary to the validity and the coming into force of the Peace Treaty, this would perhaps be the most important session of Parliament held since Confederation. We would be called upon to take a decision that might effect the lives, happiness, fortunes, and security of the sons of Canada for many years to come. Surely, therefore, it is our imperative duty to inform ourselves thoroughly as to what we are about to do and to give this matter a most careful scrutiny.

I may say, however, that in my humble opinion the resolution now before the House will not influence one iota the proceedings with regard to the Treaty or its coming into force, and that under our constitution we shall be bound by its provisions.

Let me say, Mr. Speaker, in view of the answer given the other day by the Right Hon. the Prime Minister to my hon. friend

the member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding) that I am not living in the past, but that I am a Canadian of 1919, claiming for my country all the rights she is entitled to and desirous to see her go forward and occupy amongst the nations of the world the place she deserves. But the mere assertion of an illusion or a dream as being a fact does not make it so. I have no hesitation in stating that the Treaty will be binding upon us regardless of the resolution now before this House. The Government press is deceiving its readers by asserting that we are called upon to ratify the Peace Treaty. I have here a sample of that deception taken from the Toronto Times:

> The British and New Zealand Governments have ratified the Peace Treaty; the other self-governing dominions are proceeding to do so. When Sir Robert Borden moves for ratification at Ottawa, Mr. Fielding raises objections. He wants to know what difference it will make if Parliament refuses to act. In so doing he sneers at Canada's new national status which the Prime Minister rescued from the Peace Conference.

That, Sir, is a mistake. Parliament is not called upon to ratify the Treaty. I see that my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) is nodding his assent to my contention, but in case there should be any further misapprehension on the point I will take the liberty of quoting constitutional authorities to bear me out. My first authority is Todd's Parliamentary Government in England under the heading of "The Right of making Treaties:"

> It is a peculiar function of sovereignty to make treaties, leagues, and alliances with foreign states or princes; and by the law of nations it is essential to the validity of a treaty that it be made by the sovereign power, for then it binds the whole community.
>
> In the British Empire this sovereign power is vested exclusively in the crown, acting under the advice of its responsible ministers.
>
> Whatever engagements or contracts the sovereign enters into, no other power within the kingdom can legally delay, resist or annul; although the king's ministers are responsible to Parliament for their participation in the conclusion of any treaty derogatory to the honour and interests of the nation.

And further:

> The constitutional power appertaining to Parliament in respect to treaties is limited. It does not require their formal sanction or ratification by Parliament, as a condition of their validity.

And further:

> But while Parliament may refuse to agree to measures submitted to them for the purpose of giving effect to any treaty, they have no power to change or modify, in any way, a treaty itself.

My other authority is Anson's Law and Custom of the Constitution. He states:

> When a treaty is concluded it is signed and sealed in duplicate by the ministers representing their respective countries with their own seals. If the treaty contains, as is usual, a clause providing that it shall be ratified and ratifications exchanged at some future date and specified place, then until ratification neither side is bound by it. If there is no such clause, the treaty takes effect in accordance with the terms therein contained. The power to ratify or reject is vested in different parts of the Sovereign power, according to the constitution of different countries, in a popular assembly, as the Cortes in Portugal; in a second chamber, as the Senate in the United States; in the Executive, as the Crown in England.

It would appear that the Government of Great Britain did not want this House or my right hon. friend the Prime Minister to be under any misapprehension as to that. Mr. Lloyd George did not move a resolution in the British House of Commons ratifying or approving the Peace Treaty; all he did was to introduce a Bill, similar to that which has been introduced here, to give effect to some provisions of the Treaty for the appointment of officers and other purposes. He even took the trouble to say that the Treaty did not require any ratification. On introducing the Bill he spoke as follows:

> There are two Bills which I shall have to ask the leave of the House to introduce. It is unnecessary to obtain the ratification of Parliament to the Treaty except in one or two particulars.

And the leader of the Government in the House of Lords also took the trouble to state the position in these words:

> My Lords, this Bill to which I have the honour to ask Your Lordships to give a second reading is not, for the reasons which I explained the other day, a Bill ratifying the Treaty of Peace that has been concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany, but it is a Bill giving power for the execution of the Treaty in certain respects for which Parliamentary sanction is required.

Will any hon. gentleman say that the Canadian Parliament has more power with regard to the ratifying of treaties than the Parliament of the Mother Country? If it has, my right hon. friend the Prime Minister is right in saying that we have made an important step forward. Indeed, we have gone so fast that the citizens of the United Kingdom cannot keep pace with us and are not aware of our rapid advance.

But let us not delude ourselves, Mr. Speaker. We have absolutely no right to change, alter, or modify this Treaty in any way. We cannot change one line of it; we cannot dot one "i", we cannot cross one "t"; and whatever we may presume to do we shall nevertheless be bound by its provisions. The fact that the representatives

of Canada added their signatures to those of the British representatives does not change our constitutional position. It will be noticed that the first lines of the Treaty describe who are the parties to it. Twenty-seven powers—not thirty-two—are mentioned on the part of the Allies, of which five are described as the principal Allied and Associated powers, being the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan. The other twenty-two powers are then enumerated, and they do not include Canada. Obviously Canada is there as part of the British Empire and has no separate entity.

Then, on page 2 and following pages are given the names of the representatives of the various powers or high contracting parties, as follows:

> The President of The United States of America, by:
> The Honourable Woodrow Wilson, President of The United States;
> The Honourable Robert Lansing;
> The Honourable Henry White;
> The Honourable Edward M. House;
> General Tasker H. Bliss.

Then, the second one is:

> His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India, by:
> The Right Honourable David Lloyd George;
> The Right Honourable Andrew Bonar Law;
> The Right Honourable Viscount Milner;
> The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour;
> The Right Honourable George Nicoll Barnes.

You will note, Mr. Speaker, that it is clearly and unmistakably stated that His Majesty is so represented for all purposes by these gentlemen; he is not represented in a restricted way. Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law and the other British plenipotentiaries are not described as representing His Majesty for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; they represent him for the British Empire at large. Then follow the words:

> And for the Dominion of Canada, by:
> The Honourable Charles Joseph Doherty;
> The Honourable Arthur Lewis Sifton.
> For the Commonwealth of Australia, by:
> The Right Honourable William Morris Hughes;
> The Right Honourable Sir Joseph Cook.
> For the Union of South Africa, by:
> General the Right Honourable Louis Botha;
> Lieutenant General the Right Honourable Jan Christian Smuts.
> For the Dominion of New Zealand, by:
> The Right Honourable William Ferguson Massey.
> For India, by:
> The Right Honourable Edwin Samuel Montagu;
> Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur.

So that whatever step we have taken towards nationhood by signing the Treaty has also been taken by India—and nobody in this House will suggest that India has approached the stage of nationhood; she does not even enjoy responsible government.

I am glad, indeed, that we had representatives at the Peace Conference. I do not share the opinion of those who claim that we had no business to be there. My criticism is rather in the opposite direction; my complaint is that our representatives were not there on a basis of perfect equality with those of the Mother Country.

The Prime Minister said the other day, in his speech on the resolution which is now before us, that Canada had been consulted prior to the Peace Conference, through the medium of the Imperial War Cabinet, with regard to the conditions of peace which should be imposed upon Germany. I accept this statement, though there is evidence to qualify it. On November 5, 1918, representatives of the Allied Governments gathered at Versailles for the purpose of dictating the terms of peace to be complied with by Germany prior to an armistice. On that occasion they issued the following declaration:

> The Allied Governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German Government. Subject to the qualifications which follow, they declare their willingness to make terms with the Government of Germany on the terms of Peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enumerated in his subsequent addresses.

These were the "Fourteen Points" of President Wilson. That declaration was sent to Germany and Germany asked for an armistice, which was granted under those conditions. That declaration having been made, there remained, as President Wilson said to Congress, only the "interpretation and application" of the specified terms. The Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. W. M. Hughes, was in London before Mr. Lloyd George left for Versailles. Everybody understood that the object of the conference was to arrange the terms of an armistice. Mr. Hughes had no idea that terms of peace were to be discussed; no intimation to that effect was given to him. Three days after the meeting, in an address to the Australasian Club in London, he entered a vigorous protest against what had been done. He spoke as follows:

> In the settlement of the Terms of Peace the Dominions have not been consulted. They have been informed of those terms, as indeed, has every other citizen throughout the Empire, but

have had no share in shaping them. I am not going to say more on that point than to express regret that the Dominions have not had an opportunity of stating their views before the terms of Peace were decided. It may be said that the Dominions will have an opportunity of expressing their opinions at the Peace Conference. It may be that this will be so, but it is perfectly clear that the deliberations of the delegates at the Peace Conference will be limited by the terms of Peace already settled. Beyond this they cannot go. They can neither take from nor add to these.

He followed his speech by a letter in the London Times, in which he said:

I have remained here at my Government's request for the purpose of setting forth its views —with which, I need hardly say, I agree—before any terms of peace were definitely settled. But no opportunity has been given me to do this. I was not even informed that the peace terms were being discussed at the Versailles Conference, which I had presumed was engaged in settling the terms of the armistice with Germany as it had done in the case of Austria. The first intimation I received that the terms of peace had been discussed at Versailles was conveyed in the document which notified me that they had been definitely settled.

Mr. Bonar Law was asked in the House of Commons whether the Dominions had been requested to attend the Conference, and he dodged the question by saying that all the Dominions could not have been represented. When asked why Mr. Hughes, who was in England at the time, had not been invited to attend, he replied: "I really do not think we can go into details." This shows conclusively that this Dominion, as well as the other sister nations of the Empire, had not been consulted in a very extensive way with regard to the conditions of peace which were to be required of Germany.

Indeed, it was quite proper that Canada should be invited to the Peace Conference. The glorious part she played in the war and the sacrifices made by her heroic soldiers entitled her to at least an honourable and courteous recognition. But as part of the British Empire, Canada, as well as India—having regard to the constitutional relations existing, as between the Dominions and the Mother Country—was and is bound by the signature of the representatives of the British Empire and the ratification of the Crown. The Treaty is made between the British Empire and the other powers, and whether we approve of it or not, it binds the whole of the British Empire, including the Dominion of Canada.

A proclamation by this Parliament that we refuse to be bound by this Treaty and to acknowledge the right of the British representatives to sign this Treaty for us would be tantamount to a declaration of independence and a formal separation from the Empire. It is useless and idle for hon. gentlemen to wax eloquent about our achievement towards full and complete nationhood, as the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) did last session, and as I fully expect he will do to-day, and to become intoxicated with the flavour of his own magnifying words.

Mr. BUREAU: That is the only intoxication he can have.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): I beg my hon. friend's pardon, I should have used another word. I will substitute "overexcited."

Mr. MACLEAN (York South): Inebriated.

Mr. GAUVREAU: Do not talk prohibition.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): A necessary attribute of full sovereignty from the standpoint of international law is the independence of a state of every other state in the matter of its international rights as well as in the matter of its domestic policies. The Prime Minister described our membership in the League of Nations as a further manifestation of our new status. May I say again, that we share that honour with India, which I am sure does not claim to have reached nationhood as the result of such membership. But even there we are made members of the League by no act of our own, but by the high contracting parties, of which Canada is not one except as part of the British Empire. We were contracted into the League of Nations.

But the fact that we are designated in the League of Nations as a separate entity creates nevertheless an anomalous and equivocal situation. We are going to have separate representatives in the assembly of the League. We have even the right to be represented on the Council by one of the four representatives of the small nations, if the assembly chooses to elect or appoint one Canadian representative as one of those four delegates on the Council. I expect, however, that this is not likely to occur and that the British Empire, having permanent representation on the Council of the League, the other nations will not appoint a representative of Canada as one of the four representatives of the small nations. According to the Covenant, whenever a dispute is submitted to the League, the nations that are parties to the dispute do not vote. If a dispute intervenes between Great Britain—I mean between the United Kingdom—and, for instance, the United

States, will Canada, as a separate member of the League, have the right to vote, or shall we be considered as a party to the dispute by reason of the fact that we are part of the British Empire? I should like the President of the Council who, I expect, is going to speak this afternoon, to answer this question. But Mr. Woodrow Wilson has already answered the question from his point of view, and I should, indeed, like to know whether his point of view coincides with that of our representative in the League. Mr. Wilson, in the course of a conference between himself and a committee of the United States Senate, made this declaration which is taken from page 4284 of the Congressional Record of the present month:

> Senator Brandegee: Supposing there were a dispute between the United States and that portion of the British Empire known as the United Kingdom—England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales—as to some right of one of our ships to enter an English port, for instance, and that dispute should come before the Council, and, upon the request of Great Britain, it should be removed to the assembly. The article I have just read provides for a report concurred in "exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute."
>
> The President: Yes.
>
> Senator Brandegee: Now, all the self-governing colonies of England, or at least five of them, have a vote in the assembly, and the British Empire also has a vote. I assume in the case of the dispute which I have supposed ,of course, the United States would be excluded from voting, as being a party to the dispute; and I assume the British Empire would be excluded, but I am not sure.
>
> The President: Yes, sir; that is what I assume.
>
> Senator Brandegee: Do you assume also that Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and India would be excluded?
>
> The President: They are parts of the British Empire.
>
> Senator Brandegee: They are parts of the British Empire, but are they parties to the dispute which I have supposed to have arisen between us and England?
>
> The President: I admit, Senator, that that is a complicated question; but my judgment about it is quite clear. I think I can give one instead of three answers.
>
> Senator Brandegee: Yes.
>
> The President: Disputes can arise only through the Government which have international representation. In other words, diplomatically speaking, there is only one "British Empire." The parts of it are but pieces of the whole. The dispute, therefore, in the case you have supposed, would be between the United States as a diplomatic unit and the British Empire as a diplomatic unit. That is the only ground upon which the two nations could deal with one another, whether by way of dispute or agreement. Therefore, I have assumed and confidently assume that the representatives of all parts of the British Empire would be excluded.
>
> Senator Knox: But the fact that you give representation to Canada and Australia and New Zealand and other autonomous self-governing British colonies rather contradicts the idea, does it not, that they are one Government?
>
> The President: I think not, sir, because in making up the constitution of the Council, it was provided, to speak with technical accuracy, that the five principal allied or associated governments should each have one representative in the League; and in the opening paragraph of the Treaty itself those powers are enumerated, and among others is the British Empire. "The Empire of Great Britain," I think, is the technical term. Therefore, their unity is established by their representation in the Council.

I should like my hon. friend to say if he concurs in this expression of opinion of Mr. Wilson, one of the fathers of the League. We are facing an unavoidable dilemma. If the opinion of President Wilson is correct, we are not enjoying a full and separate membership in the League; we are a mere addition to the voting power of the British Empire when questions in which the Empire has no concern are discussed and decided upon. On the other hand, if that opinion is erroneous, if we are for all purposes separate and distinct members of the League what would be our position in case of a conflict between Great Britain and another member of the League, in which the executive of the League should decide against Great Britain and a war ensue? Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations reads as follows:

> Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not.
>
> It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenant of the League.

The consequence therefore would be, if we are to be considered as a separate entity in the League, that we would have to keep our pledge, redeem our obligations, and side with the other members of the League against Great Britain, and thereby cease to remain in the Empire, or else we would disregard and break our pledges under the Treaty and take sides with Great Britain. We would have to violate either the Treaty or the constitution of Canada; either the one or the other. All this is the consequence of our present constitutional relations; it is the inescapable logic of our

international situation. Most assuredly the position is anomalous and abnormal. The right hon. the Prime Minister fully recognizes that. He emphatically states that a change must be made. Let me quote his very words (Hansard, September 2, 1919, p. 23):

> The future relationship of the nations of the Empire must be determined in accordance with the will of the Mother Country and each Dominion in a constitutional conference to be summoned in the not distant future. Undoubtedly it will be based upon equality of nationhood. Each nation must preserve unimpaired its absolute autonomy, but it must likewise have its voice as to those external relations which involve the issue of peace or of war. So that the Britannic Commonwealth is in itself a community or league of nations which may serve as an exemplar to that world-wide League of Nations which was founded in Paris on the 28th of last June.

So the Prime Minister of Canada commits himself in emphatic words to the claim of full equality of nationhood at this proposed conference. It will indeed mean a radical change, and I sincerely hope that this aim is possible of attainment. The party with which I am associated has always taken and held advanced ground on this most important question, but I desire to say to the Prime Minister and his colleagues that if I would favour an association of the various nations of the Empire on the basis of full equality, I am strongly opposed, and I believe the people of Canada are opposed, to all schemes of centralization by which Canadian policies would be framed and decided upon outside of Canada by any body of men in which Canada would have only one representative out of twelve. Canada will never agree to be ruled or governed from any place other than Ottawa. Canada is a nation, wants to be a nation, and she never, never, will become a province.

4 p.m.

The right hon. the Prime Minister spoke in laudatory terms of the Imperial War Cabinet. He may be assured that any such representation or voice as Canada had in that body will not satisfy the Canadian people. His words of last year that the Imperial War Cabinet was a cabinet of governments were grandiloquent words, and nothing else. There is no such thing as a cabinet of governments. There cannot be a cabinet unless there is also a parliament to which such cabinet is directly responsible. Even in Great Britain the functions of that cabinet were not understood or defined. I find in the Hansard of the British House of Commons the following illuminating question and answer:

[Mr. E. Lapointe.]

> P. E. Morrell, M.P.: If the Imperial War Cabinet is executive what is its relation to the War Cabinet of five?
>
> Mr. Bonar Law: It is difficult and not very advisable to define the relation.

I quite understand that answer.

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU: Very diplomatic.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: Any such body as the Imperial War Cabinet will not satisfy the aspirations of the people of Canada. I hope, Sir, that in any schemes which may be contemplated the truly Canadian position will be adopted and maintained. A famous French statesman was once asked his advice as to the best constitution for France. "It is France itself," was his answer. I believe it would be well to apply the same principle to Canada, and say that the best constitution for Canada is Canada. Our national peace and harmony proceed from natural laws which must be ascertained by the application of scientific methods. Greatest among those laws is that of descent and heredity, which it is useless to try to supersede. Consequences invariably proceed from antecedents.

I also desire to tell the Government that any proposed changes should be submitted to Parliament before Canadian representatives agree to such changes. For the Canadian ministers to go to London, agree to a proposition and come back to this Parliament with a cut-and-dried arrangement is not treating the Parliament of Canada fairly. We must be consulted before, not after. When the pact of Confederation was entered into—and at that time it was a great constitutional change in this country—the first step was the introduction and the adoption of a resolution by the Parliament of United Canada. And, Sir, such precedent must be followed in any other constitutional changes that may be devised for this country. I also submit that no important changes should be effected without a referendum to the people of Canada which is the supreme master of its destinies. I was surprised yesterday to hear my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) say that it is all very well to submit a change to the people of Canada when that change is in the wrong direction but that is not necessary when the change is in the right direction. That is good Conservative, Tory doctrine. Let me remind my hon. friend that all arbitrary rulers, all privileged classes, all selfish interests, have always contended that they were working in the

right direction. With all deference to my hon. friend, it is not the Minister of Public Works or his colleagues who should judge or decide what is best for the people of Canada. It is for the people of Canada themselves to say. I have said that the question should be decided by a referendum and not by a general election because in a general election there are so many other questions and considerations as to becloud the issue. We cannot—we must not—gamble with the future destinies of our country.

I shall now say a few words about the Peace Treaty itself. It has been stated in the papers and it has been stated in speeches from the other side of the House that this involves a constitutional change, a remarkable step. I have taken the trouble to inquire what that change is and how that step has been taken. Holding the view I do and being convinced that anything I may say, or even any vote I may give on the resolution, would have no effect whatever on the validity or binding power of the Treaty, I shall not attempt to enter very extensively into the discussion of what I consider to be rather an academic resolution. This Treaty was obviously a compromise between various interests and although some features of the agreement are objectionable, I am free to state that in a general way the statesmen who participated in its preparation deserve a good deal of credit. Germany has been made to pay a severe penalty for her brutal and criminal actions. Militarism is hopelessly broken. She is left without a general staff, without conscription, without universal military training, with a strictly limited amount of light artillery, with no air service, no fleet, no domestic basis in the way of raw material for armament manufacture and with her whole western border fifty kilometers east of the Rhine unfortified and demilitarized. New nations are created preserving generally, if not invariably, national aspirations and racial lines. A very unfortunate exception is made in the case of Shantung which in many respects constitutes a rank injustice.

Principles of natural law and morality in dealing with racial and national minorities in each country are enunciated and sanctioned by the great powers of the world. May I be permitted to quote Article VIII of the Treaty with Poland which embodies the general principles asserted in the Peace Treaty?

Polish Nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish Nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article IX was quoted yesterday by my hon. friend from Beauce (Mr. Beland). This is not to be wondered at. Poland has agreed to that most willingly because Poland knew what coercion meant in these matters. As was pointed out in an article in the Montreal Gazette this morning, the three powerful governments of three great empires adopted a policy of one flag, one school, and one language for their Polish provinces. The governments have gone, the flags have gone, the Polish language remains. It has outlived the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanoffs. I would advise some of the public men of Canada to read this clause, think it over carefully and forever banish from their minds the Prussian idea of proscribing anywhere in this country the language of its discoverers and first settlers. Surely the laws of morality and natural justice must apply equally to the victorious nations as to the countries which they have created.

Finally, and this is from my point of view the most important part of the Treaty, there is the creation of a League of Nations. In principle there is no stronger admirer or partisan of the establishment of such a league than I am. The war that has been fought was a war to end all wars and wars cannot be ended unless the old system is changed. The fact that the Turkish State, a disgrace to civilization, had to be maintained to ensure what was called the balance of power, is to my mind a sufficient reason to discredit the old system. When the great project of a League of Nations was launched, the democracy of the world rallied to its support. But I am afraid that the true friends of the League are not satisfied with the body which is created by the Peace Treaty and the various articles of the Covenant which shall govern its functions. Certain statesmen in sympathy with the old order, the most distinguished of whom is Mr. Clemenceau, the Prime Minister, never concealed their hostility to the new proposal and I fear that their influence was felt in such a strong manner that what is called the League of Nations in the Treaty does not differ much from the old balance of power.

The first object of the League of Nations in the minds of its first advocates was to abolish militarism and to secure general disarmament. Nobody thought that this meant disarmament for Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and a race for armaments between the members of the League. Yet no one will deny that this is the present condition of things.

An hon. MEMBER: Not at all.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: Wait a minute. The United States propose to increase their military strength four times what it was prior to the war—who says "not at all"—and proceed also to the building up of a powerful navy. Great Britain is considering a new scheme of naval power, and Admiral Jellicoe has left on a pilgrimage to the various British Dominions to offer them free and generous advice as to what they should do in the matter of organizing and maintaining a navy, or contributing to the Imperial navy. May I suggest that when the noble lord reaches this country he should be granted a most cordial welcome, but at the same time made to understand that it would be more appropriate for him to wait until he is called upon to do so by the people of Canada before offering his advice? In the meantime, our own peaceful country has doubled the number of men who compose the permanent militia. Indeed, the nations which are members of the League do not display much confidence in their own creature as to maintaining the peace of the world. I sincerely hope that militarism will be crushed not only in Germany, but everywhere. I am glad the League will see to it that no military force shall be maintained except what is absolutely necessary for police protection.

Another condition which is essential to the success of the League is that it must be a League of all the nations and not an alliance of some nations as against the others. Even Germany must be admitted to membership in the League. Lord Robert Cecil, the strongest friend and supporter of the League in England, has just written a very important article advocating general disarmament and admission of the enemy countries to the League as the two necessary conditions to its ultimate success.

As to the famous Article X of the Covenant, I admit that my objections to that article are not, perhaps, so strong as they were before I studied the various provisions of the Covenant and before I read the explanation given by President Wilson a few days ago to the United States senators. But I would like to know whether Mr. Wilson's interpretation of the articles of the Covenant coincides with the opinion of our own Government as to the meaning of that clause. The President, as reported at page 4284 of the Congressional Record, says:

> In order to answer that question I must go a little bit afield. In the first place, I understand that article to mean that no nation is at liberty to invade the territorial integrity of another. That does not mean to invade for purposes of warfare, but to impair the territorial integrity of another nation. Its territorial integrity is not destroyed by armed intervention; it is destroyed by the retention of territory, by taking territory away from it; that impairs its territorial integrity. I understand the Covenant to mean that that is in no case permissible by the action of a single nation against another; that there is only one permissible method and that is, if territorial arrangements are unsatisfactory, that they should be brought to the attention of the world through the League and that then the League should exercise such rights as it may be able to exercise for a readjustment of boundaries.
>
> I believe that territorial aggression, in the sense of territorial capture, is, by the wording of the Act, made illegitimate.
>
> Senator Brandegee: The words are not "territorial aggression," but "external aggression."
>
> The President: But it says the preservation of its territorial integrity against internal aggression.
>
> Senator Brandegee: Suppose the external aggressor, having gotten within the territory of the aggressee, stays there?
>
> The President: Then that impairs the territorial integrity.
>
> Senator Brandegee: Certainly; and then on a call by the council for us to perform our international contract under article 10, if Congress does not favour performing it you think we would not be subject to criticism by the other members of the League?
>
> The President: Oh, we might be subject to criticism; but I think Congress would be at liberty to form its own judgment as to the circumstances
>
> Senator Brandegee: I agree with you entirely, and under our constitution Congress would have to do so.
>
> The President: Yes; that is understood by all.

As to what each member of the League would be obliged to do, that would be following a recommendation by the Council of the League, and here are Mr. Wilson's words, and I would ask my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) to say also whether his own opinion coincides with Mr. Wilson's interpretation. I am now quoting from page 4271 of the Congressional Record:

> Article 10 is in no respect of doubtful meaning when read in the light of the Covenant as a whole. The Council of the League can only "advise upon" the means by which the obligations of that great article are to be given effect to. Unless the United States is a party to the policy or action in question, her own affirmative

vote in the Council is necessary before any advice can be given, for a unanimous vote of the council is required. If she is a party, the trouble is hers anyhow. And the unanimous vote of the council is only advice in any case. Each government is free to reject it if it pleases. Nothing could have been made more clear to the conference than the right of our Congress under our Constitution to exercise its independent judgment in all matters of peace and war. No attempt was made to question or limit that right.

I would like the Government of this country to give us the same interpretation of Article X of the Covenant as the President of the United States has given to the United States Senate.

Another question which was rather difficult was that concerning our right to withdraw from the League. The Covenant gives that right to all members of the League, provided they have fulfilled their international obligations and given two years' notice of withdrawal. I was afraid that it would be the Council of the League that would judge as to whether a member asking for withdrawal had fulfilled its international obligations, but here again President Wilson gives another interpretation. Here is what he has to say:

> The United States was by no means the only Government interested in the explicit adoption of this provision, and there is no doubt in the mind of any authoritative student of international law that such matters as immigration, tariffs, and naturalization are incontestably domestic questions with which no international body could deal without express authority to do so. No enumeration of domestic questions was undertaken because to undertake it, even by sample, would have involved the danger of seeming to exclude those not mentioned.
>
> The right of any sovereign State to withdraw had been taken for granted, but no objection was made to making it explicit. Indeed, so soon as the views expressed at the White House Conference were laid before the commission it was at once conceded that it was best not to leave the answer to so important a question to inference. No proposal was made to set up any tribunal to pass judgment upon the question whether a withdrawing nation had in fact fulfilled "all its international obligations and all its obligations under the covenant." It was recognized that that question must be left to be resolved by the conscience of the nation proposing to withdraw.

Here again I would like to know whether this is the interpretation given by the representatives of Canada.

Sir, we must make sure that the supreme power of the Parliament of Canada will be asserted and maintained. We have been told very often that our soldiers fought to keep Canada free. We must see to it that our public men do not undo their work and bind Canada in any dangerous way. I would certainly favour an amendment or reservation clearly stating that our approval of the Treaty shall in no way impair or take away the rights and privileges of the Parliament of Canada. At least, our responsible ministers should make this clear and give their interpretation of the Covenant, so that no danger will lie ahead of us. It must be made perfectly clear that no Canadian soldiers can ever be ordered to fight any where except by the authority of this Parliament. The lives of Canadian citizens must never be sacrificed except by the will of the Canadian people expressed through their representatives in this House.

In conclusion, Sir, let me join those who have already spoken in expressing the hope that this Treaty will establish permanent peace in the world. I sincerely trust that when this Treaty comes into force the bugle shall sound the truce of God to the whole world forever.

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Council): Mr. Speaker, we have all listened with a great deal of interest to the address of my hon. friend the member for Kamouraska (Mr. Lapointe), but I am quite sure the House could not but contrast the viewpoint presented by my hon. friend with that presented yesterday by the hon. leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie)—two views of Canada's status about as far apart as possible.

My hon. friend in opening spoke of the importance of the question now before us and suggested that this session was the most momentous since Confederation. With the exception of the session of 1914, when Canada decided to throw her whole energy into the world struggle, I think what my hon. friend has said is true—that the question now before this House is the most important this country has been called upon to consider.

My hon. friend spoke of the time required for consideration of the Treaty, and I agree with him that the matters dealt with in it are of so great moment, not only to Canada, but to all other portions of the British Empire and to the world, that every deliberative assembly owes it to itself, to the country which it represents, and to posterity, to give the gravest consideration to the problems presented. I regret, however, that the consideration which my hon. friend has given to those problems has not enabled him to accomplish some things which I think might have been of real benefit to the House. In the first place, it apparently has not enabled him to appreciate the resolution now under consideration. My hon. friend is an exceedingly able

lawyer and he spent some time in arguing that the ratification of the Treaty was an executive act of the Crown, and that therefore action by this Parliament was of no moment. There is no resolution before this House for the ratification of the Treaty. Let me read the resolution so that we may have the issue clearly before us. It is in this form:

> That it is expedient that Parliament do approve of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany (and the Protocol annexed thereto), which was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth day of June, nineteen hundred and nineteen, a copy of which has been laid before Parliament, and which was signed on behalf of His Majesty, acting for Canada, by the plenipotentiaries therein named, and that this House do approve of the same.

There is not a word about ratification in that resolution. My hon. friend need not quote constitutional authorities to show that it is not the function of Parliament to ratify treaties. Ratification is an executive Act by the head of the State—in this case by the Sovereign. The Sovereign ratifies upon the advice of his constiutional advisers. But the view of the Government of Canada is, that while they had the right by executive act to advise His Majesty to ratify this Treaty with respect to Canada, yet having regard to the importance of this Treaty and its bearing upon the future history of Canada, it was the duty of the Government to submit it to this Parliament and ask their approval before they took the responsibility of advising ratification. It is well, Mr. Speaker, that we should keep clear the issue that is before us.

My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) suggested yesterday, and it has also been suggested by other hon. members, that any action of ours is of no effect, that the Treaty is already in force so far as Canada is concerned by virtue of its ratification by Great Britain. That, again, is an entire misunderstanding of the situation. The Treaty has not been ratified by Great Britain. The British Parliament has passed the Act referred to, which, in giving power to the British Government to execute the Treaty, is, in effect, an approval of the Treaty by the British Parliament. But the British Parliament has not ratified it.

Mr. BUREAU: My hon. friend says that Parliament does not have to ratify it.

Mr. ROWELL: Parliament does not have to ratify it; it is an executive act.

[Mr. Rowell.]

Mr. BUREAU: The minister says that the Parliament of Great Britain have not ratified the Treaty. But they do not have to ratify it.

Mr. ROWELL: They have, in effect, approved it by passing that legislation. Let us clearly understand the situation.

Mr. McKENZIE: Will the minister make clear to this House what is the difference, so far as the action of our plenipotentiaries is concerned, between our approving what they did and our ratifying what they did?

Mr. ROWELL: I will try to answer my hon. frieend's question by stating the difference between "signing" and "ratification." Signing and ratification are two entirely different executive acts. One finally settles the terms of the Treaty—and once the Treaty is signed it cannot be amended; it is quite true that an "i" cannot be dotted or a "t" crossed, any more than one party to an agreement can dot an "i" or cross a "t" or change the agreement in any way after it is signed, without the consent of the other party.

It is not anomalous that this Treaty should be brought before the House and that the House should not be in a position to amend it. When the member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding) brought down the reciprocity agreement some few years ago—an understanding arrived at in the form of correspondence between two Governments—this Parliament could not dot an "i" or cross a "t"—could not change the agreement in any way—without the consent of the other party to it. Was that any reason why the Parliament of Canada should not pass upon it? No, in that case Parliament was given an opportunity to pass upon the agreement.

Mr. BUREAU: They could reject it.

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: And so can the Parliament of Canada reject this resolution to-day if it is unwise enough to take such action; but I do not think it is.

Mr. BUREAU: What would be the effect of its doing so, then?

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: I will come to that in time; let me first answer the leader of the Opposition. I point out these two distinct things: the executive act of signing, which settles the terms of the Treaty, and the executive act of ratification, which gives it legal effect. It does not become binding or effective until ratified. And what is the

reason? Take the case of United States as an illustration: the assent of the Senate of the United States is necessary before the Treaty can be ratified. As has been pointed out, in some other countries the assent of some governing body is necessary before the Treaty can be ratified. But between the date of signing and the date of ratification any nation has the legal right to refuse to proceed further with the treaty. In that case the Treaty fails for want of ratification.

As the leader of the Opposition has raised the question, let me give him one or two authorities on the subject. Yesterday he quoted from Halleck's International Law; I can do no better than submit a paragraph on this point from Halleck, for my hon. friend's information. I quote:

> The question how far, under the positive law of nations, ratification by the State in whose name the treaty is made, by its duly authorized minister or diplomatic agent, furnished with full power, is essential to the validity of the treaty, was at one time the subject of much doubt and discussion. But it is now the settled usage to require such ratification, even where this pre-requisite is not reserved by the express terms of the treaty itself. The municipal constitution of the State determines in whom the power of ratification resides. By the constitution of the United States of America, treaties are negotiated and concluded under the authority of the President, but the advice and consent of the Senate is essential to enable him to pledge the national faith, by making a treaty the supreme law of the land.

Mr. McKENZIE: If my hon. friend thinks that he is informing me, I may assure him that I am thoroughly familiar with those terms.

Mr. ROWELL: If my hon. friend is familiar with the terms I do not see why he asked what was the difference between ratification and approval.

On the question why there is a difference between signing and ratification, I quote from Oppenheim's International Law, second edition:

> The rationale for the institution of ratification is another argument for the contention that the conclusion of the Treaty by the representatives is to be distinguished from the confirmation given by the respective States through ratification. The reason is that States want to have an opportunity of re-examining not the single stipulations, but the whole effect of the Treaty upon their interests. These interests may be of various kinds. They may undergo a change immediately after the signing of the Treaty by the representatives. They may appear to public opinion in a different light from that in which they appear to the governments, so that the latter want to reconsider the matter. Another reason is that treaties on many important matters, are, according to the Constitutional Law of most States, not valid without some kind of consent of Parliaments. Governments must, therefore, have an opportunity of withdrawing from a Treaty in case Parliaments refuse their recognition. These two reasons have made, and still make, the institution of ratification a necessity for International Law.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the situation is this: The Treaty has been signed; its terms are settled and concluded. It has not been ratified, and before His Majesty does ratify it, this Parliament is asked to express an opinion on the question whether it should be approved or not.

Mr. FIELDING: Is it not a fact that the Treaty has been ratified by His Majesty and that the only thing lacking now is the deposit of the ratification in Paris?

Mr. ROWELL: No, my hon. friend is mistaken; it has not been ratified by His Majesty. All that has been done is this: The Imperial Parliament has passed an Act authorizing the British Government to take all action necessary to carry the Treaty into effect.

Mr. BUREAU: Has it been signed by His Majesty?

Mr. ROWELL: The Act has been signed, but that has no more effect upon ratification, except as indicating the attitude of the British Parliament, than has my hon. friend's question here to-day.

Mr. FIELDING: The Act would follow ratification, to carry out its terms; it would not necessarily precede it.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend is quite correct. The Act need not necessarily precede ratification, but in this case it has preceded ratification. So far as this Parliament is concerned, we are submitting here a resolution calling for approval, upon which ratification will be based, and that will be followed by the Act asking authority to carry the Treaty into effect.

I trust that I have made clear to hon. members the difference between these two executive acts, signatures and ratification.

Mr. BUREAU: The hon. gentleman has explained the difference between approval and ratification, not between signing and ratification.

Mr. ROWELL: I thought I had made it clear in my earlier remarks that the Government, before recommending that His Majesty ratify, requested the approval of this Parliament as a basis for the Act.

A good deal of criticism has been made in this House and in the country with respect to the Government passing Orders

in Council. All the Orders passed since Union Government was formed would not have one tithe as great an effect upon Canada and her future history as the passing of an Order in Council approving of this Treaty in order that it might be ratified by His Majesty. It was the bounden duty of the Government of Canada, having regard to the gravity of the issue involved, to submit this Treaty to Parliament and to ask its approval before the act of ratification took place.

Allow me to direct attention to the terms of the Treaty itself. The Treaty provides that it shall not come into effect until ratified. It expressly provides that it does not go into effect until ratified by three great powers, and one of the urgent reasons for prompt action by this House is because His Majesty will not ratify the Treaty until the Parliaments of the Dominions have passed upon it, and His Majesty is exceedingly anxious that the British ratification should be deposited at the earliest possible date. The Treaty goes into effect with reference to the three great powers, and Germany, when this first certificate of ratification is deposited. It goes into effect with reference to the other powers when they deposit their respective certificates of ratification; it does not affect any of the other powers until they make their deposit. Some hon. gentleman has suggested, that the war was over when the Treaty was signed. Such is not the case. On page 8 of the Treaty it is expressly provided:

> From the coming into force of the present treaty the state of war will terminate.

Not only has the Treaty not yet been ratified, but the war with Germany will not be legally terminated until the Treaty is ratified by three of the great powers. My hon. friends have asked why this Treaty should be submitted to Parliament, and have suggested that there is no necessity for such a course being taken. On a number of occasions the Government of the day have submitted treaties to Parliament for approval. On two or three occasions at least that has been done, and I have copies of the Acts here. In other cases, treaties have been submitted for the purpose of securing the necessary legislation to carry them into effect. The Washington Treaty of 1888 was approved by this House before ratification. It did not finally go into effect because of the failure of the United States to ratify the Treaty. The Treaty with reference to pelagic sealing was not submitted to the House for approval before the Act was passed, but the then Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier passed an Order in Council approving of the ratification of the Treaty by His Majesty. That Order in Council was transmitted to England, and His Majesty approved and ratified the Treaty with the advice, consent and approval of his Canadian advisers. Then, when the treaty was ratified, the necessary legislation was passed. We are, in this case, adopting the proper constitutional course. The difference is that we are going further than any Government has gone up to this time by submitting the broad question of approval to the House for ratification—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friends have used the word so often that I unconsciously used it. The difference is that we are going further than any Government has gone up to this time by submitting the Treaty to the House for approval before the ratification is made.

I must say that I could hardly believe my ears yesterday when I heard the language of the leader of the Opposition. The hon. member for Kamouraska (Mr. E. Lapointe) will pardon me if, for a moment or two, I turn to the argument of the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie), because, let me tell the House in confidence, my hon. friend's address yesterday kept me awake for two or three hours last night.

Mr. BUREAU: That is pretty good.

Mr. ROWELL: I could hardly believe my ears when I listened to the statement of my hon. friend yesterday with reference to Canada's status as part of the British Empire and her relation to the other nations of the world. My hon. friend said that Canada was not a nation; that Canada did not possess the rights of sovereignty; that all her legislation might, under the terms of the British North America Act, be vetoed by the Imperial Government. I felt perfectly sure that there was, nothing in the history of the Liberal party or Liberal Administration, from which my hon. friend could have gathered any such views as he presented to the House in reference to the status of Canada. I am more familiar with Liberal history and traditions than I am with Conservative history and traditions.

Mr. BUREAU: It is coming quick.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend says: "It is coming quick." I am going to study it to see if I cannot find some more precedents away back fifty or sixty years ago for the present attitude of some of my hon. friends.

Mr. McKENZIE: I quoted section 56 of the British North America Act. If that does not justify my position, I was wrong.

Mr. ROWELL: I will deal with that in a moment.

Mr. McKENZIE: You had better.

Mr. ROWELL: I knew there was in the history and traditions of the Liberal party, nothing that would justify the attitude of the leader of the Opposition, so I thought I would make a study of the history of the Conservative party to see if I could find there anything that would justify his attitude. I thought the best place to search would be in some of the speeches and addresses of the greatest leader of the Conservative party in Canada, the father of the modern Conservative party, Sir John Macdonald, and I found in his speech introducing the resolutions in favour of Confederation, that one of the arguments he used in support of it was that it meant the founding of a great new nationality on this half of the North American continent; that he looked upon Canada as a nation, true, he said, dependent; and he pictured the national ideal that stood out before us in the splendid address which he delivered in support of those resolutions. That was in 1863 or 1864. I thought I would go a little further back. In 1858, certain legislation, which was passed by the then Parliament of Canada with reference to the tariff, affected the people of Great Britain. Let us bear in mind that the leader of the Opposition said yesterday that Great Britain had the right to veto all legislation passed by this Parliament. My hon. friend fails to distinguish between legal authority and constitutional right. His Majesty, the King, has a legal authority to ratify this Treaty irrespective of any of his advisers, but he has no constitutional right to do so. The Imperial Parliament has the legal authority to repeal the British North America Act to-morrow, to conscript our men for their armies, to levy taxes upon the people—

Mr. VIEN: That shows that we are not a nation.

Mr. ROWELL: —but Great Britain has no constitutional right to do so, and it is because the British constitution has been a growth and development, because it can be so changed and is changed to meet the growing needs of a growing nation and Empire that it has proved such a magnificent instrument of government. The strength of the British Empire to-day rests upon the constitutional rights which have been granted to different portions of the Empire, and the British Government would no more think of interfering with our constitutional rights and freedom than they would think of recommending that His Majesty should sign his own death warrant, although they might claim they had a legal right to recommend him to do so. In 1858, when this Act was passed, which imposed certain duties against the British people, the merchants of Great Britain protested against it and demanded its disallowance. They wanted the Act disallowed. Great Britain had the legal right to disallow it, and a communication was sent out to the Government of Canada to find out what they would say about it. Let me read the answer of the Government of Canada, given not by a Liberal Government, but by a Conservative Government, by the Cartier-Macdonald Government:

> Self government would be utterly annihilated if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada. It is therefore the duty of the present Government distinctly to affirm the right of the Canadian legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even should it unfortunately happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial minister. Her Majesty cannot be allowed to disallow such acts unless her advisers are prepared to assume the administration of the colony, irrespective of the views of its inhabitants.

Mr. McKENZIE: In view of the doctrine which my hon. friend quotes from 1858, how does he explain that in 1867 the power was vested in the Imperial Government and Her Majesty to veto our legislation?

Mr. ROWELL: Because the Imperial Government at that time still retained the legal right to do it, but Canada denied their constitutional right to interfere in our domestic affairs. I say that my hon. friend has failed to distinguish between the two, and you have to go back of anything in the history of either political party for more than sixty years to find as unprogressive a view of Canada's status and of the British constitution as my hon. friend has presented to this House.

Mr. McKENZIE: I am quoting the law absolutely, and my hon. friend is simply giving us his usual theories.

Mr. ROWELL: There is not much theory in it, in face of the statement of the Canadian Government in 1858 and the policy pursued ever since. I am going to recommend to my hon. friend in all seriousness, and in the best of good feeling, that he

give up his Rip Van Winkle attitude towards Canada's status in the Empire. The only difference is that Rip Van Winkle was asleep only twenty years whereas my hon. friend has been asleep for more than sixty years.

Mr. RICHARDSON: You do not want to lose any more sleep yourself.

Mr. ROWELL: I feel some compensation in view of what I discovered; it was very interesting. The position which the Government takes to-day is this: That His Majesty in ratifying this Treaty with respect to Canada should act upon the advice of his advisers in Canada. My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition says it was not necessary that we should be there at all, not necessary that Canada should take any action at all, that we should leave it wholly to the Government of Great Britain to deal with the matter for us.

Mr. McKENZIE: Where does my hon. friend find any such statement? I wish he would quote it.

Mr. ROWELL: I think I am fairly stating the general trend of my hon. friend's argument.

Mr. McKENZIE: I said nothing of the kind. My statement was directly to the contrary.

Mr. ROWELL: Did not my hon. friend say we might leave it to Great Britain?

Mr. McKENZIE: I said nothing of the kind. I said that I was very anxious that we should be represented there, but simply with the other representatives of Great Britain, all together.

Mr. ROWELL: I will try and find my hon. friend's remarks before I am through. My recollection is that that was the general trend of his statement.

Mr. McKENZIE: I made no such statement.

Mr. ROWELL: I accept my hon. friend's statement. I will turn up Hansard later and see just what he said. His general attitude, which I think I am fairly interpreting, was that we should leave this question of ratification to His Majesty as advised by His Majesty's advisers in Great Britain. There, again, that is directly contrary to the whole history and tradition of the party which my hon. friend professes to lead. So far back as 1882, the Hon. Edward Blake, then leader of the Liberal party in this House, moved a resolution demanding the right on behalf of Canada to negotiate her own treaties; that is, that Her Majesty should act on the advice of her Canadian ministers. That was followed by another resolution in 1889 moved by Sir Richard Cartwright, when the party was under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. That was followed in 1892, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was still leader, by another resolution moved by Hon. David Mills, and upon which Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke. Let me just give a short extract from his speech:

—but I say that Canada is not always to remain a colony.

My hon. friend referred yesterday to Canada as a colony.

Light as our dependence may be on the Mother Country, that dependence is not to remain for ever. If we were to admit that, if we were to say that we were always to remain in a dependent condition we would be the scorn of the world, and it would be scorn well deserved.

The fact is, Canada's status has been improving during all this period. Our rights of self-government have been steadily enlarged from year to year.

My hon. friend from Kamouraska (Mr. Lapointe) speaks of submitting changes in the constitution to a vote. He is too keen a student of the British constitution not to know that the most important changes in the constitution have not been by any sudden act, by any decision on some particular matter that involved a great change. It has been a gradual change, a steady growth to meet new conditions as they have arisen.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: What about the revolution?

Mr. ROWELL: There was one great question that was settled by arms, not by referendum, and my hon. friend and I both agree that there should be some better method than that of bringing about radical changes.

Just a word as to Canada's present status, to which my hon. friend from Kamouraska has referred. His complaint was not that Canada was represented at the Conference, but that her representatives there did not stand on an equality with the representatives of Great Britain. Then may I ask my hon. friend this: Would he be good enough to tell us what he thinks the Government should have done that it did not do in reference to the status of Canada's representatives at the Conference?

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: I said that it was the result of our present anomalous and abnormal constitutional position.

Mr. ROWELL: Will my hon. friend tell me what change, if any, he thinks should be made in our present constitutional position.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: Before my hon. friend goes as a representative of Canada to the proposed Constitutional Conference I shall be very glad to give him my advice.

Mr. ROWELL: I really thought that as my hon. friend had submitted so many questions to me to answer this afternoon, and had discussed this question at such length and had apparently given a good deal of study to it, he would be prepared to inform the House and the country what constitutional changes should, in his opinion, be made.

Mr. BUREAU: That is up to you to explain. You have been acting.

Mr. ROWELL: There is one view—I do not know whether any hon. friend entertains it or not—and that is that Canada should cut the tie that binds her to Great Britain and become an independent nation. I do not know whether my hon. friend means that or not when he speaks of our representative not being on an equality with the representatives of Great Britain. If he does mean that, then I beg to express my complete dissent from that position. The other view was the view presented yesterday by the leader of the Opposition, practically relegating Canada back to her colonial status. Neither the one view nor the other represents sound Canadianism, the patriotic sentiments of the people of this country. The people of this country are determined, on the one hand, to maintain their connection with the Motherland; they are determined, on the other hand, to exercise the powers of a nation within the Empire.

5 p.m.

My hon. friend has referred to the Constitutional Conference which the Prime Minister mentioned. That Constitutional Conference was decided on at the Imperial War Conference in the year 1917. The terms of the resolution deciding on that Conference have been submitted to this House on a number of occasions.

The resolution was submitted to this House in 1917, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was here leading the Liberal party, and, as far as I can recall the facts, he offered no objection whatever to the terms of this resolution. I do not think there is any serious objection to its terms on the part of our citizens. It indicates the basis along which our constitutional development should proceed. That was before the election and it was before the people. I never heard any criticism from any source of the resolution then adopted, or of the principles laid down in that resolution. Let me just draw my hon. friend's attention to it:

> The Imperial War Conference are of opinion that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the war, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities.
>
> They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine.

My hon. friend wants to know what is the basis of the constitutional conference to be held following the war. The basis set out in this resolution which has been before this Parliament for two or three years. My hon. friend need not be in doubt as to the ideas or policy of the Government in so far as this matter is concerned.

Then my hon. friend questioned somewhat the status of Canada at the Peace Conference. My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition questioned it from another angle. The leader of the Opposition stated that we had not the rights of sovereignty. Technically that may be the fact under the British North America Act. My hon. friend from Shelburne and Queens, while speaking last session, questioned our position at the conference and while he did not compare our position to that of the United States, he recited an imaginary dialogue between Lloyd George and President Wilson, in which a comparison was drawn between our position and that of the United States. He asked if the state of New York requested representation at the conference, would the state of New York get representation? What was the situation in reference to the war? In the United States they have one Government that raised troops, that levied taxation, that waged war upon an enemy. His Majesty has at least five governments that exercise these sovereign functions. There is no comparison whatever between the situations of the two. It was with the free

will of the Canadian Parliament and with the sanction of the people that the Government of Canada raised the troops and levied the necessary taxation to send them across the sea to take part in this war. His Majesty acted on the advice of his advisers in Great Britain in raising troops in Great Britain and in dispatching them across the sea to take part in the war. His Majesty acted on the advice of his Canadian advisers in raising troops in Canada, and in sending them across the sea to take part in this war. It was the same with Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. For the purpose of waging war against Germany there was not only one government in the British Empire, there were at least five governments, His Majesty was the King of all, and all acknowledging allegiance to him.

Mr. McKENZIE: Will the minister say that if the Imperial Parliament did not declare war Canada could raise and send troops?

Mr. ROWELL: The Imperial Government did declare war.

Mr. McKENZIE: If they did not would we be in a position, as a separate government, to raise troops and send them to the front?

Mr. ROWELL: Unless His Majesty, who is the head of Great Britain, the head of Canada and the whole of the Empire, declared war, there would be no war.

Mr. McKENZIE: And we could not send troops?

Mr. ROWELL: We, of course, would not send troops.

Mr. McKENZIE: We could not.

Mr. ROWELL: It is the head of the state who declares war and proclaims peace. His Majesty is the head of the state and he is the one who declares war and proclaims peace. I do not know whether members of this House are aware of the position of Canada in reference to her troops in the field, but I think, in view of the attack that has been made upon the status of Canada, it is only right that I should put that position on record. Not only did we raise troops in Canada and train them in Canada, but we had them under our own jurisdiction in Great Britain and in France, except for the purposes of military operations.

This was particularly the case during the later stages of the war. I hold in my hand a memorandum setting out the arrangement made between the Canadian Government and the War Office acting through the Commander in Chief of the British armies in the field. It reads as follows:

> For matters of military operations the Canadian forces in the Field have been placed by the Canadian Government under the Commander in Chief, British armies in France. For matters of organization and administration, the Canadian Government still retains its full responsibility regarding its Forces. Matters of organization and administration frequently have a direct bearing on military operations and discipline, and vice versa, and it is, therefore, considered that where they have such bearing these matters should be made the subject of conference between the Canadian authorities and the G.H.Q.

The five nations forming the British Empire, made war against Germany, the common enemy. If five nations made war then why should not five nations be consulted and why should they not help to make peace?

Mr. FIELDING: If any one of these five nations had not made war in the way my hon. friend describes would that nation not have been at war with Germany just the same?

Mr. ROWELL: Certainly it would have been at war with Germany.

Mr. ROSS: Supposing this Parliament refuses to approve of this Treaty will not Great Britain ratify it just the same?

Mr. ROWELL: That is the question that my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queens asked and he rather made light of the answer of the Prime Minister.

Mr. FIELDING: I made no comment.

Mr. ROWELL: I do not mean offensively. I am sure that he did not mean to be unfair in what he said. The answer to that lies in this: it would have to be settled by the Government that succeeded this Government and that Government would be faced with one of two propositions? If the British Government undertook to ratify that Treaty on behalf of Canada and to bind Canada by its provisions in spite of the adverse vote of the Canadian Parliament, the Government of the day would be faced with the position which Sir John Macdonald faced in 1858. You would either be relegated to your old colonial status or you would have to declare your independence. You would have to choose between these two alternatives but we will not have to take that responsibility because there will be no adverse vote.

Mr. CANNON: Would it be possible for one of the overseas dominions, during this war, to declare its neutrality?

Mr. ROWELL: No, certainly not. It is perhaps a lack of appreciation on my part but I cannot understand the difficulty which my hon. friends experience judged by some of the questions they are putting.

What is the situation? What is the constitutional position? The British Empire is composed of five or six nations with one Sovereign. When that Sovereign is at war all these nations are at war, but the part that any one nation takes in that war is determined by its own parliament exercising its own sovereign power.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. FIELDING: It has been so in the past.

Mr. BUREAU: Heretofore, it has been so.

Mr. ROWELL: I am not questioning the fact that that has been our status up to date. What I say is that the power which we have exercised in determining our part in the war entitles us to some voice in the terms of peace, and that is what we have secured at the Peace Conference. I do not claim that the Government of Canada has improved the status of the Dominion during this war, but what I say is that the troops of Canada at Ypres, Courcelette, Vimy Ridge, Passchendaele, Arras, Amiens, and Cambrai made such a place for Canada in the Empire and in Europe that any government here would have been false to its duty if it did not seek to maintain that place at the Peace Conference. I can understand men who did not want Canada to go into the war, who thought that this was not Canada's concern at all, that she should limit her operations to this country and to this continent—I can understand them saying we should not have been at the Peace Conference, I can understand them saying we should keep out of the League of Nations; but I am absolutely at a loss to understand the men who agreed that Canada's sons should go forth to help defeat Germany and bring peace to the world saying that Canada should not take any part in deciding what the peace terms should be. What was Canada's position at the Peace Conference? My hon. friend from Kamouraska (Mr. Ernest Lapointe) has said in reference to Canada's position that her delegates were not on an equality with the delegates from Great Britain. I do not know just what my hon. friend had in view when he made that statement, unless he meant that we should have been there as an independent power. If he did not mean that, I do not know just what he did mean.

Now, let us look and see just what the status of Canada's representatives was. In the first place, the Prime Ministers of the Dominions were on the panel from which the British Empire delegation was chosen. In that respect, they were sharers in the representation of the whole Empire at the Peace Conference, in the five delegates that represented the British Empire. In addition, Canada had the same representation, the same status, and the same rights as the smaller powers at the Conference. What I would say to my hon. friend is this: It is true Canada did not have the same position as Great Britain, because she had not the strength, the population, the power, of the Mother Land, but she had a better status than any other small nation in the group of nations that took part in the Peace Conference. She had her own representatives and she was entitled to share in the Empire representation as well. Now my hon. friend (Mr. Ernest Lapointe) has raised the question about the signatures to the Treaty, and he asked: Would not Canada be bound by the signatures of the representatives of the Empire mentioned in the Treaty? My hon. friend read the first five names in the Treaty and then he says the names of the Canadian representatives and other Dominions follow but they were unnecessary. Another hon. gentleman, I do not remember who it was, said it was obvious it pleased the Canadian representatives. It looked very well to have the Canadian names in and, therefore, those names appeared in the Peace Treaty. What is the situation, Mr. Speaker? The Treaty is made by His Majesty, the head of the state, with the heads of the other states. The state in that sense consists of the whole Empire. It consists of the United Kingdom, it consists of all the dependencies, as well as the self-governing dominions, and India. Those British plenipotentiaries signed for all the Empire, except those specially mentioned who were expressly authorized to sign for their respective countries. My hon. friend looks incredulous. Well, let me give him the proof.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: Very much so.

Mr. ROWELL: I am prepared to help clear up the misgivings of Doubting Thomases, if I can.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: I hope you will.

Mr. ROWELL: I have before me the Order in Council of the 10th April, 1919, which provides for the appointment of the

Canadian plenipotentiaries, at least which recommends the names to His Majesty for appointment as plenipotentiaries. I will not detain the House to read the document in full but I shall read the most important portions. It says:

His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on report from the acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, stating that it is expedient in connection with the Peace Conference to invest fit persons with full powers to treat on the part of His Majesty the King in respect to the Dominion of Canada with persons similarly empowered on the part of other States, is pleased to order and doth order that His Majesty the King be humbly moved to issue letters patent to each of the following named persons (then come the names of the Prime Minister, Sir George Foster, Mr. Sifton, and Mr. Doherty) naming and appointing him as commissioner and plenipotentiary in respect of the Dominion of Canada, with full power and authority, as from the first day of January, 1919, to conclude with such plenipotentiaries as may be vested with similar power and authority on the part of any powers or states, any treaties, conventions, or agreements, in connection with the said Peace Conference, and to sign for and in the name of His Majesty the King in respect to the Dominion of Canada everything so agreed upon and concluded and to transact all such other matters as may appertain thereto.

Upon that recommendation of the Governor General in Council in Canada His Majesty the King did issue an authority to those ministers to attend the Peace Conference, not on behalf of Great Britain but on behalf of Canada, to conclude terms of peace at that Conference, and I think it is perhaps only right that one should put upon record the terms of that power because it shows clearly the status of the Canadian representatives at the Peace Conference.

George, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, etc., etc., etc. To all and singular to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting!

Whereas for the better treating of and arranging certain matters which are now in discussion, or which may come in discussion between Us and other Powers and States in connection with the forthcoming Peace Congress.

We have judged it expedient to invest a fit person with Full Power, to conduct the said discussion on Our Part in respect of Our Dominion of Canada: Know ye, therefore, that We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in the Wisdom, Loyalty, Diligence, and Circumspection, of our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor Sir Robert Laird Borden, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, one of our Counsel learned in the law, etc., etc., Member of the Parliament of Canada, Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, have named, made, constituted and appointed, as We do by these Presents name, make, constitute and appoint him, Our Undoubted Commissioner, Procurator, and Plenipotentiary, in respect of Our Dominion of Canada; Giving to him all manner of Power and Authority to treat, adjust, and conclude with such Ministers, Commissioners, or Plenipotentiaries, as may be vested with similar Power and Authority on the part of any Powers or States as aforesaid any Treaties, Conventions, or Agreements that may tend to the attainment of the above-mentioned end, and to sign for Us and in Our Name in respect of Our Dominion of Canada everything so agreed upon and concluded, and to do and transact all such other matters as may appertain thereto, in as ample manner and form, and with equal force and efficacy as We Ourselves could do, if personnally present, engaging and Promising, upon Our Royal Word, that whatever things shall be so transacted and concluded by Our said Commissioner, Procurator, and Plenipotentiary in respect of our Dominion of Canada, shall, subject if necessary to Our Approval and Ratification, be agreed to, acknowledged and accepted by Us in the fullest manner, and that we will never suffer either in the whole or in part any person whatsoever to infringe the same—

Mark those words. My hon. friends say that the British ministers could have signed for Canada. I say the British ministers could not have signed for Canada, in the face of this power given to Sir Robert Borden and his colleagues.

—we will never suffer in whole or in part any person whatsoever to infringe the same, or act contrary thereto, as far as it lies in Our power.

In witness whereof We have caused the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to be affixed to these Presents, which We have signed with Our Royal Hand.

Given at Our Court of St. James, the first day of January, in the Year of Our Lord, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Nineteen and in the Ninth Year of Our Reign.

Mr. BELAND: May I ask the hon. minister a question? By what process was this Order-in-Council transmitted to His Majesty the King? Was it through His Excellency the Governor General direct to the King, or through the British Government?

Mr. ROWELL: I cannot answer my hon. friend's question at the present time, for I have not the information. It was transmitted while the Prime Minister and his colleagues were over in England. But my recollection is that the Prime Minister stated when presenting the Treaty to the House that he took steps to see that the issue of the authority to the plenipotentiaries was directly connected with and based upon the Order in Council.

Mr. TRAHAN (Nicolet): The Order in Council was addressed to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the right hon.

Sir Robert Borden stated in his speech last week, which statement will be found at page 22 of Hansard. The question which now arises is: Whether it was at the direct request of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom that this authority was issued by the King in favour of Sir Robert Borden.

Mr. BELAND: That is the question.

Mr. ROWELL: I have no doubt whatever that the Prime Minister of Great Britain absolutely concurred in this action. It was all taken with his full approval after the understanding was arrived at with reference to the representation of the Dominions. I am at a loss to understand the objection of my hon. friends. Do they think the Prime Minister of Canada should not have had that authority?

Mr. McMASTER: He should have had authority.

Mr. ROWELL: Then if the Prime Minister should have had the authority, what is the object of criticising and finding fault with our representation at the Conference?

Mr. BUREAU: We are not criticising; we are putting questions to get light on the subject.

Mr. McMASTER: We are merely asking for information.

Mr. ROWELL: It has been repeatedly pointed out that our constitutional relations within the Empire are in a state of transition. The whole object of the Constitutional Conference is to put those relations on a more satisfactory basis, if we can. It is not possible to say one day that the situation is so and so, and the next day that it is so and so; it is a gradual process, an evolution from the position of a colony to that of a sister nation of equal status with the Mother Country, and when this Constitutional Conference is held I feel confident it will accord us that position.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: We have not got that position to-day, then?

Mr. ROWELL: We have it in fact, and the British Government recognize that we are entitled to it, but the machinery for giving effect to it has not yet been fully worked out.

An hon. MEMBER: A waste of time.

Mr. ROWELL: That machinery has to be worked out. In the meantime there are bound to be anomalies. We have a definite goal in view, and we are seeking to attain that goal as speedily as it is possible to work out the machinery for giving effect to it.

Mr. VIEN (Lotbinière): Will my hon. friend allow me a question? What would be the practical difference between the status of a sister nation and the status of an autonomous colony?

Mr. ROWELL: It depends on the position that is accorded. Calling a thing a certain name does not necessarily make it what you name it; it is what it really is that counts.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: You want to ascertain what step Canada has made.

Mr. ROWELL: Just in the same way, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier returned from the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, he declared that Canada was a nation. A great many people disputed that proposition. Part of the argument yesterday of my hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) was against that position. One might argue that Canada was not a nation at that time; but she was attaining that status; and the assertion of that status by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the concession of that status by the Government of Great Britain, has made possible the subsequent development. So to-day, when this Government says the status of Canada must be equal to that of Great Britain and the other Dominions in the Britannic League of Nations, if you choose to call it, the recognition of that status by the Government of Great Britain puts us in a position where all that is necessary now is to complete the working out of the machinery in order that we may enjoy that status; and that is the object of the Constitutional Conference which is to be called.

Yesterday my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition quoted from the British North America Act the section which authorizes Canada to carry out any Treaty affecting Canada made between the Empire and any foreign Power. Under the British North America Act Canada now has the constitutional right to carry out this Treaty and all that is involved in it and implied by it. The British North America Act, Section 132, reads as follows:

> The Parliament and Government of Canada shall have all powers necessary or proper for performing the obligations of Canada or of any province thereof, as part of the British Empire, towards foreign countries arising under Treaties between the Empire and such foreign countries.

I believe that Canada under this Treaty, particularly under the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Labour Convention, holds a higher national status than she has enjoyed in the past. I also believe the action of the Imperial Government in passing the Act authorizing His Majesty to take all action necessary to carry the Treaty into effect, and the ratification of the Treaty, will be a recognition of Canada's improved status by the Imperial Government, which has the legal authority as well as the constitutional right to do so.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Does that apply to India also?

Mr. ROWELL: I am not concerned in discussing the position of India at this time; I am concerned only in discussing the position of Canada. So I say upon all these facts the position of Canada is wonderfully advanced over the old position. We are recognized now as a nation of equal status with the Mother Country and other Dominions. The Constitutional Conference must work out the details. They are not easy to work out and will be fraught with the greatest difficulty. No one should minimize the difficulties of the situation. There is no parallel for an Empire like this of self-governing nations seeking to work together. It is the greatest experiment in democratic Government that the world has ever seen. But I believe a solution will be found. I have confidence in the Anglo-Saxon genius for government, I have equal confidence in the genius for government of our friends of French Canadian birth and race, for they have shown great capacity in that direction. Sir George Cartier showed wonderful capacity and vision in the work he did in helping to bring about Confederation.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier showed an equal capacity for government in the work which he did in connection with our constitutional development. So I hope that in the working out of these problems we shall have the aid of men of both races in this country—just as I am sure we shall have the aid of men of both races in South Africa—in order that we may arrive at a solution that will be practicable and under which the Empire, consisting of several nations owing allegiance to a common sovereign, may continue to work together in pursuit of the great ideals which they hold in common.

Mr. CANNON: I do not wish to tire the minister, but if he will permit me I will put one more question before he proceeds to the discussion of another point. Can he tell the House why Newfoundland was not represented at Versailles, and what difference there is between her status and that of Canada and the other Dominions?

Mr. ROWELL: If I endeavour to answer for Canada, I think that will be quite sufficient at present.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Did I understand my hon. friend to say that the British Empire was composed of five nations?

Mr. ROWELL: I said at least five.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Will my hon. friend name those nations?

Mr. ROWELL: The United Kingdom is one, Canada is another, Australia a third, New Zealand a fourth and South Africa a fifth.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: What about India?

Mr. ROWELL: I will not discuss the constitutional position of India. A discussion of that matter would only becloud the real issue; no object can be gained by entering into it.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: I must remind hon. members that the House is not in Committee. Many of the questions which have been asked are not even relevant to the subject matter of the speech which is being delivered by the hon. minister and I must request that the rules governing debate be more strictly adhered to.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend has asked me what interpretation I put upon certain clauses of the Treaty. Let me say with all courtesy to my hon. friend, that the interpretation which I may put upon it or which any other man may put upon it at this time does not determine what the Treaty means. The Covenant of the League of Nations must be interpreted by the statesmen who are members of the league when questions of interpretation arise. If a court of international justice is created and questions are referred to it, they must be determined by that court.

Coming to the Treaty itself, I should like to direct the attention of the House to the fact that undue emphasis appears to have been placed upon Article 10. It is a very important article, undoubtedly, but undue emphasis has been placed upon it, particularly, I think, on this continent, because of the discussion that is taking place in the country to the south.

Let us look at the Treaty and see what its object is. Its object is to prevent war; to

secure some other method of settling international disputes than the arbitrament of arms. Looked at in that light, what are the important provisions of the Treaty?

I venture to submit that Article 12 is the real foundation of the Treaty. It reads:

> The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

The great difficulty in the past—and it was the great difficulty when this war broke out—was that there was no body which could be called together to consider the situation. Sir Edward Grey, in the magnificent, the almost pathetic efforts he made in those fateful days immediately preceding the war to secure a common understanding, was seeking to get some group together; seeking to arrive at some formula to which the nations would agree in order that they might have a conference, talk the matter over with a view to avoiding war. The basis of this Covenant is the solemn undertaking of every nation which signs it that before it resorts to war it will refer disputes either to arbitration or to inquiry. If you get the nations to refer to arbitration or if you have an inquiry, and opportunity for conciliation, I venture to think that in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred the war which otherwise might come will be avoided. Men will get together and talk things over, and they will settle their disputes in a way which would not be possible in the absence of such an arrangement as this.

Article 13 provides for the submission of disputes to arbitration and the procedure to be followed. Article 15 provides that in case a dispute is not submitted to arbitration it may be submitted to the Council for inquiry, and Article 16 provides the penalties for disregarding Articles 12, 13, or 15, or for violating any covenant of the League.

There are other provisions which I shall not take up the time of the House to discuss. They are additional safeguards against war; they are intended as a guarantee, if possible, against war. Among these additional safeguards is Article 10, which is a guarantee of the territorial integrity of the nations which are parties to the Covenant, against external aggression. It is a kind of insurance against any nation going to war or attacking another country as Germany attacked Belgium, because if she does make such an attack she knows that there is a possibility of the rest of the world being arrayed against her. Its chief value lies in its insurance feature, if one might so describe it; its guarantee against any nation challenging another and attempting external aggression. I quite admit that it is a Covenant upon which there may be honest differences of opinion; upon which there are honest differences of opinion, and there may have been in the Peace Conference. But it is part of the League; we cannot help it; we must take it as part of the whole Covenant.

I am not here to say whether President Wilson is right or wrong upon this and other Covenants in the interpretations he has placed; far be it from a member of this House to pass judgment upon the opinion of the head of a foreign State. I do not think it would be fitting that one should pass judgment upon his acts and his views, particularly in view of the acrimonious controversy that is going on in United States at the present time with reference to this important matter. I think that the best thing that we in Canada can do is keep out of the dispute over there and let them settle it for themselves. So I must respectfully decline to comply with the request of the member from Kamouraska to express an opinion upon President Wilson's views in reference to any of these important matters.

It is quite clear that under Article 10 the Council of the League must advise what is to be done. Their power is only advisory. If they advise that Canada should take action, that action, if it required legislative sanction, would have to be taken by the Parliament of Canada. No authority other than the Parliament of Canada can raise troops in this country; no other body has the constitutional right to take action in a matter of that kind.

My hon. friend raised another question—the possibility of conflict between Canada and Great Britain in case of a dispute between Great Britain and some other country. The member for Beauce (Mr. Beland) yesterday gave as an illustration a possible dispute between Great Britain and Italy; the member for Kamouraska (Mr. E. Lapointe) will pardon me if I take that illustration rather than the one he gave to-day.

If a dispute were to arise between Great Britain and Italy the parties are both bound to refer the matter either to arbitration or to conciliation. Suppose both parties agree to refer it to arbitration, it is so referred, and both parties agree to carry out the award. I for one do not think it possible that

Great Britain, having agreed to refer the matter to arbitration, having referred it to arbitration and having agreed to carry out the award, would be the one to refuse to carry out the award. I think we are absolutely safe in counting on that.

Mr. BUREAU: That is not an answer.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend says: "That is not an answer." Let me take the case if Great Britain refused to carry out the award. Under article 16, the Council of the League would have to recommend what action should be taken. It is an unthinkable proposition that they would recommend Canada to take action against Great Britain, but nevertheless, I will take my hon. friend's case. If the Council of the League decided that Canada was one of the nations that should make a military contribution, then Canada immediately becomes entitled to membership in the Council and to take part in its deliberations; she then becomes a country of special interest and entitled to sit as a member of the League:

> Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

Canada becomes entitled to have a representative present, and the Council cannot act unless the members are unanimous.

Mr. BELAND: In that case, would not Canada be considered as a part of the British Empire?

Mr. ROWELL: Not if they call upon her to take action against Great Britain. If they call upon her to take action, she thereby becomes entitled to sit on the Council as a member, and that Council cannot act except by unanimous consent of the members, and Canada could not be called upon to take action unless she herself consented to do so. So the case my hon. friend has presented is impossible under the conditions governing the action in the League.

Mr. BELAND: Does the minister contend that when this member is invited on the Council, it is in any other capacity than that of making representations to the Council?

Mr. ROWELL: She becomes a full member for the purpose of that discussion.

Mr. BELAND: I cannot construe the clause in that way.

[Mr. Rowell.]

Mr. ROWELL: Let me read the clause again. This is the second last paragraph of article 4 on page 10 of the Treaty:

> Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

The Council cannot act except unanimously.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): Does the minister contend that every time Canada receives a recommendation of the League to do something, she will have the right to be represented on the Council?

Mr. ROWELL: Certainly, it is clearly so stated.

Mr. BELAND: As a full member having a vote?

Mr. ROWELL: As a full member having a vote.

Mr. BELAND: The minister cannot show that in the Covenant.

Mr. ROWELL: It states so.

Mr. BELAND: It does not state that the member will have a vote. On the contrary, it is stated in some other place that a party to a dispute is excluded from the vote.

Mr. ROWELL: This is not a party to the dispute; it is a party called on to take action. Canada becomes a party of particular interest and entitled to representation.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): That means that Canada shall never be called upon to take action unless she agrees to it. Is that the answer of my hon. friend?

Mr. ROWELL: She cannot be compelled to take action unless she agrees to it, so far as action under that clause is concerned.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): It is interesting to have that on Hansard.

Mr. BELAND: It is interesting to have that declaration.

Mr. ROWELL: That is the view I would reach from reading the Covenant. After reaching that conclusion from perusing the Covenant, I had the opportunity last night —probably many hon. members also had it— of seeing the official explanation issued by the Government of Great Britain in reference to the terms of the Covenant of the League. It was published as a parliamentary paper, and I was particularly inter-

ested to see that the position I have taken was supported by the explanation in this parliamentary paper, as appears from the following extract:

> It is the duty of the Council, with the help of its military, naval and all advisers, to recommend what effective force each member of the League shall supply; for this purpose, each member from which a contribution is required has the right to attend the Council, with power of veto, during the consideration of its particular case. The several contingents will therefore be settled by agreement, as is indeed necessary if the spirit of the Covenant is to be preserved, and if joint action is to be efficacious.

The situation mentioned cannot arise under the conditions and terms of the Covenant; and, therefore, the fears he has expressed he may dispel. The Canadian ministers have not put Canada into a difficult or impossible position. I had intended discussing some other phases of the Treaty, but as I intend to conclude by six o'clock, I shall not discuss them.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Go on.

Mr. ROWELL: I intend to conclude by six o'clock, but I want to point out again that the object of the Treaty is to insure peace and to prevent war by providing means for settlement of justiciable cause by a judicial tribunal, or of matters suitable for arbitration by arbitration, and, in some cases, by conciliation, and by requiring that the members of the League shall not take action for definite periods, three months, or nine months, as the case may be, in order that there may be full opportunity for conciliation. In that respect the Covenant of the League of Nations represents the best hope of our humanity, which has suffered through this war as our humanity has never before suffered, to free our race from the cause and ravages of war. It represents the best hope of the best men of all the nations, and I think it is a proud position for the Parliament, the people and the public men of Canada to have some part, though small, in expressing their approval of and participation in this momentous document which we earnestly hope will prevent the repetition of the crimes and horrors from which our humanity has suffered during this war.

Let me say this word in conclusion. The League of Nations is to aid in preserving the peace of the world. There is another momentous agreement contained in this Peace Treaty, namely, the Covenant dealing with labour organization. Next to world-peace the most important thing for our humanity now is industrial peace among the nations of the world. I wish I had time to discuss the labour clauses of the Treaty, but I have not. I wish I had time to discuss the features of the new organization in which Canada is also a party—not without the strenuous effort of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Public Works and his colleagues. To hon. member who thinks that our ministers need not have gone to the Peace Conference, who say that it was sufficient if Canada were represented by Great Britain, I say: How would representatives of Great Britain represent at that Conference the industrial conditions of Canada? How would the employers of Great Britain represent the employers of Canada? How would the workingmen of Great Britain represent the workingmen of Canada? If the Prime Minister and his colleagues had done nothing else, in view of the magnitude of the industrial problems facing us these days, the fact that they secured representation for Canada in this international labour organization, entitling us to send our Canadian representatives to participate in its deliberations, their trip to the old country was well worth while and will be of lasting benefit to Canada. We trust the other treaties will soon be signed, that peace not only with Germany, but with all the other nations at war may soon come, and I say to my hon. friends on both sides of the House: Canada having taken such a magnificent part in this war, Canada's position having been so splendidly maintained at the Peace Conference by the Prime Minister and his colleagues, are we not big enough to forget party and prejudice at this time and give the meed of praise to the statesmen of Canada who stood for Canada's interests among the nations of the world? Canada is great in her territory, in the character of her people, in her institutions, in her free democratic government. This Treaty will affect Canada not only to-day with her eight millions of people; it will affect Canada when she has from twenty-five to fifty millions, when Canada is not only one of the greatest powers on the Pacific, but one of the great powers of the world; it is a Treaty which we hope may mean an adjustment of international conditions gradually worked out through its provisions that will avoid war, not only for a generation, perhaps, but for a century to come. If the Government of Canada, when such a momentous document was being settled, affecting our future for generations, had failed to take their part and see that Canada's interests were not prejudiced, but her rights conserved, they

would have wholly failed to do their duty to the people of Canada. They have maintained at the Peace Conference the splendid position which the troops of Canada won for her in the field of battle.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. LUCIEN CANNON (Dorchester): Mr. Speaker, I rise to take part in this debate with a considerable hesitancy, not only on account of the very great importance of the matter itself, though several speeches have been made already and have led me to comprehend the matter better than I had done before, but also on account of the remarkable speech which was delivered this afternoon by the hon. President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell). As you know, Mr. Speaker, I have not the habit of agreeing with the minister, but I can say in all sincerity that I admired very greatly his talent and eloquence and also the agility with which he skipped around the troubles, difficulties and intricacies of the problem that he was dealing with.

As the minister said, this is a question which is far beyond the realm of political warfare, a question which is far above the common, ordinary grounds of our partisan struggles and strifes. I have no intention of discussing it in the spirit of the politician, no intention of approaching it in the capacity of a partisan. The few remarks that I shall address to the House to-night will be presented by a Canadian who wishes to speak as a Canadian, and I feel confident, Mr. Speaker, that my remarks will be received by the House in the same spirit as that in which they are made.

In 1914, when the whole civilized world was under the impression that the era of warfare had ceased, that our degree of civilization had reached such a point that it would be impossible to have wars as we had them in the past, the universe was startled to hear that the German and Austrian empires had thrown down the gauntlet to the rest of the world and had proclaimed the gospel that now might was to be right. Never, I believe, shall we forget the scenes of horror that took place during the invasion of Belgium and Northern France. We still hear the rumbling of the German guns through Belgium. We still see the flames of destruction as they burned in the cities of Liege, Namur, Dinant and Louvain. For a while the whole civilized world thought that with the Golgotha erected by Germany Christian civilization would disappear and we should go back to the age of paganism. But much has happened in the years that have elapsed. You remember as well as I do the news that used to come from Europe depicting the carnage and the horror of it all. Luckily the war ended, and in 1919 in the city of Versailles, a city which was made famous by the great French king, the Grand Old Man of France, Mr. Clemenceau, got up, and facing the German delegates who represented the old regime in Germany said: "The hour of reckoning has come" and the German delegates were forced to sign the Peace Treaty that we have now before us for consideration.

This document, I believe, has to be divided into two portions for intelligent consideration. First, it is the document which brought about peace; therefore, it contains the provisions of the Peace Treaty itself. Not only did the statesmen who met in Paris want to put a stop to the state of war that had existed but they also desired to maintain a state of peace, to maintain throughout the world such a condition of things that war as we have seen it for four and a half years would be impossible. The second portion of the Peace Treaty, and which has been inserted for the purpose of safeguarding peace throughout the world, is known as the Covenant of the League of Nations. This Peace Treaty, and this Covenant of the League of Nations, have, in my judgment to be considered from two aspects. They have to be considered first as regards the entire world and they have to be considered as regards the Dominion of Canada.

The remarks I shall address to the House will be very incomplete, and the conclusions I draw will be very imperfect. I would like to have been able to offer something better for your consideration, but unfortunately the delay which has been granted to us by the Government has been very short and we have had but a very few days to peruse this very important and bulky document. When I examined this Treaty, when I drew certain conclusions from its contents, I took into consideration the very great troubles and difficulties that were met, I have no doubt, not only by our Canadian delegates but by all the delegates who were in Paris. These troubles and difficulties arose by reason of the existence of conflicting interests between the Allied and Associated Powers. They also arose on account of the spirit of revenge in many countries after the war

was finished. They also existed on account of that traditionalism which exists in Europe and which influences the minds of many statesmen. They also arose on account of the very great difference between the political ideals existing in the Old World which is Europe and in the New World which is America, including the United States and Canada.

Moreover, the Canadian delegates must have experienced very great trouble and that trouble must have arisen from the fact that our national status is altogether misunderstood and misapprehended by the statesmen of other countries. Not only do the people of the United States misunderstand altogether our standing in the British Empire but in Europe—in France, in Italy and in every country—it is absolutely impossible for them to understand our position within the British Empire because their colonial system is altogether different from ours.

It is after paying due regard to all these elements of trouble that I will offer certain considerations on the Peace Treaty.

This Peace Treaty, considered as an instrument to bring about peace is very severe, but if the members of this House remember how Germany conducted the war, and consider the conditions which were imposed by victorious Germany on Russia and Roumania, still more the conditions that would have been imposed, according to the statements and declarations of the leading men of Germany on the Allied countries if this war had terminated with a German victory; and moreover, if we bear in mind the behaviour of the German plenipotentiaries at Versailles, we must come to the conclusion that the Germans were entitled to absolutely no favour and could expect none.

But, Mr. Speaker, while we had a right to impose upon Germany a treaty which was severe, I say there is a great danger —a danger which has been avoided to a certain extent but not altogether removed —of imposing on Germany a treaty which would be considered absolutely unjust and tyrannical. I do not say that the Treaty is such, but that if you consider certain clauses of it you may think those clauses might bring about a certain condition of things and a certain condition of mind in Germany that will cause trouble in the near future. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that I am wrong; I hope that my apprehensions are unfounded. When I read through the Treaty I found certain provisions that I would have liked to see somewhat modified and made less severe. Mr. Speaker, there have been in the past examples of very unjust treaties, and they show that a people that have been crushed, and unjustly crushed, always rise, and that very soon, to take their revenge. I might point out to the members of this House as an historical antecedent what happended when Napoleon I, after the battle of Eylau, saw Prussia lying prostrate at his feet. In those days Louisa, Queen of Prussia, went and asked an interview with the French Emperor, and in that interview, which has been described by all historians, the Queen begged from the French Emperor that certain privileges be left to the Prussian people. Napoleon thought that his victory was definite, that his triumph was final, and he refused to grant to the Queen of Prussia anything that she had asked. Napoleon left the room where that interview had taken place. He journeyed to Potsdam where Frederick the Great lies, and took away the sword that the great Prussian had carried throughout all his battles. Mr. Speaker, the Prussian people were not crushed for long. A few years afterwards a Prussian army was lined up against the French army on the Plains of Waterloo, and Napoleon learned that a people cannot be crushed, they can only be humiliated, and that a fair peace is far preferable to one that is unjust and too harsh.

Mr. Speaker, let us come closer to our own era. Let us remember the Peace of 1870. In those days the President of the French Republic, Mr. Thiers, asked from Prince Bismarck certain conditions for France. Bismarck refused to grant his request. Bismarck thought that France had fallen never to rise again; and to-day the sons of Bismarck have had to go to Versailles to accept from President Clemenceau a peace that was imposed by the victorious Allies, among whom France had one of the first places. I do not offer these remarks, Mr. Speaker, in the view that the peace as concluded between the allied powers and Germany was unjust, but I simply say that some of its provisions appear to be very severe and to offer a danger for the future. In contrast, and recalling the results of the generous peace let the members of this House remember what happened when England defeated the Transvaal armies. Botha met Lord Kitchener. England, represented by the Commander in Chief of her armies, offered very generous conditions to her fallen foe, and a few years afterwards when the recent great con-

flict broke out Louis Botha was behind the Empire's forces to help along the victory.

In the present Peace Treaty the provisions that I refer to are, first, that which calls upon the Kaiser to be handed over to the Allied powers by Holland, to be tried by an international tribunal. I would be the last man in this Chamber to offer any justification for the conduct and behaviour of the German Kaiser; but I say that a trial of the German Kaiser would offer certain dangers. A trial in London or Paris would make of a man who is now fallen and altogether ignored by the rest of the world a martyr, would make him a great rallying personality for the German people, and would offer a great danger to the world's peace. The Treaty is also very severe as respects the economic dependence of Germany upon the Allied countries. I do not wish to enter into a discussion of this clause in great detail, but simply to say this: According to the actual relations which exist between all countries of the world, the ruin of one has an effect upon all the others. Should Germany be impoverished, should Germany be ruined, all the other countries of the world would feel the effects of her ruin. Moreover the Treaty contains provisions for reparation in regard to damages done by Germany, and I say that if the Allied powers do not allow Germany to revive her trade and to again take the position as a trading country which she occupied before the war, it would be absolutely impossible for her to pay the reparation damages that have been asked of her by the provisions of the Treaty. The last point to which I would call your attention, Mr. Speaker, is the clause in the Treaty that keeps Germany out of the League of Nations. As pointed out this afternoon by the hon. member for Kamouraska (Mr. Ernest Lapointe), a league of nations to be complete and to attain its object must comprise every nation in the world. I hope, therefore, it will be possible for the Allied countries to include Germany very soon in the League of Nations so as to ensure that Germany will not be in a position to enter into alliances with other countries and to create in the face of the new League of Nations alliances in Europe and in Asia that will threaten the future peace of the world.

These, Mr. Speaker, are the provisions in the Peace Treaty that I consider may be too severe. I am not in a position to criticise the Treaty. The statesmen who were at Paris and Versailles and drafted the Treaty knew the conditions much better than I do.

I hope they were justified in inserting those clauses, and I hope the terms imposed will not, as I fear they will, jeopardize the future peace of the world.

I think that the Treaty contains certain clauses which should not be there at all, and among them I would mention the clause that hands over to Japan the district of Shantung. It seems to me that the weakness of China should have been her protection among the Allied powers, and that they should have prevented Japan from robbing —because it is nothing but robbery—that district from China.

Other clauses that I would like to see in the Treaty are missing. Of clauses that I would have read with great pleasure the first I would mention is one giving something to Canada out of this war. We have heard members of the Government and their supporters tell us the wonderful achievements of our army over in Europe. I approve of every word that these ministers and members have said. But if Canada has done wonderful things during the war, at the Peace Conference our representatives should have obtained something for this country, as every other country has benefited to a greater or less extent. If the Treaties are perused it will be found that Greece is to be given something, as are France and Italy; if the drafts of the other treaties are examined it will be found that every country in Europe is obtaining something, and even countries in Africa. Canada gets nothing. I am sorry that our delegates, the hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) and the hon. the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) did not see that Canada at least obtained an indemnity. Our financial condition is very poor, we need the money, and after having fought as we did I think we should have been granted a substantial indemnity. Probably I shall be answered that in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Treaty Canada will get her share of the indemnity to be exacted from Germany when it is allotted to the different countries. But that share will be so very small that it will practically amount to nothing, whereas we should have been given something substantial. Another clause that I should like to have seen in the Peace Treaty is giving to Ireland the right that has been given to several other nationalities in Europe—the right of self-determination. Last year I spoke on this question in the absence of the hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty). He has since returned from the Peace Conference, but, unfortunately, although in this Cabinet he

represents the Irish population of Canada, and has been very busy sitting on all sorts of commissions, apparently he has forgotten to raise his voice in favour of Ireland. It is said, Mr. Speaker, that the Irish question could not be settled by the Peace Conference because there exists in Ireland an English Protestant minority, and that that minority—the Ulster minority—cannot be coerced. I would ask the hon. Minister of Justice when he follows me in this debate, if he does, to tell me what difference exists between the Irish problem and the problem which he solved in Bohemia. In Bohemia there are a very great number of German people, and those people were forced to stay in the new State formed by the Allies. The hon. Minister of Justice had no hesitation in concurring in that arrangement. That being so, I would like him to explain why he refuses a similar solution of the Irish question. Not only has that principle been applied in Bohemia, it has been applied in Roumania and in the settlement of the former Austrian provinces which are now given over to the Jugo-Slav State and to Italy. In a word, Mr. Speaker, everywhere in Europe there is no hesitation amongst the Allied Powers to form new States and to coerce small minorities; but when it comes to Ireland the Canadian delegates and the other delegates of the British Empire, together with the delegates of the other nations, decide to leave the Irish question alone and not to heal the wounds which the Irish people have suffered from for more than two centuries.

As I said at the beginning, Mr. Speaker, the Treaty can be considered as an instrument to maintain peace throughout the world, and for that purpose it contains the Covenant of the League of Nations. The idea of a League of Nations is not new. Leagues have been formed in earlier times, but unfortunately those leagues were not successful because they were founded either on a selfish basis or on very undemocratic principles. We had in the old days the Hanseatic League. Afterwards we had the Pacte de Famille formed among the Bourbon Kings. Then we had the Holy Alliance. All these alliances and leagues have disappeared. At the Peace Conference President Wilson was the sponsor of a new League of Nations. I hope that this new League will assure to the world a new èra of peace. The principle of the League of Nations will be approved, I believe, by every member of this House. But while the principle is worthy of approval, I think we have a right to examine with great care the details of the organization of the League to see if really the object for which it was formed will be realized. As I said a few moments ago, the League should be completed by the inclusion of Germany and Austria, and when it includes every nation in the world, then I think it will be in a position to maintain peace. But as the League of Nations is now constituted Germany and Austria are excluded. Other countries have been invited to joint the League, but I notice with great surprise that one country situated on the American continent has not been invited—I refer to Mexico. Why should Mexico be excluded?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh! oh!

Mr. CANNON: Why should Mexico be excluded if the United States are acting in good faith and wish to secure the peace of the world? Is Mexico excluded simply because the United States have designs on that country and want to act there free from control of the League of Nations?

Some members on the other side laugh, but I think that is a question which deserves the serious consideration of this House.

As I have said, I am in favour of a League of Nations if it is a means of ensuring the peace of the world. But a League of Nations which would be simply a new alliance formed on the basis of the old European system of continental alliances or "balance of power" should not be approved by Canada or by any other country which is desirous of having peace. When Germany formed the alliance with Austria and Italy, known as the Triple Alliance, she wanted to dominate the world. For four years and a half the Allied countries have fought Germany in order to preserve the world from German domination. England, United States, Japan or France have no more right to dominate the world than Germany had.

The League of Nations, in its constitution, involves certain dangers to the freedom of the component parts of the League and to the autonomy of our own country.

In order to understand the question it is necessary that hon. members go back to the history of other days and examine the status of Canada at different periods as recorded by our different constitutions since we came under the British regime. I do not wish to enter into full details or particulars. I simply wish to remind the House that in 1763, when the Treaty of Paris was signed, Canada was a Crown colony. In those days the British Government was the supreme master of everything that was done in Canada; the people of Canada at

that time had absolutely no control over the action of the Government as represented by the Governor himself. A few years after England took possession of this country the American revolution started, and the American colonies, which had been threatened by the Mother Country with taxation without representation, declared their independence and refused to let the Imperial Government interfere in what they deemed to be their own local affairs. Facing the American Revolution, the British statesmen decided that it would be good to improve conditions in Canada so far as government was concerned and give to the Canadian people a larger measure of liberty. The Quebec Act was passed in 1774. Under that Act the administration of the Governor was subject more or less to the control of his advisers who sat in the Legislative Council. As we go on we see the gradual evolution of constitutional liberty in Canada. When the French revolution occurred, the statesmen of England, afraid of the spread of revolutionary ideas throughout the world—ideas that were being propagated by the French revolutionists of that day just as revolutionary ideas are being propagated to-day by the Bolsheviki—thought it was time to give us a still larger measure of liberty and freedom, so we had the Act of 1791 which gave to Upper Canada and to Lower Canada a new constitution. But if we examine the constitution which was granted to Canada at that time we see that it was very much restricted and limited and that the Governor through his executive was altogether independent of the representatives of the people. Under that regime of more or less absolute domination by the central Government we lived until 1840, when Lord Durham in his famous report advised the Imperial Government to bring about a change in the relations existing between the Mother Country and the colonies. The British statesmen of 1840 gave us a new form of government, but it was not responsible government; we were given a constitution which was in very many ways imperfect. Through the efforts of leading Canadian statesmen of that day—men like Baldwin and Lafontaine—we secured responsible government; we took the last step towards the securing of a Government in this country which was, so to speak, the master of our local affairs and which asserted the right to deal with Canadian problems. United Canada improved its condition in 1867 by co-operating with the other provinces in the formation of the Confederation, of which we are all proud.

The British North America Act gives us certain liberties, certain privileges, certain prerogatives. Yet when the President of the Council says that we are an independent nation he may be saying something which is pleasing to the ear of every Canadian, but he is saying something which does not fit in exactly with the words of our constitution. The hon. gentleman this afternoon made a very clever distinction between what he designated as our legal rights and our constitutional rights. I admire the minister; he is a very clever lawyer, and a lawyer always shows his talents when he is defending a bad case. The hon. gentleman showed this afternoon that he was more than a clever lawyer; the worse the cause the more able he shows himself to be. This distinction between legal right and constitutional right is a distinction which is applicable to England only. The British constitution is not a document; it is not contained in any book. The British constitution is unwritten; it is an assemblage of customs, precedents and usages. The President of the Council is perfectly justified when he says that there is a distinction between a legal right and a constitutional right, but I repeat that that distinction applies only in England, not in Canada; and I will show you why. In Canada our constitution is a written document. We have, so to speak, our charter; we have our privileges as a people and as a country.

The British North America Act binds the Government just as it binds every legislature of every province of Canada, just as it binds every citizen of this country, and there is no cause for making a distinction between a legal right and a constitutional right. We have only the rights which are granted to us by the British North America Act, and we cannot go outside of that Act to find any other privileges or rights.

When there was a war in Egypt the Imperial authorities made, through the Canadian Government, a demand on the Canadian people for some help in that war. Sir John A. Macdonald was Prime Minister of Canada at that time; he was the leading spirit of the Quebec Conference, which drafted the British North America Act; he was the leading spirit of the National party in Canada; he was the leading spirit of the Tory party in Canada, and I do not think that any words uttered by Sir John Macdonald will be disavowed by the supporters of the Government in this House. Sir John

A. Macdonald at that time said that Canada would not take part in any Imperial war unless Canada wanted to, and that not a Canadian soldier should leave our shores without the consent of the Canadian Government as expressed by the representatives of the people. And as a matter of fact in that war in Egypt Canada did not take an official part. Later, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was Prime Minister of this country, a war took place in Africa, and Sir Charles Tupper, who was the leader of the Conservative party at that time, started an agitation throughout Canada asking that Canada should participate in that war. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the then Prime Minister, said in the House of Commons that Canada would take part in the war, but only of her own free will, and that England had no right to force Canada to send soldiers to Africa; that only the Parliament of Canada had the right to say what should be done in that regard. Moreover, when a law was passed to send soldiers to Africa, if I am not mistaken, a proviso was inserted in the law stating that that should not be a precedent to be used in the case of future wars of the British Empire.

As regards our trade relations: Before the war Canada had negotiated treaties. We had the Franco-Canadian Treaty negotiated by our own representatives; we had the German Treaty, which was denounced by Canada without the Imperial Government taking part in such denunciation. In a word, if I may sum up, the situation as I view it, before the war Canada internationally was bound by whatever the British Empire did as regards foreign policy for Canada is a part of the British Empire, but imperially Canada was absolutely free to do whatever she wanted within the British Empire whenever a war might arise. As regards our trade treaties, we were independent to make treaties wherever and how we wanted, subject always to the powers that were conferred upon our representatives by His Majesty the King of Great Britain.

In 1911, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was the leader of the country at that time, wanted Canada to take the last step to full nationhood, and the hon. member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding) was sent to Washington to negotiate, as the representative of Canada, a trade treaty with the United States. Reciprocity was negotiated through our ministers and our ministers only. Moreover, in that year, Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced into the House of Commons his naval policy, a policy that meant that Canada would have a navy under Canadian control, manned by Canadians, for the defence of our Canadian coasts. At that time Sir Wilfrid, I think, represented the true spirit of the Canadian people, and Canada wanted to see that her rights as a nation were respected and maintained. The year 1911 brought on a change of Government, and if our status before the war was that which I have just detailed, what was the status of Canada during the war when the present Administration was at the head of our affairs? To-day I listened with great interest to the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) and yesterday to the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton), and I was very much surprised to hear Tory members like those who sit in great numbers on the other side cheering the declarations of independence, so far as Canada was concerned, from the Mother Country, when those same Tory members were in 1911 going throughout Canada denouncing Sir Wilfrid Laurier as a traitor because he wanted to have a naval policy that safeguarded our rights as a nation. I am not a "Little Canadian"; I am not a supporter of the old colonial regime; I am not a man who is in favour of accepting the dictates of Downing Street; I am in favour of as great a measure of freedom and liberty for my country as I can obtain. But when I hear the ministers of the present Government tell us that they have secured a new status for my country, I turn my eyes to the past and I say, as the old Latin poet said: "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

Mr. TOBIN: Translate it.

Mr. CANNON: "I fear the Greeks even whilst bringing gifts." Our liberty, our freedom and our independence would be given to us by a Tory Government. The Prime Minister of this country (Sir Robert Borden), who distinguished himself by his small colonial sentiments in 1911 and in 1913 when he introduced his Bill to give $35,000,000 to the British Empire, would change his mind. I hope he has, but I doubt it. Sir Wilfrid Laurier wanted to safeguard the autonomy of Canada in connection with the naval policy which he introduced in 1911. The Government of to-day fought that policy, and instead of insisting upon the rights of Canada, as they claim to have insisted recently, they wanted Canada to send to England a bag containing $35,000,000 in gold as the tribute of slaves to their master. Mr. Speaker, I will support the President of the Privy Council and the Minister of Public Works when they vindicate the

liberty of my country, but I will always ask from this Government more evidence of good faith than I would ask from any other body because their past record is a very poor evidence of their sincerity.

I do not wish to enter into a discussion as to whether Canada was represented at Versailles as an entity distinct and separate from the British Empire, but I should like to ask the President of the Privy Council this question, and I hope he will answer it: If Canada had distinct representation at Versailles, will the King give a distinct ratification for Canada, or will there be only one ratification for the whole British Empire? Moreover, if the representation of Canada at Versailles is different and distinct from that of the British Empire, were our Canadian delegates appointed by the Canadian or the Imperial Government?

Mr. ROWELL: They were appointed by the Canadian Government.

Mr. CANNON: That answer covers only half the truth, and I will prove it. An Order in Council was passed by the Canadian Government recommending that our Canadian delegates be appointed, but that Order in Council had to be sent to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and it was the Prime Minister of Great Britain who saw that the appointments were made. Our delegates were the appointees not of our Canadian Government, not of the Imperial Government, but of the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George.

I am not one of those who say that Canada should not have been represented at Versailles. I was proud to see our country represented, and I hope that never again will war be declared or peace be made without Canada being consulted. The only criticism which I offer of the presence of our delegates at Versailles is this: that if they occupied seats there, those seats were not big enough for the country they represented. We should have been in the front row, and our country should appear in the Peace Treaty, in the same manner as other countries. We should not have been there as a subsection but as a whole chapter.

The President of the Privy Council told us this afternoon that Canada was a member of the League of Nations, a member altogether separate from the British Empire. I hope he is right.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend will not find that statement anywhere in my address.

[Mr. Cannon.]

Mr. CANNON: If I understood the minister aright, he said that the British Empire was a member of the League of Nations, and that Canada was also a member of that league. Am I right?

Mr. ROWELL: Canada is a member of the League of Nations, but Canada is a part of the British Empire.

Mr. CANNON: I admit that, and I do not think the minister will deny it. Let me ask my hon. friend this question: If Canada is a member of the League of Nations as an entity, and the British Empire is also a member of the League, where will the Canadian delegate sit when he represents Canada as a separate entity, and where will he sit when representing Canada as part of the British Empire? I would also draw the minister's attention to the statement made before Congress by President Wilson of the United States. The minister told us this afternoon that he would not like to interfere in the disputes of American politicians. That is very proper. But we are not talking of disputes of politicians, we are talking about the interpretation given to the Covenant of the League of Nations by the author of that Covenant. My hon. friend from Kamouraska (Mr. Lapointe) quoted this afternoon from President Wilson's address before Congress (Congressional Record, p. 4285) where the president declared that whenever a question should arise in which the British Empire was interested Canada would not have a vote. That is the interpretation given by the man who drafted the Covenant of the League of Nations, and although I have a great admiration for the President of the Privy Council I am very much afraid his interpretation would not stand against that of President Wilson.

The President of the Privy Council went further. He said that whenever the interests of Canada were at stake, Canada would have a place on the Council of the League of Nations, that the Council could not take any decision without the unanimous consent of all the members of the Council, and he drew the inference that Canada would therefore not be obliged to do anything imposed on her by the Council unless she had consented to it. I disagree altogether, and I would refer my hon. friend to Article 15 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which says that the decision of the Council has to be unanimous, but that that unanimity shall not include the votes of the interested parties. It says:

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than

the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute—

I would ask the President of the Privy Council to reconcile his statement of this afternoon with the express wording of Article 15.

Mr. ROWELL: I do not think we shall make any real gain by attempting to interpret this Treaty by this dialogue. The two things are entirely distinct; they relate to wholly different matters. The clause my hon. friend is dealing with deals with a dispute between two nations referred to the Council for investigation, and subsequently possibly for decision. That is not the case I was dealing with. I was dealing with a case under the other clause where the League may recommend to a nation that it should take certain action against another nation. If the league is going to recommend to a nation that it should take certain action against another nation which is violating the Covenant of the League, then quite clearly under the clause I mentioned that other nation is entitled to be present and take part in the discussion as to what ii should do to carry out the Covenant.

9 p.m.

Mr. CANNON: Clause XV covers the case. It says:

If there should arise between the members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture—they will submit the matter to Council.

Then it goes on to say:

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

I hope the Government are right when they declare, when they assert, that we have attained to nationhood. But, on the other hand, I doubt their declaration on account of their past behaviour and of present happenings. President Wilson refused to acknowledge our international status. When he was asked in Congress what would happen to Canada if trouble should arise between England and the United States, President Wilson said that there would be no trouble with Canada because Canada had no diplomatic relations with the United States and therefore Canada had no international status. How can we be a nation in the true sense of the word if we have no international status? Mr. Speaker, we are a nation! The Prime Minister of this country declared to the House on Tuesday last that we were a nation and he was proud to say it and I was proud to listen to him saying it. But, on the other hand if the members of the House consult Hansard they will see that the Premier told us that to obtain a French copy of the Treaty he had to do it through Lord Milner, Colonial Secretary in the British Government, and that we, a nation, who had to sign this treaty, that we, a nation that had the right to all the privileges of such a status, could only obtain one copy although we had asked for 500! If we were a nation and we wanted copies of the Treaty, we should not ask Lord Milner, who is evidently very badly disposed, but we ought to do it directly and write or cable to Paris.

The Prime Minister in his speech announces that very soon there is to be a meeting in London, and at that meeting the future relations of the self-governing dominions with the Mother Country will be regulated. If the Government is sincere, and if the Prime Minister actually secures our new status at that meeting in London I pledge myself to support him, but he will have to stand by the position which he took in 1918, with all its consequences, and he will have to insist, first of all, that the title of King of England be changed and that in future the King be no more known as the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Overseas Dominions, but as His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom and Ireland, and also His Majesty the King of Canada. How can the King act for Canada distinctly from the rest of the British Empire, as the President of the Privy Council contended this afternoon, unless he has the title of King of Canada and acts as such?

If we are really a nation, if we have attained that status of independence which many people in this country desire, we shall also have to change our constitution in such a way that no more shall we be bound to go to war simply by the fact that England has declared war. If the hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) speaks in this debate —I admire his talent and I have great respect for his experience—I will ask him if he can seriously contend that Canada is an independent nation, as his colleague said this afternoon, when Canada has not a word to say when war is declared and has not a word to say as to the conditions of peace? We will have to be consulted before war is entered upon and we will have to be consulted before peace is signed.

Another essential condition to the change in our status is to take away from the Mother Country the right to amend our constitution. Can we be a sovereign state, as has been contended by certain hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House, and particularly by the hon. member for Edmonton (Mr. Griesbach), if the members at Westminster, who are not elected by the citizens of this country, and who are absolutely independent of Canada, can change our constitution if they wish to do so? At the next session of the Imperial Parliament, according to our constitution, and as it now reads, the British Government, or the Imperial Parliament, can modify altogether our status and reduce us to the position of a Crown Colony if they so desire. Therefore I say that if the Prime Minister is sincere, when he goes to that constitutional reunion in London, let him insist that this right of the Imperial Parliament to modify, alter, or amend our constitution be taken away immediately. Then we shall have assumed the status of a sovereign power.

There is more than that. We are a nation according to this Government. The hon. the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) went to France. He did not go as a plenipotentiary, as the President of the Council told us, but, much to my surprise, he told us that he stayed in Paris as a clerk. Nevertheless, we are a nation. If there is a law suit in the city of Montreal, if there is a law suit in the constituency which is represented by the Minister of Justice, and the amount is rather considerable, it does not matter what our Canadian tribunals may decide, it does not matter what the Superior Court of the province of Quebec may decide, it does not matter what the Court of King's Bench may decide, it does not matter what the Supreme Court of Canada may decide, the judges of the Privy Council who know absolutely nothing about our civil code in the province of Quebec, can put aside the judgment of the highest court in Canada And yet the Minister of Justice will claim that we are a nation.

If the minister wants us to be a nation, when he accompanies the Premier—I hope he will go with him because his experience may be useful—I hope that he will insist upon the abolition of any appeal to the Privy Council. Then again we shall have attained a new element of nationhood.

Mr. Speaker, one last point. As far the the League of Nations is concerned, the situation of Canada is most peculiar. Internationally, being a member of the British Empire, we are not an American nation but we are a European nation. As far as foreign countries are concerned, according to clause 21 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, if I am not mistaken, the Monroe Doctrine is maintained. What does the Monroe Doctrine signify? It signifies: hands off America by Europe. So that we Canadians who enter this League of Nations are internationally a European country, we are forbidden to take part in any American conflict, and the only time that we can receive orders from the Council of the League of Nations is when a conflict is taking place in a really and truly foreign country—in Asia, Europe, or Africa. That cannot be denied. The President of the Privy Council tells me that clause 10 is not binding on the nations comprised in the League of Nations; the parliaments of those countries will have to approve whatever the Council of the League decides. I hope he is right. I am inclined to believe him because his theory suits my desire; but I would like the minister to go further and not only give me his interpretation, no matter how highly I respect it, but show me a word in the Covenant of the League of Nations to that effect. If the Council of the League can give instructions to every member of the League, then we as members must obey, and if we do not obey we become an enemy of the League, we become a pariah, we shall be submitted to the strictest regulations of the Council of the League. Mr. Speaker, I am not in favour of England ruling this country, but I would rather be ruled by England than by Geneva. English statesmanship has always been characterized by generosity and broadmindedness in most cases; but I have very poor confidence in Brazil and in Spain, very little also in Greece, and not very much in the Kingdom of The Hedjaz. Mr. Speaker, why should we be called, the representatives of Canada, not to ratify this Peace Treaty, as the President of the Privy Council has said, but to approve it? I hope I am wrong, but I suspect strongly I am right.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: You are afraid to be right.

Mr. CANNON: I am afraid of being right. Up to the year 1919 not a soldier could leave Canadian soil without the consent of the Canadian Government as expressed by the representatives of the Canadian people meeting in Parliament. For instance, when Great Britain declared war on Germany if the Canadian people had said in Parliament: "We will not send one soldier to

the war," Great Britain could not have forced us to send any. Canada went to war not because the Dominion was only a part of the British Empire but because this country wanted to take part in the conflict in favour of the true democratic principles that ought to rule the world. But if this Treaty is approved, if Canada becomes a member of the League of Nations, our last particle of freedom and liberty will disappear; and when England as a member of the League of Nations, or rather the British Empire as a member of the League of Nations, starts a war, for instance, with Turkey, the Council of the League will turn to Canada and tell this country: "You have got to take part in this war, not because you are a part of the British Empire, but because your representatives in Parliament in the year 1919, when they met for a short session of thirty-one days, gave away the liberties that you had secured after years and years of fighting and of combat." That is the situation as I understand it.

In concluding, Mr. Speaker, I reaffirm again my high admiration for the theories enunciated by the members of this Government. I hope they are right but I am afraid they are wrong; and I say that if we have signed this Treaty, if we become members of the League of Nations, we should do so under the reservation of all our rights as existing to-day and with our complete and full autonomy. As far as I am concerned I will accept this Treaty and the membership of this League only subject to these reservations.

We have been told by the President of the Privy Council that a new era is dawning upon the world. His eloquence has shown us skies lighted up by the rising sun of eternal and permanent peace. The sight and the view is beautiful, I enjoy the spectacle, and I hope it will continue. But if we want to have peace in the rest of the world let us first have peace in our own country. I therefore advise the President of the Privy Council—if he wishes to gild this league and to have linings more beautiful even than those his imagination has described to us to-day—to tell the papers of this country, over which he has a certain influence I understand, to educate the population and the citizens of Canada to their new duty as a nation, if we are a nation.

As the hon. member for Fraser Valley (Mr. Stacey) said, the sooner we understand our responsibilities of citizenship the sooner we shall have a great, a noble and a united country. We from the province of Quebec, who during this period which has just closed have suffered direly the insults which were hurled at us under varying circumstances, were pleased a few days ago to see the son of His Majesty, our King, come to our old city of Quebec, where the future of America was decided on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, and there tender to the loyal French Canadian population the royal hand—the hand which has shown to the world that even in warfare the descendants of the Kings of England are always worthy of their forefathers. When the hand of the Prince of Wales was thus extended to the French Canadians I hope, Mr. Speaker, that our compatriots of the English provinces saw the extension of that hand as a sign that social and civil warfare in Canada has come to an end. If we are good enough to be so treated by the heir of the Imperial throne of England I think the loyal population of Ontario can join with us in building our country so that she may be as big in the future as she ought to be; and it is only on the basis of a true Canadian spirit of equal justice to all that our country will enter this new era announced to us by the Government with internal peace and with external independence and respect.

Mr. WILLIAM FINDLAY MACLEAN (South York): Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the patriotic sentiments of the hon. member from Dorchester (Mr. Cannon). When I saw him chasing the Minister of Justice in regard to Ireland I could not help but come to the conclusion that the Minister of Justice is possessed of many of the graces that the angels are supposed to have and is more than circumspect as to what places he suddenly rushes into.

I am going to speak only for a short time and I shall devote myself to certain questions that I think arise out of this debate. But, in the first place, I wish to say that I am here to vote for the resolution before the House, because I think the Treaty is a good Treaty and we ought to ratify it in the interests of the world at large. In fact, this Treaty is the greatest document that humanity has had up to the present. For one thing, it substitutes arbitration, conciliation and discussion in the open for the intrigue of diplomacy, whether openly avowed or concealed. I believe that its intrigue, deceit and licentiousness have made diplomacy the prostitute that has wrecked the history of the last thousand years, and I am glad to see that secret diplomacy has to come to an end. Great results are bound to come from the new diplomacy—the dis-

cussion and trial of public questions in open court and their settlement by arbitration. But now that we have a League of Nations it will not be arbitration that will rule the world, I hope, but rather public opinion, and certainly public opinion has the right to rule the world. It seems to me that hereafter public opinion, as expressed by the people in journals and in discussion, and the publicity thus given to the facts, will afford more than anything else security for the welfare of humanity. Therefore, it is a matter of satisfaction to me that this League of Nations is to be created and that I have the honour and the opportunity as a humble member of this House to vote in favour of the ratification of the Treaty and of all that goes with it in the subsequent legislation that is to be passed to make good that Treaty and the League of Nations.

I also appreciate everything that has been said by the Prime Minister and his colleagues who attended the Conference in regard to the good result that is likely to accrue from the provisions which deal with the problems of labour. That is something that everybody can approve of, and the working people all the world over—and we are all workingmen in this country—will be glad to see that the problems of labour have been placed on an improved basis, and I feel sure that it will be better for the world to have some kind of internationalism in regard to these problems. For that reason also I shall give my vote in favour of the proposal now before the House.

I would not have had much further to say had not the question of the future of Canada and its so-called new status been projected into the discussion, and for a few minutes I wish to refer to this alleged change in the status of Canada which has taken place or is about to take place, and also to the suggestion that Canada has in some way become a new nation and that we have entered into a League of Nations within the British Empire. I want to try to clear up this question and to give my views in regard to it—views that may be worthy of consideration not only in this House but outside. This question has been allowed to remain in the background for some time, other matters having been given preference to it, but it is before us now and must be disposed of.

We have been told—and the hon. member (Mr. Cannon), who has just taken his seat, has partly made my speech for me—we have been told that we are now a nation, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier told us years ago that we had become a nation.

Now, I am a Canadian; this is my country; I have no other country but Canada. For many years as I have sat in this House I have thought time and again of our political status, although I have not said much about it. I shall be convinced that we are a nation only when I know that we have the sovereignty that goes with a nation. I agree with the hon. member (Mr. Cannon) that as long as Canada has not the right to make her own constitution—and we have not that right—we are not a nation, and we have not sovereignty. We have not sovereign rights in regard to treaties and in regard to war. We cannot make war; we cannot make peace. We cannot send ambassadors to other countries; we cannot receive ambassadors here. We have not sovereignty even in the matter of shipping. We have not sovereignty in the matter of copyright. As the member for Dorchester said, our courts are not the supreme and final interpreters of our own law. So that when hon. gentlemen say that we are a nation, I tell them that we shall be a nation only when we shall have assumed full sovereignty; only when we have the rights which are at present denied to us.

We are boasting of our being a nation within the galaxy of the Britannic nations. But I want to recall to this House the fact that independent of anything we may think or anything we may do the Parliament of Great Britain can to-morrow change the Royal succession as it exists in the present Royal family of England; they can set up another form of government, a democracy or a republic, without consulting us in any respect. So that when we make these professions about our having nationhood and things of that kind, we must remember that we have not nationality, in that what we have can be taken away from us to-morrow by an Act of the Parliament of Great Britain. It may be taken away in a night in connection with a revolution—and this age is an age of revolutions. In the presence of these considerations, therefore, we have to give attention to the subject of our relations with the Empire, to this question of nationality; and in some way we have to try to clear the matter up.

I do not mean to advocate any particular thing in connection with Canada's position, as to her sovereignty, as to her nationhood, as to her relations with the Empire. But we have been told in this House that a great constitutional conference is to be called at a very early day to settle the question of the relations which should exist between the various nations within the Empire. I

say that we must first lay down the principle that nothing be undertaken in the way of a constitutional conference without our asserting our absolute right to know how such a conference is to be conducted and without our retaining the right to pass absolutely upon the transactions and conclusions of that conference. Not for one moment do I wish that we shall be led into something. I happen to be of the time of Sir John A. Macdonald, when he was in this House, and I have been guided more or less by some of the principles which he laid down. If there was anything that Sir John A. Macdonald was jealous of, it was the maintaining of Canada's right and Canada's autonomy. What the President of the Council quoted here to-day from Sir John A. Macdonald concerning Canada's right to determine her own fiscal policy is my doctrine, as it was his; and I apply it not only to fiscal policy but to everything else, and especially to any great constitutional changes that have to be made.

So I lay it down here that before any more missions are undertaken to London and before there are any more conferences in regard to the constitution and the political future of this country, not only must the lines, to be followed at such a conference, be laid before the people, but nothing must be finally done at any such conference without our representatives first laying the matter before the Canadian people for their consideration. It will not do for the delegates whom we send to Great Britain to deal with these matters to come back and say: We have been in conference; we recommend this thing, and if what we recommend is not adopted, we will resign our places in the Government. The air should be cleared with regard to these things; hereafter Canada should be fully considered in connection with these matters.

During the last few years I have been more than worried about these things. I could not speak out when the war was on, but I did not like all these missions to England. I did not like the commitments that were being made. I did not like it when even the heads of the Government here saw fit to go to England and take part in these conferences, the only reason given being that Mr. Lloyd George was very anxious to have representatives of Canada go over there and sit with him. What he ought to be anxious and concerned about is first of all to state why he wants representatives of the Government of Canada to be there. Of course, it may be difficult to do that in time of war, but from this time on, having regard to the official announcement that a great council of the Britannic nations who are supposed to be independent is to be called, everything must be done in the open and done after full discussion. The result of all these transactions and deliberations must be laid before the people of Canada and Canada should not be committed until the people have had the fullest opportunity of discussing them. When I say that, I am standing on the platform of Sir John A. Macdonald and also on the platform of Sir Wilfrid Laurier; and I think I have good reason for taking this position.

If these great changes that are suggested are to take place, we must also have regard for present conditions as they exist in this country, and for the British North America Act and the federation of Canada which it created. We know out of what questions and discussions the British North America Act arose and what problems it, in a measure, endeavoured to solve. If our delegates go to England in the near future to discuss these questions, they must review and acquaint themselves with the questions that were considered when Confederation was created, and the first people they will have to have regard to are the people of Quebec who entered into that compact and agreement out of which the Confederation of Canada arose. Furthermore, if we are going into this question of the future of Canada, not only must we pay some regard to the views of Ontario and Quebec and the Maritime Provinces at that time, but in the light of to-day. In going into this great question of recasting the whole organization of the British Empire and especially of Canada, we must pay regard to some of the new divisions in which the people of Canada are constituted. First and foremost, before we enter into or commit ourselves to a great, new departure of this kind, we must consult the people of western Canada, the farming community of Canada and the labour interest of Canada. In fact, every portion of our country must have ample opportunity of discussing these questions in the light of its interests and its views. And so, while I say I am in favour of the ratification of the Treaty and will gladly vote for it, and while I am prepared to discuss these questions of the future of the country—and they may be coming up almost immediately and the Prime Minister may be leaving for England by almost the next boat after this House is closed—I want to

put myself on record here and now on behalf of myself and my fellow countrymen against any attempt to rush this question just now to any immediate settlement. I want the fullest discussion; I want all the facts brought back, and I want the people themselves, whose destinies may be changed by this new proposal, to have an opportunity of discussing it.

Not only do we go into this new discussion as a member of the British Empire, but more and more, when we come to settle the future of Canada, must we have regard to the fact that we are a great power or country or state, it may be, on this North American continent, and we must have even more regard for this continent than for our European connections and alliances. America to-day is the home and centre of democracy, and when I speak of democracy, I speak of that democracy which was created by Oliver Cromwell, which subsequently was advanced by George Washington and which has been upheld in a marvellous way by Abraham Lincoln and by some of our own statesmen and public men here in Canada. We have given a new meaning to democracy, and it is the democracy of America, as exemplified by the United States and Canada, that is the saving grace of the world to-day. We must have regard, therefore, to the fact that we are on this North American continent, and that Canada is the intercontinent which looks across the Atlantic to Europe and all its problems and which also looks across the Pacific to Asia and all its problems; and when we come to make the great decision that we must make—but, I hope, not make too soon or too rashly—we must have regard for all these things, for all our previous commitments, and must keep all our pledges and promises of the past, and most of all, keep ourselves straight and in line in the serice of democracy.

Mr. EDWARDS: If I understood my hon. friend aright, he said that we must have more regard for our relations on this continent than for our relations with any of our Allies in Europe. Does my hon. friend mean that we should have more regard for our relations, say with the United States, than for our relations with the Mother Country?

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): I did not say quite that. But I said, when we are considering all these questions of our relations with Europe and our relations with all other countries, we must recognize what the Prime Minister said here the other day—and he was not the first to say it—that Canada, in going to the battlefields of Europe, led the democracy of America in that great work, and the United States had to follow us.

Mr. EDWARDS: What did my hon. friend mean when he said that we must have greater regard for our relations with the countries on this continent than for our relations with our Allies?

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): I am not going to be cross-questioned on this matter; I am going to state my views, and I will take the responsibility of my views. What I wish to say is that when we are told that new problems are to be brought before us and that great changes are to take place and that great conferences are to be had, we must have regard for all these things and we must recognize that we are on this continent—and it is a great fact that we are on it. When I say that I have not a word of criticism to pass on the old land which was the home of my fathers, or of Britain which is the mother of all parliamentary institutions and largely of the liberties of the world. But we must consider and have regard for everything and we must take the right time to consider these questions, and I come now probably to my last argument and to the last statement I wish to make..

Mr. EDWARDS: Why more regard for our relations on this side than on the other?

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): I did not say quite that. I will put it in this way —due regard.

Mr. EDWARDS: I object to the word " more.'

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): Then we shall leave the word "more" to the dictionary. I am still here.

I want now to come to what I regard also as a matter of the greatest importance, and that is this: While we have been led into this discussion of the new status of Canada and the greater status that she is about to assume, I do not think that the discussion of these questions or the bringing on of a great constitutional conference in Europe is the thing to which we at this time ought to give our greatest attention. Now that the war is over, these questions may very well be left to the future, and I do not think this great constitutional conference, soon to be held in England, is the pressing question. The pressing question in Canada to-day is the reconstruction of Canada and

the re-establishment of the men who took part in the war, and we can well afford to let stand for a time these questions of the future and these constitutional questions, and I am not discussing them nor proposing them.

I would much prefer to see the time of this House taken up with the discussion of reconstruction in this country. The most pressing question in Canada to-day is the high cost of living, and it must be dealt with. The next most pressing question, and it is rampant in Toronto to-night and all day yesterday, is the civil re-establishment of our soldiers. Great questions have also arisen out of the war in regard to our policies on banking and commerce. Many great questions also arise in connection with the the tariff and how this country is going to raise a revenue sufficient to meet its obligations. To my mind these are the pressing questions of the day that must be settled by Parliament, and ought to be settled now. The war has been brought to a successful conclusion, the League of Nations is under way, and when the Treaty has been ratified I am quite willing to let these agreements work out as best they can for the benefit of humanity. With all respect to the various opinions in this House, to my mind Canada can better afford to give most of its time and energy now to the pressing questions I have mentioned. What we want to do is to restore Canada to her ability to produce. More production is what we want, to pull us out of our trouble and danger. While I appreciate what has been done for labour, and the improved status it has achieved, to my mind there is just one thing for every Canadian, whether he is a member of this House or not and that is to do all that in him lies to increase our production so that we can have enough goods of various kinds to export, to give us a trade balance in our favour as against other nations at an early date. Let us re-establish our soldiers in civil life, and give our attention to the other pressing problems of the day, and do whatever we are called upon to do in connection with the League of Nations. And when I have said that, I have said all I have to say to the House to-night. I apologize for taking up the time of the House, but I could not listen in silence to this discussion, and most of all read what has been said by the newspapers and on the platform, in view of the amount of unrest there is not only here but all over the world. The main thing now is for us not to discuss politics so much as to discuss economics and to give our main attention to the problems that are knocking at our door for attention.

Mr. C. A. GAUVREAU (Témiscouata) (translation): Mr. Speaker, at this late hour, at this stage of the discussion, I shall not trespass upon the patience of the House, as I do not rise to participate at any length in the debate that is now in progress. May I preface my remarks by reminding the House that owing to the paramount importance of the Treaty of Peace now under consideration, I should deem myself to be recreant to my duty, did I not make a few remarks in our beautiful French language which was on a footing of equality with the English language at the Conference of Versailles, the outcome of which is the Treaty now under discussion.

Mr. Speaker, 1914 and 1919 will remain two outstanding landmarks in the world's history, ranking among the epoch-making events in the annals of the nations.

We had the wars of the Empire, under Napoleon, culminating in his defeat on the Waterloo battlefield and later on, we witnessed with tearful eyes and broken-hearts the frightful catastrophe, the war of 1870-71, to which the Treaty of Paris put an end, and we are just emerging from that epochal conflict which happily had its triumphant conclusion in the Treaty of Peace at Versailles.

History, the avenger of all wrongs, has recorded the two wars just mentioned, and the pen of the historian is about to describe the one in which we have been engaged, the greatest war ever yet waged, and the supreme effort put forth in the cause of freedom, justice and for the vindication of the rights of humanity.

In 1914 Germany let loose on the world that war, thinking that she could easily win it, and as for forty years she had been organized as a military machine, who could resist her militarist spirit, her lust of world conquest? Who could withstand her numberless battalions, so well disciplined, and well nigh invincible?

But she had reckoned without heroic Belgium, which was going to throw her whole energy into the world struggle, and almost exhaust her national forces; she had counted without France, which was to be bled almost to death, and suffer untold agonies; she had reckoned without Italy, whose sole wish was to continue living in peace; she had counted without Great Britain and its colonies, which could not

allow the weak to be crushed beneath the heel of the enemy: she had reckoned without the United States, which was going to be swept into the war by the vision of all those useless hecatombs of men, women and children, and of a future pregnant with dangers to its own security.

And during four years, humanity stood aghast at the gruesome spectacle of armies such as had never been embattled rushing against each other, of millions of human lives being sacrificed to the god of a merciless war, while the gaunt spectre of starvation was stalking through the land, amidst scenes of slaughter, spoliation, ruin, shameless holocausts of irreparable treasures lit up by blind barbarian vengeance.

But on the day appointed by Providence, Foch and his valiant armies smashed the Austro-German effort and sounded in clarion notes before an expectant world those memorable words: "Liberty is no longer imperilled; Right and Justice shall not disappear from the earth."

And we had the Treaty of Versailles.

After the effort put forth by Canada in sending to the battle front over five hundred thousand men, in shouldering a debt of over a billion dollars, and at the cost of over sixty thousand of soldiers who had laid down their lives for the defence of the Empire, could Canada look with indifference as a detached spectator, at the conclusion of a Treaty imparting to a wondering world the good tidings which, on Christmas Night, the angels brought to the shepherds in Judea: "On earth peace, good will toward men."

Mr. Speaker, rejoicings were general, and it was but natural that Canada should as much as, if not more than, any other country, thrill with pleasure upon hearing that the terrible scourge of war had passed away and that an era of peace, justice, and benevolence was being ushered in for the whole human race.

This Treaty we have now before us, and are invited to ratify it, but here, among several other questions involved, there is a very important one that I wish briefly to touch upon. Heretofore, Canada had been free to take part or abstain from participating in foreign wars, even those wars which could affect the British Empire; yet it had never occurred to any one that there was any danger of our country keeping aloof and looking with indifference upon the fate of arms when Great Britain was being involved in a great world struggle on the issue of which the honour of the Crown and the destiny of its subjects were staked.

From time immemorial, down to the enactment of that too-famous Conscription Act which will stamp with indelible disgrace the men who framed it, the more so as one recalls to mind the sordid antipatriotic and almost inhuman grounds acted upon by its promoters in bringing forth and enforcing this measure, I may say that Canada had volunteered her help to Great Britain in her wars. Witness the part taken by Canada in the Nile Expedition, and in old Boer War days in South Africa. And when Germany invaded Belgium, and Great Britain drew the sword in defence of the weak and to save Liberty threatened by the Teutonic hordes, Canada without haggling, raised an army of 400,000 men who flocked to the colours and voluntarily went over the top facing death, to help the Allies in this new crusade against modern barbarians.

Why should not this state of things continue? Why erase with one stroke of the pen all that our past history made up of constitutional liberty, and throw us gratuitously, for the sake of the League of Nations, into the vortex of militarism, without reference to our feelings, in order that Parliament may vote a ratification which will bind us for ever?

But the hand of rampant Imperalism was going once more, after so many fruitless efforts, to drag along the Dominions and to involve them into the wars of the Empire which Canada could with good reason deem unjust and hurtful to her best interests.

Under the cover of the rejoicings and festivities which marked the cessation of hostilities our Imperialists in London and even in Canada availed themselves of the opportunity to hitch us up to the Imperialistic car, and under pretence of claiming that our participation in the war had entitled us to a place under the sun, among the nations, and while inviting us to attend the Conference at Versailles and to sign the Treaty of Peace, they succeeded in masking their thoughts and disguising their projects, and now, by bidding us to ratify the Treaty, and affirming the principle laid down in clause X, they want to bind us forever to the fortunes of that Empire which we have always been ready to defend, without being obligated by a clause of the Treaty, devised for such a purpose.

In forecasting the future, I do not wish to act the part of a prophet of evil. Desirable as it may be, I see in that League of Nations a source of trouble, of entangle-

ments and international dangers the more to be apprehended because there are in Europe so many sore and bleeding wounds not yet healed up.

To my mind there is in Clause X a preconceived idea. I see behind it an almost machiavelian hand striving to smother every feeling of patriotism, spontaneously manifesting itself through material help proffered in times of stress and struggle such as our Mother Country is liable to go through.

I am quite aware that the Treaty, as soon as it is signed by His Majesty the King, obligates the whole Empire, a part of which we are proud to be, but let me tell you, Sir, that Canada would have been better impressed and even more grateful had we been ignored in the ratification of the Treaty and left free and untrammelled as formerly, voluntarily to clasp hands with the Empire across the seas whenever an opportunity offered.

Our constitution is all of a sudden changed by that Treaty, and from a free country we are being enslaved by a clause which could unexpectedly involve us in unjust or arbitrary conflicts, in wars of spoliation, because history which has recorded those scraps of paper could very well repeat itself, even in quarters from which it would be the least expected.

I have here a clipping from a remarkable editorial, which offers food for thought, and that appeared in the columns of the Citizen of September 8, under the heading "Canada's National Status." And in order to render full justice to the author of this editorial, let me read it in extenso:

> In the circumstances it is folly to talk of Premier Borden "wresting a new national status for Canada from the peace conference." What the present peace treaty represents is not a new national status but a surrender of Canadian rights. Hithertofore we have gone to war, when we have done so, voluntarily. Henceforth we shall be compelled to go to war, if we accept the treaty as it stands.
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> If Canada has attained a new national status, now is the time to demonstrate it. We can do so by objecting to a section of the treaty that takes out of our hands the most important decision in national life—the making of war or peace. To assert that we have gained in nationhood by surrendering this right is surely absurd. As the matter stands now, the United Kingdom enters into an agreement with a great group of other nations to involve Canada and the rest of her overseas dominions with her in war, should occasion arise, and this without any reference to us. If we sign the treaty as it stands, with Article X. in full force, we bind ourselves to go to war as soon as Britain does, whether we like it or not. And should Italy attack France, for example, we should be involved at once through Britain's obligations, and compelled to send troops overseas to support France.
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> The Canadian Parliament is called upon for a most momentous decision. The facts are clearly before it, in the language of the contentious clause and in the ratification of the treaty by Britain without reference to Canada's action. Only by a reservation in the matter of Article X. can Canada's present rights be maintained. If parliament endorses the treaty as it stands we are committed to participation in future European wars without reference to our own feelings in the matter or our ability to live up to our obligations, financial and otherwise.

(Translation) Therefore, I say that once it has ratified this Treaty Canada will cease to be a nation following her own path toward a wonderful destiny. This country will feel as though it were condemned to chain and ball, and for us of the province of Quebec I believe we shall no more be able, as our ancestors used to sing, to say with Sir George Etienne Cartier, whose centenary we were celebrating a few days ago:

> Originaire de la France
> Aujourd'hui sujet d'Albion,
> A qui donner la préférence
> De l'une ou l'autre nation?
> Mais n'avons-nous pas je vous prie
> Encore de plus puissants liens?
> A tous préférons la patrie:
> Avant tout soyons Canadiens.

I am ready to vote in favour of any amendment tending to assert our determination to be consulted before being led to participate in future wars in which Canada would not be directly or indirectly concerned.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY moved the adjournment of the House.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order. There is a well known rule of the House which provides that: "When the Speaker is upon his feet for the purpose of putting a question, no member shall rise, walk out of or across the House, or make any noise or disturbance." The observance of this rule is necessary in order to preserve the decorum of Parliament.

Motion agreed to and the House adjourned at 10.20 p.m.

Wednesday, September 10, 1919.

The House met at Two o'clock.

INTERNAL ECONOMY COMMISSION.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to lay upon the Table the minutes of the Board of Internal Economy of the House. This is not in strict compliance with rule 9, which is the rule followed, but it observes, I think, the spirit of the rule. At all

events it reports to the House the minutes of those meetings which have not heretofore been reported and makes a complete record as far as the House is concerned.

CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENT ACT (ELECTROCUTION).

Mr. H. M. MOWAT (Parkdale) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 6, to amend the Criminal Code (Electrocution). He said:

This Bill, Mr. Speaker, is the same as was introduced last session, but it could not be reached then on account of other business. Since its introduction I have received a large number of expressions of opinion in favour of the measure which is to change and make more modern executions, or capital punishment, in Canada. I am sure that when the Bill comes to be discussed and hon. gentlemen are made acquainted with the opinions of the law officers of the Crown and others, the House will favourably accept it.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

THE PEACE TREATY.

CANADA'S REPRESENTATION AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE—CORRESPONDENCE BROUGHT DOWN BY HON. MR. ROWELL.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Privy Council): Mr. Speaker, yesterday the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) asked if the Government would bring down forthwith copies of the correspondence which may have taken place between the Imperial and Canadian Governments on two branches of the subject now before the House; first, in regard to the representation of Canada at the Peace Conference; second, as to the steps that might be deemed necessary for the ratification or approval of the Treaty. In reference to the first, the Government has no objection to bringing down the correspondence, but it is necessary to secure the agreement of the British Ministry to this course, and we are communicating with them in reference to the matter. I may say, however, for the information of the House, that certain cable communications passed between the Government here and the Prime Minister, after he arrived in England, in reference to Canadian representation, the substance of which was communicated by him to the Imperial Government, and as that consists of our own cables there is no objection to their being brought down. As they are not lengthy, and for the information of the members, I will read the cablegrams. The first is from the Acting Prime Minister to Sir Robert Borden, and is dated 4th December, 1918:

[Mr. Speaker.]

Council to-day further considered Canadian representation at Peace Conference and is even more strongly of opinion than when you left, that Canada should be represented. Council is of opinion that in view of war efforts of Dominion other nations entitled to representation at Conference should recognize unique character of British Commonwealth composed of group of free nations under one sovereign and that provision should be made for special representation of these nations at Conference, even though it may be necessary that in any final decisions reached they should speak with one voice; that if this is not possible then you should form one of whatever delegation represents British Commonwealth. It surely is not contemplated that each nation at war should have exactly same numerical representation as Great Britain and France. Should not representation be to some extent commensurate with war efforts? Would you like Order in Council passed or any other official action taken declaring attitude of Government on question of Canadian representation at Conference? If so, please cable.

This was followed by a cable from Sir Robert Borden to the Acting Prime Minister, dated January 2, 1919.

In Cabinet to-day I took up question of representation of the Dominions and spoke very frankly and firmly as to Canada's attitude. My proposal which I consider the most satisfactory solution that is practicable and which was accepted by the Cabinet is as follows:—

First, Canada and the other Dominions shall each have the same representation as Belgium and other small allied nations at the Peace Conference.

Second, as it is proposed to admit representatives of Belgium and other small allied nations only when their special interests are under consideration, I urged that some of the representatives of British Empire should be drawn from a panel on which each Dominion Prime Minister shall have a place.

I pointed out that Canada has no special interest such as South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, in respect of additional territory and that the basis of representation accorded to small allied nations would, therefore, be unsatisfactory from Canadian point of view. I emphasized the insistence of Canada on this recognition and I urged that the British Empire has the right to define the constitutional relations between the nations which compose it and their consequent right to distinctive representation. It is anticipated that British Empire will have five representatives entitled to be present at all meetings of Conference. I expressed my strong opinion that it would be most unfortunate if these were all selected from the British Islands. Probably three will be named and two others selected from the panel for each meeting. The panel will comprise both British and Dominion Ministers. No public announcement can be made until these proposals have been communicated to Allied Governments and accepted. I shall be glad to have views of Council. My proposal really gives to Dominions fuller representation than that accorded to small allied nations such as Belgium.

To that communication the Government replied as follows:

Council has considered B115—

that is the cable of the Prime Minister which I have just read—

—and sees no reason to change view expressed in P35—

that is the cable of the 4th December, 1918, which I read.

If Peace Conference in its composition is to express spirit of democracy for which we have been fighting, as Council thinks it should, small allied nations like Belgium which have fought with us throughout war should be entitled to representation throughout whole Conference, even if limited to one member, and if this were agreed proposal that Canada should have same representation as Belgium, and other small allied nations, would be satisfactory, but not otherwise. Canada has had as many casualties as the United States and probably more actual deaths. Canadian people would not appreciate five American delegates throughout the whole Conference and no Canadian entitled to sit throughout Conference, nor would they appreciate several representatives from Great Britain and Canada none. There will be great disappointment here if you are not full member of Conference. We fully appreciate that you are doing everything in your power to secure suitable representation for Canada.

There is a cablegram dated January 16, 1919, from the Acting Prime Minister to the Prime Minister:

Announcement as to Canadian representation at Peace Conference most favourably received. Hearty congratulations on success of your efforts in this regard.

There is one other document which has some bearing on the matter. The first plenary session of the powers being assembled, the Peace Conference adopted a scheme of organization and the rules under which its business should be conducted.

The rules of the Conference are to be found in the second Annex to what is known as Protocol No. 1 of the Preliminary Peace Conference, that is, the formal record of the proceedings of the first Plenary Session. The question of status is dealt with in the first rule set out in this Annex, which reads as follows:

ANNEX II.

Rules of the Conference

1.

"The Conference summoned with a view to lay down the conditions of peace, in the first place by peace preliminaries and later by a definitive Treaty of Peace, shall include the representatives of the Allied or Associated belligerent Powers."

"The belligerent Powers with general interests (The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan) shall attend all sessions and commissions."

"The belligerent Powers with special interests (Belgium, Brazil, the British Dominions and India, China, Cuba, Greece, Guatemala, Hayti, the Hedjas, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Siam, the Czecho-Slovack Republic) shall attend the sessions at which questions concerning them are discussed."

Then it goes on to deal with other Powers.

With reference to the second question of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) as to the correspondence in reference to the steps that might be deemed necessary for the ratification or approval of the Treaty, this correspondence is necessarily secret, it having reference to the urgency of ratification, and in that connection to international conditions of a confidential nature touching other countries. The Government would not be justified in laying the correspondence before the House without the full approval of the British Government with whom we are communicating. As however the Government is anxious to give the House the fullest possible information, I will lay upon the Table a memorandum prepared on behalf of the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and sent by Sir Robert Borden to the British Empire delegation and to the Prime Minister of Great Britain in reference to the position of the Dominions in connection with the signing of the Peace Treaty. It is entitled:

British Empire delegation.

The Dominions as parties and signatories to the various peace treaties.

Memorandum circulated by Sir Robert Borden on behalf of the Dominion Prime Ministers.

Mr. McMASTER: What is the date?

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: March 12, 1919. It reads:

(1) The Dominion Prime Ministers, after careful consideration, have reached the conclusion that all the treaties and conventions resulting from the Peace Conference should be so drafted as to enable the Dominions to become Parties and Signatories thereto. This procedure will give suitable recognition to the part played at the Peace Table by the British Commonwealth as a whole and will at the same time record the status attained there by the Dominions.

(2) The procedure is in consonance with the principles of constitutional government that obtain throughout the Empire. The Crown is the supreme executive in the United Kingdom and in all the Dominions, but it acts on the advice of different ministries within different constitutional units; and under Resolution IX of the Imperial War Conference, 1917, the organization of the Empire is to be based upon equality of nationhood.

(3) Having regard to the high objects of the Peace Conference, it is also desirable that the setlements reached should be presented at once to the world in the character of universally accepted agreements, so far as this is consistent with the constitution of each State represented. This object would not be achieved if the practice heretofore followed of merely inserting in the body of the convention an express reservation providing for the adhesion of the Domin-

ions were adopted in these treaties; and the Dominions would not wish to give even the appearance of weakening this character of the peace.

(4) On the constitutional point, it is assumed that each treaty or convention will include clauses providing for ratification similar to those in the Hague Convention of 1907. Such clauses will, under the procedure proposed, have the effect of reserving to the Dominion Governments and legislatures the same power of review as is provided in the case of other contracting parties.

(5) It is conceived that this proposal can be carried out with but slight alterations of previous treaty forms. Thus:

(*a*) The usual recital of Heads of State in the Preamble needs no alteration whatever, since the Dominions are adequately included in the present formal description of the King, namely, "His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India."

(*b*) The recital in the Preamble of the names of the Plenipotentiaries appointed by the High Contracting Parties for the purpose of concluding the Treaty would include the names of the Dominon Plenipotentiaries immediately after the names of the Plenipotentiaries appointed by the United Kingdom. Under the general heading "The British Empire" the sub-headings "The United Kingdom," "The Dominion of Canada," "The Commonwealth of Australia," "The Union of South Africa," etc., would be used as headings to distinguish the various Plenipotentiaries.

(*c*) It would then follow that the Dominion Plenipotentiaries would sign according to the same scheme.

(6) The Dominion Prime Ministers consider, therefore, that it should be made an instruction to the British member of the Drafting Commission of the Peace Conference that all treaties should be drawn according to the above proposal.

Hon. members will see that this proposal was accepted and acted upon and finds expression in the Treaty, with one single exception; that is, after the names of the British Plenipotentiaries the words "United Kingdom" do not appear. The British Plenipotentiaries signed not only for the United Kingdom but for all parts of the Empire, other than those governments specifically named, and which were represented by their own Plenipotentiaries.

CANADIAN SHIPS REGISTRY.

TRANSFER OF CANADIAN OWNED SHIPS TO CANADIAN REGISTRY.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Prime Minister I would like to make another statement. This has reference to the transfer of Canadian owned ships to Canadian registry.

For a considerable time the Canadian Government have had under consideration the question of securing the transfer to

[Mr. Rowell.]

Canadian registry of Canadian owned ships at present on the United Kingdom registry. Many Canadian owners wish to make this transfer, but in view of the pressing need for tonnage the Minister of Shipping has heretofore refused to sanction such a course. As a result, however, of representations recently made by the Canadian Government, the Government of the United Kingdom have consented to alter their policy in this respect, and they have agreed to the announcement of the change in the following terms set forth in a telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated August 16:

"Subject to adequate safeguards of the maintenance of our present rights in regard to the carriage of government cargo by liners, it is proposed that all ships that were Canadian owned before the war, and any ships transferred to Canadian owners during the war, are now to be transferred to Canadian registry if their owners desire it."

A subsequent telegram from the Colonial Secretary, dated August 19, explains that the above proposal concerning transfer to Canadian registry is not intended to apply to cases where there has been a special stipulation to the contrary.

This refers to cases of the sale of British owners to Canadian purchasers of ships of British registry. Owing to the great demand it was found necessary to retain rigid control of British ships and no British owners were permitted to transfer their ships without definite stipulation that such a transfer should not carry with it any rights other than those of the seller. The purchaser, therefore, in that case would receive the ship subject to the Government right of requisition, and of preventing transfer to another registry.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): I would like to ask the President of the Council if he can give any information as to whether ships not British, which were under charter to Canadian companies, and which were commandeered by the British Government, will be returned to the former charterers?

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: Mr. Speaker, I have no information on the point, but I shall make inquiries and endeavour to answer my hon. friend to-morrow.

THE PEACE TREATY.

DEBATE RESUMED ON THE MOTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER TO APPROVE OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

The House resumed consideration of the following proposed motion of Sir Robert Borden, adjourned from September 9:

That it is expedient that Parliament do approve of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany (and the Protocol annexed thereto), which was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth day of June, nineteen hundred and nineteen, a copy of which has been laid before Parliament, and which was signed on behalf of His Majesty, acting for Canada, by the plenipotentiaries therein named, and that this House do approve of the same.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): Mr. Speaker, I need hardly tell the House that it is not my intention to follow the lines along which this debate has proceeded and to deal with the constitutional aspect of this question. It is my intention to discuss what the document we are considering really is as laid upon the table of this House—the Treaty of Peace between Germany on the one hand and the Allied and Associated Powers on the other.

This Treaty, Mr. Speaker, brings to an end the greatest tragedy that the world has ever known—a tragedy which on the western front alone involved no fewer than 27,000,000 casualties, 7,000,000 of which are now sleeping beneath the sacred soils of France and Belgium; a tragedy which put upon the Allies alone a debt of $150,000,000,000; a tragedy which has dethroned kings, wrecked governments, destroyed our economic system and brought the world to the verge of bankruptcy. That is the condition of things that this Treaty is supposed to end.

Canada has made great sacrifices in this war and this Parliament has the right to discuss the terms of the Treaty. This Parliament has a right to know whether the liberties which were so well won on the battlefields of the world have been preserved by our representatives at the Peace Conference at Versailles. It is to that aspect of the question that I wish to direct the attention of the House for a few moments.

But before discussing the terms of peace, we might well look at the causes of war and see how the terms of this Treaty will apply to what in the past have been the great incentives of military effort. With my limited knowledge of history it appears to me that one of the causes of war in the past has been the military ambition of monarchs or nations. Another cause has been the lust for territory on the part of nations, for the purpose of colonization or of trade. Another has been the natural desire of peoples to be linked with their own kin and with those of their own tongue. It was from this aspect, I think, that the representatives at the Peace Conference viewed the state of the world as they found it. Many wrongs have been done in the past which they felt it was their first duty to rectify. Not only had they to deal with the present condition of affairs resulting from this war; they had in mind the untold misery that had been caused and the unfair treatment that had been accorded to many nations as the result of previous military conflicts. These they have in certain measure attempted to remedy. Alsace and Lorraine have been returned to France, and Bosnia goes to Serbia. West Prussia, Posen and part of East Prussia go to Poland, while Silesia, North Schleswig and the remainder of East Prussia are allowed to settle their own national allegiance by a popular vote of their people. Four new free nations are created which consist of no less than sixty-five millions of people, fifty millions of whom were five years ago under oppression and bondage. That, I think, is the first result, one of the great results, of this Treaty which we are now asked to ratify.

Another result of the Peace Conference which may have a very happy effect upon the world is one which has not so far been mentioned in this debate. I refer to the mandatory policy which has been inaugurated with respect to weak and backward nations. Nations of this kind are to be developed and educated along the lines of scientific government; they are to be treated like children in a school who are taught to look after themselves; they will be enabled to obtain all the advantages of western civilization. When we reflect that this principle can be extended to all the backward nations of the earth, we see in the possibilities that may emerge from that policy one of the great blessings which may result from this unhappy war.

Then, the representatives at the Peace Conference have attempted to do away with the conditions brought about by the greed of nations in the past for trade. They have thrown open various countries to freedom of trade; they have put them on an equality so far as freedom for carrying on business in concerned.

Let us now come more particularly to the conditions of the Treaty. This is a treaty with Germany, who, we must remember, was the great aggressor; who was the cause of the much lamented state of affairs which have prevailed during the last five years. What are the conditions which have been laid down in respect of the ambitious military nation which was the cause of this war? If we look at the military terms which have been imposed upon Germany, we see

that the army of this once great and powerful nation, which was able at the beginning of the war to mobilize between 9,000,000 and 12,000,000 men, has been reduced to 100,000 men and 5,000 officers. That, I think, presages well for peace so far as Germany is concerned. In addition, the demobilization of troops in Germany is restricted to five per cent a year of the total force. It will be remembered that in 1806 France restricted the Prussian military force to 20,000 men, and Prussia, in order to evade that restriction, said: We will maintain only 20,000 men, but we will train 20,000 new men every year. It will be remembered also that a few years later, at the battle of Waterloo, she was instrumental, to some extent at least, in defeating the French, who had imposed such drastic terms upon her.

In addition to the terms which I have mentioned, the forts of the Baltic and the Rhine are to be done away with. The fortifications of the Kiel Canal and of Heligoland are to be destroyed. Conscription has been abolished. The naval terms are almost as drastic. Germany is allowed to keep only six battleships, six light cruisers and twelve torpedo boats; she is permitted to have no submarines and no air force. Her fourteen cables are yet to be distributed by some method to be arrived at by the League of Nations. War material must not be imported or exported by Germany. Thus we see the drastic military conditions to which this once powerful military nation has been subjected.

We have surrounded our late enemies with a natural fortification. We have on the west the natural fortifications of the Rhine. Then we have the Alps, and in the near East we have the Danube. On the eastern flank we have created two nations and made them free and independent: Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

Thus we have her hemmed in as it were on every side by free and independent peoples. The frontiers of Great Britain will be on the Rhine; those of Egypt and India will be on the Danube, and it is worthy of note by those of us who recall our ancient history that those were the natural boundaries which were used by the great Roman Empire.

Turning to the economic conditions that are imposed, we find that they are equally if not more severe. Germany has to pay an indemnity of $25,000,000,000, and I hope that that is not the total amount, as it does not seem to me that $25,000,000,000 is sufficient indemnity to put upon a nation which caused the Allies a war debt of $150,000,000,000. I hope that there will be other levies put upon Germany at a later date. Germany accepts responsibility for all the damage done to the Allies and associated governments. She agrees to reimburse civilian damages. She agrees to replace shipping on a ton for ton basis, this to be drawn from her merchant marine and from her coastal and river shipping. She agrees in addition to build merchant ships for the Allies for years to come and to devote her economic resources to rebuilding the devastated regions of the western front. Germany agrees to return to the most favoured nation treaties without discrimination, while the Allies and Associated Powers are given freedom of transit throughout Germany. Germany loses 3,000 square miles of her industrial territory and 7,000,000 people. She loses 1,000,000 square miles of her colonies and 12,000,000 people, colonies with which before the war she had a foreign trade of no less than $13,000,000. She loses her markets, her mercantile marine, her raw materials. We take from her three-quarters of her iron and coal and a large share of her phosphates. We take thousands of vessels and hundreds of thousands of animals. We have put upon her an immediate levy of $25,000,000,000. Philip Scheidmann former chancellor of the German Empire, said on May 12, speaking from his place in the House:

> This treaty is, in the view of the Imperial German Government, unacceptable, so unacceptable that I am unable to believe that the earth could bear such a document, without a cry issuing from a million throats in all lands.

As regards us, Mr. Speaker, who saw something of the devastation caused by Germany in the western fields of Europe, who saw her violate every law of God and man, this appeal does not fall on very sympathetic ears. We hope that she may be taught through the harsh terms of this Treaty that more than in the biblical sense "the way of the transgressor is hard." We welcome as a just retribution the punishment which is about to be inflicted upon the late Emperor of Germany and those associated with him who were responsible for this war.

We must, of course, realize that these economic terms are terms which will be carried out by any nation only when it is compelled to do so, and this brings us to the conditions which are provided for in the enforcement of this Treaty. First and foremost among them, in my humble judgment, is the League of Nations. Thirty-two nations have agreed to submit all their troubles to arbitration; more than that, they have

agreed to use their influence to get all other nations to do the same. Who is there in this House or in this country to-day that will believe that if in 1914 we had had such an organization as that, this war would have come upon the world? Personally, I do not believe that if the Treaty which has just been signed between Great Britain, France and the United States had been in existence prior to the war, such a conflict would have come to pass. But above and beyond all this, one of the most important uses of the League of Nations is that it will be an authentic channel by which the views of the leading powers of the earth may be given to the world. That alone is, I think, a very important thing.

Hon. gentlemen opposite have spoken a great deal about Article 10 of this Treaty. The President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) yesterday proved, I think, conclusively that the sovereign power of this House was in no way encroached upon by this Article. But I would like to ask hon. gentlemen opposite—and they say they are all in favour of this League—what use this League would be without Article 10. It appears to me that it would not be worth the paper it is written upon nor the time that it took to write it. The including of that Article gives the League a dynamic power and force which will undoubtedly be a benefit to this country. Hon. gentlemen have to a considerable extent quoted the President of the United States, the author of this League, but I should like to remind them that a few days ago, before the Committee on Foreign Relations at Washington, he stated that Article 10 implied nothing more than an obligation; that if the United States were going to war, Congress would have to declare it and the Government would have to come to Congress for the means for carrying it on.

Moreover, Articles 16 and 17 give the League power to put economic pressure upon any nation or nations which may violate their agreements. Article 16 says that if any member of the League disregards its covenants and resorts to war, its foreign trade and personal relationships shall be cut off from the rest of the world. We see there great possibilities of exercising, so to speak, an economic blockade against any country that refuses to abide by the decisions of the League of Nations. Article 17, directly following that, makes provision whereby any countries at war that are outside of the League are to be invited to come in, and if they enjoy the benefits of the League the same restrictions are imposed upon them as are imposed upon members of the League proper. Let us consider for a moment what this means. Germany, as well as other countries in Central Europe, requires a great deal of raw material to be imported from other nations. Under the present terms of this Treaty she is allowed to buy coal and iron in the market without any discrimination, but we can readily see that if she refuses to abide by the decisions of this League, that privilege may be immediately cut off and all the economic pressure which practically the world can exert may be put in force against her. Germany, in 1913, imported no less than 94,000,000 bushels of wheat, the total world supply in that same year being 4,000,000,000 bushels. The Allies at that time grew no less than 2,071,000,000 bushels, or over 50 per cent of the total. That is, there was that much directly under the control of the Allies, or the members of the League of Nations. Germany, after 1870, owed much of her economic progress to the iron which she got in Lorraine. Turning to the iron fields of the world, we find that we have taken three-quarters of what she formerly possessed away from her, and in the possession of the Allies alone there is no less than three-quarters of the iron of the world. Copper, which is the next most important basic metal, is held in similar proportions. In 1913 the total production was 1,000,000,000 tons, and of this the Allies held no less than 770,000,000 tons. The case in regard to coal is similar; of 1,100,000,000 tons, the Allies controlling over 823,000,000 tons, showing that they could impose an almost overwhelming economic blockade.

Of the 22,433,000 bales of cotton available in 1912 the Allies held over 19,500,000 bales. These figures will indicate the power the League of Nations may exercise without resorting to force of arms. I repeat, Canada may have much to gain by being a member of the League, and no nation need expect to derive from membership in the League benefits of any importance without incurring some obligations.

Another very important part of this Treaty, to my mind, is that comprising the labour clauses. It is perhaps too soon for us to comprehend fully all that they may mean to the world, but if these provisions with regard to labour are carried out by the different members of the League we can readily conceive that they will be a great blessing to humanity. In passing, we in Canada ought to be proud of the part the Prime Minister of this country and his colleagues have taken in drafting these momentous labour clauses. It would take

too long to enumerate all the labour provisions, but the opinion expressed in the Covenant that labour is not merely a commercial commodity, the regulations for securing humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, the introduction of the 24-hour day weekly rest, the abolition of child labour—these are provisions which will do much to alleviate the troubles and the toils of labour.

Mr. Speaker, practically the whole of this debate has centred around Article X. I would ask this House and the country to consider whether Canada has not some duty to perform for the benefit of the world and of humanity. We have passed through a dark night filled with trouble, tears, and death, and we on this side of the House think that Canada should now step out on the platform with the other nations of the world and do her part in carrying to those nations less prosperous and less blessed than ours the blessing of our free institutions and the civil and religious liberty which we possess. We should do so in the interests not only of Canada herself and the great Empire to which we belong, but also in the interests of humanity.

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maisonneuve): Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to take much time in debating this question, because I think the House is already well informed, and further, in view of the limited time that has been given to the members of this House to get acquainted with the facts it has been somewhat difficult to analyze thoroughly the Treaty and the Covenant.

I should have liked before discussing this question to have had a full report from the hon. gentlemen who represented Canada at the Peace Conference of their activities, of the speeches they delivered and the objections they made at all sittings of the Conference where Canada's interests were at stake. I think we are entitled to a full report of their deliberations.

I regret that the Prime Minister showed some little nervousness the other day because a few questions were put to him, with the view of enlightening the House, by the hon. member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding). I do not wish to be severe, but it seems to me there is a lack of dignity on the part of the gentleman who occupies the exalted position of Prime Minister of Canada when he threatens to resign from office the moment he is asked a few pertinent questions. You will remember that a year ago when the hon. member for Kingston pressed his motion for the abolition of titles we were threatened with the resignation of the right hon. the Prime Minister in the midst of the great war. This year, when an hon. member who belonged to the Unionist wing of the Liberal party asked a few pertinent questions of the Prime Minister, we again had the threat of resignation if the Treaty and the Covenant were not approved almost without any discussion. Mr. Speaker, we have not been accustomed in our Canadian Parliament to this mode of procedure.

Mr. BUREAU: That is autonomy.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I regret we are obliged to discuss in haste the very important question before us to-day. I said the very important question; I should have said the most important question that has ever come before the Canadian Parliament since Confederation. I shall endeavour to offer a few observations on this question, speaking for no one but myself.

As regards the war itself, I need not say that I have approved and I still approve of Canada's participation in the great war, both in men and in money. I have given my all in this war, and I have no lesson to receive from any hon. gentlemen as regards my patriotism, my loyalty, and my admiration for British ideals of civilization, freedom and self-government. It was a war between two conflicting ideals—the German ideal, that might should prevail over right, and the British and French and I should say Christian ideal, that right should prevail over might. It was the bounden duty of Canada, and the moral duty of every civilized nation in the world, to see that our ideal should prevail, that right should prevail over might. The war has been won, and won, thanks to Divine Providence—for I believe in the intervention of Divine Providence in human affairs.

It has been won thanks to our dead heroes; and let me say, Mr. Speaker, that if the silent voices in Flanders Fields could be heard to-day, those young men who are under the sod would say: O Canada! we did not fight, we did not fall to promote a new imperialism, to implant a new militarism. We fought for freedom; we fought for justice; we fought for civilization. The war was won, I repeat again, thanks to the intervention of Divine Providence, thanks to our dead heroes, and to the indomitable spirit of the Allied armies, among which the Canadian army played such a glorious part. Yet, Mr. Speaker, if I approve of Canada's participation in the great war I must say at once that I cannot approve of the war

policies of the Government. During the last five years we have seen exploitation, extravagance, profiteering, waste, all which is the cause of the discontent that exists in our country. I cannot approve of the war policies of the Government because, all throughout that period, from the inception of the war to this very day, there has been an utter disregard of the constitutional rights of Canada. There has been a complete absence of statesmanship—statesmanship that should make for union and not for disunion. There has been an abject surrender of principles to party exigencies. Mr. Speaker, I shall not make any other reference to party politics, but lest my remarks this afternoon should be misunderstood, I say again that I approve of Canada's participation in the war in regard to both men and money, but disapprove of the war policies of the Government, for they were not in the best interests of the cause. Bygones are bygones. The glamour of war has faded away and the country is now facing grim realities. The Liberal party, to which I have the honour to belong, can well afford to await the verdict of an enlightened electorate voting under a Liberal, a Canadian, a British franchise, when the war policies of the last five years are scrutinized. The war is won, the Peace Treaty signed, the League of Nations is created, and now the Dominion Parliament is asked to ratify or rather to approve of both. The first question which arises is this: By virtue of what powers are we called upon to ratify or to approve of the Treaty and Covenant? To say that we approve but do not ratify is only a fine play of words. If this Parliament approves, without any reservation, the Peace Treaty and the Covenant, Canada is committed to all the consequences of the Treaty and the Covenant. By virtue of what power are we called upon to ratify the Treaty and the Covenant? We are not a Sovereign nation. We have no Treaty making powers, and no one knows it better than my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council. I am fully aware that sometimes in the past Canadian ministers have negotiated in France for instance and in Spain, a treaty between France and Canada and between Spain and Canada. But, Sir, if the Canadian ministers were allowed to negotiate those treaties they did so because they were made plenipotentiaries by the hand and seal of His Majesty the King. I remember the case of the Franco-Canadian Treaty which was signed by my hon. friend who was then Minister of Finance, the member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) and by Mr. Justice Brodeur, who was then Minister of Marine and Fisheries. They affixed their signatures to that treaty not as Canadian ministers but as British plenipotentiaries. In spite of all the pious wishes which have been expressed, and duly so, by the Canadian Parliament, we

3 p.m.

have no treaty-making power, except the power we have of making treaties with the Indian tribes of the north. That is our sole treaty-making power. Mr. Speaker, I am a British citizen wherever the British flag floats; but if I were a British elector in the United Kingdom I would stand by the Treaty of Peace, and by the Covenant of the League of Nations without much questioning. I would perhaps criticise some of the terms of the Treaty, but I would stand by the Treaty and by the Covenant because, legally, as a British elector, I would have a say in the matter. As a Canadian, however, I have no say at all in the foreign affairs in which the United Kingdom is involved. I would stand by the Treaty because it marks the end of the most cruel of all wars, and I would stand by the Covenant because, indeed, it is a noble, it is a generous effort to abolish militarism in the world and to put an end to the reign of the bully in European and in world politics. Yet, if I were a British elector in the United Kingdom, I think I would offer a few observations concerning the Treaty. For instance, I would deplore the fact that the representatives of both Great Britain and France have in that Treaty given official recognition to the German Empire as an entity. Mr. Speaker, I do not make this statement on my own judgment. I base my view on the very able criticism which was published in England and in France a few days ago and signed by the ex-foreign minister of France, Mr. Hanotaux. Mr. Hanotaux claims that the greatest mistake which was made in the Treaty—and it is its most outstanding one—was the recognition by the Powers of a United German Empire. Those of us who are familiar with modern history know that the United German Empire was the creation of Bismarck, and that Empire was the result of fraud, of theft and of corruption.

I will not delve into history, but, Sir, the Powers, according to Mr. Hanotaux, should have given back to Germany her status of before 1870. Before 1870 there was a German confederation and that confederation was much less formidable than the German Empire, under the sway of Prussian militarists, became. If I were a British

elector I would—as was stated yesterday by our young friend, the distinguished member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon), who delivered a speech worthy of his ability, and worthy of the best traditions of this House—force my representatives at Westminster to settle, first of all, the Irish question before joining the League. Mr. Speaker, I am not uttering a phrase for the mere pleasure of uttering it; I am stating what is a fact. Why, today, if you read the British press, and notably the London Times, you will see that Lord Northcliffe himself advocates the immediate settlement of the Irish question, without which settlement he claims there can be no Imperial unity. I merely mention the name of Lord Northcliffe; the fact of mentioning his name bears its own lesson, carries its own weight. When a man like Lord Northcliffe, the proprietor of the London Times, has come to the conclusion that there can be no Imperial unity unless the Irish question is settled, it speaks volumes for the temper of the British electorate at the present time. Not only is that the opinion of Lord Northcliffe, but it is the opinion of my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), who some years ago spoke in Toronto at a public meeting, called to discuss a memorandum which had been prepared by a Toronto committee. This memorandum contained the following conclusions:

1. Canada showed her determination to preserve and strengthen the ties which now bind her to Great Britain and other portions of the British Commonwealth.

2. Effective organization of the Empire must not involve any sacrifice of responsible government in domestic affairs, or the surrender of control over fiscal policy by any portion of the Empire.

3. But it is an inevitable development of responsible government in the Dominions that they should assume their proportionate share in the defence of the Empire, and should have a voice in determining its relations with other states.

Notice, Mr. Speaker, "a proportionate share in the defence of the Empire and a voice," etc. One does not go without the other.

4. We think, therefore, that as soon as circumstances permit, political leaders throughout the Empire, irrespective of party, should meet to consider the problem.

As my friend the President of the Privy Council was then the hope of the Liberal party in the province of Ontario, he was asked to support the conclusions in this memorandum. He spoke at a large meeting held, if I mistake not, at the University of Toronto, and there he is reported to have said:

Mr. Rowell declared that the Irish question must be settled first, that the present duty was to save the Empire now and reorganize it afterwards, that a co-operation of free peoples was better than centralization in government.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: In what year was that speech delivered?

Mr. LEMIEUX: In 1917. I remember the occasion well. I quite agree with the opinion expressed by my hon. friend on that occasion but I venture to doubt that if on that evening, that historic evening, he had been surrounded by the same audience as listened to him yesterday, whether he would have held the reception that he did after the great speech which he delivered yesterday.

Mr. ROWELL: I got just as good a one.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Then I congratulate my hon. friend.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: Would the hon. member permit me a question before he leaves that subject? What settlement of the Irish question would he suggest? How would he settle it?

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: Ha, ha!

Mr. LEMIEUX: I would not like to branch out into an argument on that point.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. LEMIEUX: But, I have no hesitation in saying that an Act was passed by the British House of Commons and it is on the statute-book of Great Britain.

Mr. BELAND: And sanctioned by the King.

Mr. LEMIEUX: It was sanctioned by the King and signed by His Majesty, and therefore I would, in the truly British old-fashioned way, stand by King George and silence King Carson. But enough on this subject. I have spoken as if I were a British elector, which I am not; as a Canadian I have no say in the matter at all. I can only approve of the Treaty of Peace and the Covenant in so far as they do not impair or abridge any of my constitutional rights, and I think this is sound Canadian and sound British doctrine. I may be told, and it is quite true, that anyhow as a British subject I am bound by the Treaty and by the Covenant. This is quite true in a sense, but by ratifying, or approving—the two expressions are only a play upon words—the two instruments submitted to us, the Canadian Parliament is committing itself

to prospective agreements of the gravest importance. The Canadian Parliament is surrendering its control over the military forces and defences of Canada, and such is the meaning of article 10, which can stand a study of the judges of the Privy Council much better than article 17 of the school regulations of Ontario. It is clear and well worded; it is written in French and in English, and you may discuss it which way you like it has that meaning—that if Canada adopts this Covenant without a reservation as to the constitutional rights of the Canadian Parliament you are surrendering the control of your military forces and of your finances. Article 10 reads as follows:

> The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

I quite agree with what my hon. and gallant friend from Muskoka (Mr. McGibbon) said a moment ago, that the Covenant would be meaningless and worthless without Article X. Article X is the teeth of the Covenant, and without it the League could not be enforced. But again, Mr. Speaker, I must look upon the whole issue as a Canadian—and call me a little Canadian if you please. The fact remains that we are to-day considering this question as members of the Canadian Parliament, and not as members of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. I must look upon the whole issue as a Canadian living under a constitution vesting us with limited powers only. I do not fear the encroachments of the United Kingdom in fiscal matters. Our fiscal independence was settled many years ago—and all honour to Sir Alexander Galt, who drafted the noble document which was read yesterday by my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell). In military matters we are governed also by and from Ottawa, and not by and from London; and we do not want to be governed by and from Geneva. By approving this Article X without any reservation, we declare that Canada is bound by all the obligations that may be undertaken not only by the United Kingdom but by all the other members of the League. Great as are the powers of this self-governing Dominion, she has no voice in the foreign affairs of the British Empire. Why should we play on words, Mr. Speaker? It is all very well to speak of Canada as a nation on a footing of equality with the Mother Country. In one sense it is true; in another sense it is not true, unfortunately.

The answer given by such a great statesman as Mr. Asquith, and by an ex-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Harcourt, to this question: Shall we, the Dominions, have any say in the conduct of foreign affairs—settles the point.

Mr. J. H. BURNHAM (Peterboro): Will the hon. gentleman kindly say what he means by unfortunately?

Mr. LEMIEUX: Unfortunately what?

Mr. BURNHAM: The hon. gentleman used the word " unfortunately " just now.

An hon. MEMBER: Webster would tell you.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I regret that in the Imperial Council which is to be formed Canada will have only a representation based on her population. We have in round figures a population of 8,000,000. What is the population of the United Kingdom, and of India? If we have a voice in that Council we shall have only that proportionate influence which our population gives us the right to have, and when the United Kingdom is involved in war we shall be carried in her wake although the Canadian people and the Canadian Parliament might hold a different view as to the justification for such a war. That is the danger, Sir, and that is the crux of the whole question.

Let me quote the answer of Mr. Asquith, who is an Imperialist, Mr. Speaker, and a sane one at that. He said:

> So far as the Dominions are concerned, this new machinery will impose upon the Dominions, by the voice of a body in which they would be in a standing minority—that is part of the case only—in a small minority indeed, a policy which they might all disapprove, a policy which would in most cases involve expenditure, and an expenditure which would have to be met by the imposition on a dissentient community of taxation by its own Government. We cannot, with the traditions and the history of the British Empire behind us, either from the point of the United Kingdom or from the point of view of our own self-governing Dominions, assent for a moment to proposals which are so fatal to the very fundamental conditions on which our Empire has been built up and carried on.

And Mr. Harcourt a little later on, in 1913, during the Naval Debate, used the following language:

> Mr. Asquith and I had subsequently several conversations with him—that is, with Premier Borden—at which he expressed a desire that the Canadian and other Dominion ministers who might be in London as members of the Com-

mittee of Imperial Defence should receive in confidence knowledge of the policy and proceedings of the Imperial Government in foreign and other affairs. We pointed out to him that the Committee of Imperial Defence is a purely advisory body, and is not and cannot under any circumstances become a body to decide on policy, which is and must remain the sole prerogative of the Cabinet, subject to the support of the House of Commons.

Could the case be put more squarely and in a more concrete form than it is put there by those two great Liberal English statesmen? It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that their answers settle the issue.

I said that Canada was a self-governing Dominion, that she had no voice in the foreign affairs of the British Empire, and that her obligation as regards the war issue was for the defence of her own territories. The questions of peace and war do not come under the purview of her constitution, the Imperial Parliament being supreme in such matters. The right hon. the Prime Minister the other day made this announcement to Canada:

The future relationship of the nations of the Empire must be determined in accordance with the will of the Mother Country and of each Dominion in a Constitutional Conference to be summoned in the not distant future. Undoubtedly it will be based upon equality of nationhood.

Undoubtedly, not certainly—suggesting that there is a doubt.

Each nation must preserve unimpaired its absolute autonomy,—

That is what we claim, Mr. Speaker.

—but it must likewise have its voice as to those external relations which involve the issue of peace or of war.

Mr. Speaker, if this announcement is true—and I believe it is true—the word of the right hon. gentleman is as good as his bond; it involves that an organic change in our constitution is contemplated. Well, Sir, I contend that this Parliament has no mandate to subscribe to this organic change. No Imperial Conference, which is only a consultative body, and no war cabinet, which was evolved during the war for a special purpose, can in such important matters override the Canadian Parliament and the Canadian constitution. Let us not be deceived by fine words; above all, to use the expression of Disraeli, let us not "take a leap in the dark."

The President of the Council waxed eloquent yesterday as he spoke of the future of Canada. I was reminded of a remark made by a French statesman, M. Salvandy, I think it was, one of the ministers of the days of the French restoration. He had delivered a very eloquent address before the House of Representatives, and as he was congratulated by one of his friends, he said: "Yes, but I was dancing on razor blades all the time." I may add that there were no safety razors in those days.

My hon. friend was very vague yesterday in all his definitions. He spoke of Canada not as being a nation, but as being a nation within the Empire. That sounds well, but it is nothing else than a play upon words; it is meaningless from a constitutional point of view. There is no such thing as a nation within the Empire.

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: What did Sir Wilfrid Laurier mean when he said that Canada was a nation? Was that not within the Empire?

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend is very anxious to get from us his slogan for the next election. In order to get the electors to forget his sins of omission and commission, it would suit its purposes to denounce first, last and always, the disloyalty of those French Quebec members who stand "for a seperate nation", who advocate "independence." But we shall not dance to his tune; we will remain Canadians.

Again, to repeat in English the words of a great French statesman, I say that we are to-day what we were yesterday and to-morrow we shall be in the hands of Providence. Providence will shape the destinies of this nation, not my hon. friend, not the Tory party, not the Liberal party. Providence will shape the destinies of Canada; we are only the instruments of Providence. According to our merits or demerits the destinies of this country will be shaped.

My hon. friend says that we are a nation within the Empire. Have we the attributes of a nation? My hon. friend has studied international law and can answer that question. It is true that we have territory; it is true that we have population; it is true?—no, it is not true—that we have sovereignty. These are the three attributes of a nation, according to international law—territory, population, and sovereignty. Territory, as I say, we have—an immense expanse of it from the North Pole to the sixty-fifth parallel and from the Atlantic ocean to the Pacific. But if we wish to add one handful of earth to that territory, we have to go to London and have the British North America Act amended. When the Hudson Bay territory was purchased through the campaign of George Brown, but by the Macdonald Government, Sir

John A. Macdonald had to go to London in order to settle the terms; he could not add to the British territory of Canada. Mr. Speaker, there is quite a movement, as we all know, in favour of the West Indies becoming a part of the Canadian confederation. If we wished to take steps to effect a union with these beautiful islands, we would have to ask permission from the British authorities at Westminster.

But have we sovereignty? Can we appoint a consul to represent the interests of our Canadian merchants in any city, town or village south of the boundary line? Can we even appoint a consular agent? A motion was made some years ago, and, I think, passed by the House of Commons, recommending that representations be made to the home Government requesting that Canada be given the right to be represented abroad by consular agents or by consuls in purely mercantile matters. What became of that resolution? Like many speeches delivered by the President of the Council, it was torn and scattered to the four winds of heaven.

Last session my hon. friend agreed as to the desirability of the appointment of a commissioner to represent Canada in Washington, and we agreed on the name of the man who should be appointed. What has become of the suggestion that such an appointment be made? We have large interests with the great republic to the south of us and the presence of a Canadian commissioner at Washington would greatly assist the business men both of Canada and of United States. Yet no sooner had the suggestion been made by my hon. friend in this House than the question was taken up in the British Parliament. I forget the exact answer that was given by Mr. Bonar Law or Mr. Walter Long, but it was, to say the least, a very frigid answer—and the appointment has not yet been made by Canada. It shows, Mr. Speaker, how little we have to say in connection with foreign affairs; we have not the power even to appoint a commercial agent to represent us in the city of Washington.

I remember having had many conversations some years ago with the Canadian Commissioner in France, the late Mr. Hector Fabre, and I know of his troubles with the British Consul at Paris. The British Consul, not the Ambassador, mind you, did not understand why there was a Canadian office at the Rue de Rome, when he, at the British Consulate, was representing the interests of Great and Greater Britain in Paris. That shows that we have not many of the attributes of a nation, seeing that we are begrudged the appointment of an agent at Paris, and we are practically told not to dare appoint an agent in the city of Washington. Sovereignty! Have you read, Sir, the speech delivered in the Senate last session by Senator Nicholls, exposing a most scandalous state of affairs as regards the commandeering of Canadian ships? I shall not refer any longer to this question, because I should like to be brief; but my hon. friend wanted to create an impression throughout the country. He began by depicting in glowing terms the future of Canada, so as to prepare for a coming election and to get his slogan out of our admissions. He put the alternatives before the House. Is it the status quo? Is it annexation? Is it independence? My hon. friend was in quest of an election cry; but if he wants an answer to that question, I may remind him in all friendliness that the "Canada First" party was started in the great city of Toronto, and that the Annexation Manifesto which was signed in 1849 did not not bear the signatures my hon. friend may think of. The mentioning of this Annexation Manifesto of 1849 comes in àpropos, it seems to me, during the course of this discussion. There are hon. gentlemen who think they are well advised in promoting the cause of centralization and who would like to merge Canadian every-day interests with British every-day interests. Why was the Annexation Manifesto signed and circulated in 1849? We know that before 1849, indeed long before the year 1840 even, there existed for Canada and all the other British colonies a preferential tariff in Great Britain, and during the years which elapsed between the year of the rebellion and 1842 or 1843 big business was being done in the old provinces Upper and Lower Canada; our merchants, our exporters were shipping grain and lumber in large quantities to Great Britain, as Canada had a preference in the British market. Then the agitation took place in favour of the abolition of the Corn laws—it was the coming of free trade in England. What happened? The moment there was taken away from the colonies, and particularly from Canada, this preference advocated again to-day by some of my hon. friends, one of whom I see on the other side; the moment this preferential policy was abrogated by Great Britain, a grievance was at once created amongst the merchants of Canada, and the result was that we had the Annexation Manifesto. The merchants of Canada said: If Great Britain will not

give us a preference, we will annex Canada to the United States of America.

Speaking on that subject, the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) not very long ago used these words which I am about to quote, and I believe that coming from one of the leading lights of the Unionist party, they are a vindication of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding). We know how the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's was labelled and was dogged by the Tory party in Canada during the campaign of 1911 because, like the Britisher and the good Canadian that he is, he discussed freely with American statesmen commercial interests which concerned both Canada and the United States. Yet he was denounced in every city, town and hamlet in this great province of Ontario as an annexationist, nay, as a traitor, as disloyal. He was defeated in his own constituency because he had dared to advocate the very policy which, in the words of the President of the Council, saved Canada from annexation in 1849. This is what the President of the Council said:

I wish to point out to you that when this question of trade arose in a crucial form between Canada and Great Britain the Liberal attitude was—"Let the Mother Country do what is best in her own interest, and we will do what we consider best in ours, and that their course would not in the least affect our loyalty." The Conservative attitude was—"Unless you continue to feed us by preference, the connection may not be as valuable as we otherwise thought it would be."

My hon. friend added:

Some of the distinguished leaders of the Conservative party in the city of Montreal emphasized this view by issuing the famous "annexation manifesto" of 1848-49. Lord Elgin was a very wise man. He saw this annexation cry grow out of economic conditions. He thought he saw a method of removing the pressure and offering relief to those who were suffering. He went over to the United States and negotiated the treaty of reciprocity. The annexation sentiment died, and the Conservatives who held annexation views, became just as loyal as their neighbours.

I commend those words to the anti-reciprocity league and to the back and front benches. Sir, let us not involve Canada in the domestic affairs of Great Britain. Let us not entangle Canada in the foreign affairs of Great Britain. Let us, in the words of my hon. friend, keep our own counsel, and intervene only when the Canadian Parliament and the Canadian people feel that they should intervene.

The speech delivered by my hon. friend just a few moons ago when he was a budding young Liberal statesman of Ontario, a speech to which I listened and which I applauded at the time, was less vague than the one he delivered yesterday. The former was delivered in a very healthy atmosphere—at the Reform Club. The speech he delivered yesterday was for the Round Clubs, and the ward Tory associations of the good city of Toronto. It was very nebulous and vague, so vague in fact that I should like to contrast its language with that he used in 1912. Then he stood for Canadian rights. My hon. friend's speech in 1912 was on the subject of "Liberals and the Empire." On trade matters my hon. friend thought that we were preaching under Sir Wilfrid Laurier—under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, mind you, the true doctrine of imperial co-operation in trade matters. He said:

I wish to point out to you that when this question of trade arose in a crucial form between Canada and Great Britain the Liberal attitude was—"Let the Mother Country do what is best in her own interest—

Shocking!

—and we will do what we consider best in ours, and that their course would not in the least affect our loyalty."

This is plain Liberal gospel, clear as crystal.

Mr. ROWELL: I think it is the Liberal gospel I preached yesterday too.

Mr. LEMIEUX: It had not the same flavour.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): He was reading from Sir John A. Macdonald yesterday.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I said a moment ago that the crux of the whole question in connection with the Treaty and the Covenant, of which I approve with some reservation, was the matter of military organization. My position is this: I want to maintain the privileges and the rights which we acquired at the time of Confederation to decide for ourselves when and how we shall engage in wars outside of those caused through the defence of our own territory. I said that in military affairs both on land and sea we had enjoyed absolute freedom. In the matter of naval defence my hon. friend also took the true Liberal and Canadian view in 1910, when he said:

Our Parliament passed the Naval Service Act, which contains all the provision necessary for developing as large a naval service as Canada may desire to provide—in fact if the present Government wishes to act, all it has to do is to ask the House of Commons to make the necessary appropriations, and the Naval Service

Act of 1910 which contains all the provisions necessary to develop a Canadian navy. Men may differ as to the number and character of the ships which should compose our fleet—this is a matter of detail—but time will vindicate te policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier for a Canadian navy—

Not an Imperial navy.

—as the wise and statesmanlike policy, both for Canada and the Empire.

I subscribe to those views. In the matter of naval defence my hon. friend again vindicates the policy of the Liberal party, which we claim was the true Canadian policy, but which was condemned by a certain fraction of the electorate in 1911 precisely because it was too Canadian a policy and not enough of an Imperial policy.

My hon. friend also spoke of the questions arising out of our defence of the Empire by land, and again he absolutely sided with the attitude of the Liberal party of the day on that question. He said:

Under the Liberal Administration, while maintaining full autonomy and the national rights of Canada, plans have been steadily worked out for the defence of the Empire and the co-operation of all the forces of the Empire in all national emergencies.

My hon. friend went further. He spoke of the vexed question, which must be faced squarely and honestly—and I am afraid that yesterday my hon. friend, by his subtle distinctions and nebulous statements did not face it, I shall not say honestly, but squarely—the vexed question of Canada's non-participation in Imperial wars. My hon. friend, when he was the leader of the Liberal party in the province of Ontario, was not afraid to face such an issue. He could afford to do so because he belonged to the majority. He knows that one of the minority cannot speak as freely on that question as one of the majority, because prejudices would immediately come into play. We know what my hon. friend had in his mind yesterday when he pictured for us the alternative—annexation, independence, and statu quo. Now let us appeal from Rowell to Rowell, if my hon. friend will allow me the classic expression.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: From Philip sober to Philip drunk.

Mr. ROWELL: That is pretty hard on the Club.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I would rather say, from Philip drunk to Philip sober. My hon. friend on that occasion went to the very root of the question, and I was surprised yesterday that he treated the issue with such subtlety and evasiveness. He said:

In view of the discussions which have recently taken place, both in the British and Canadian press on the question of colonial neutrality, it is only fair to point out in considering the attitude of the Government of Sir John Macdonald that the position taken by Sir John and his colleagues in declining to participate in the war in Egypt was not a declaration of colonial neutrality. It is well for us to keep clearly in mind the distinction between neutrality and non-participation.

Well said, Mr. Speaker.

As Sir John Macdonald would undoubtedly have said, and as Sir Wilfrid Laurier has repeatedly said, whenever the Empire is at war, Canada, as a part of the Empire, is at war also. In the past one hundred years Great Britain has been engaged in, I suppose, over a score of wars, and yet in none of those which have occurred outside of this continent have Canadian troops participated, except in the war in South Africa. No statesman of Canada has ever proclaimed the doctrine of colonial neutrality, but what Canadian statesmen have said and truly said—

And what we Liberals say to-day—

is that the Government of Canada must decide the character and extent of the participation which Canada takes in the war. It is the Parliament which must vote the supplies on this important matter. If I read history aright, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir John Macdonald have taken exactly the same position, except that the Government of Sir John exercised the right to decide by refusing to participate, the Government of Sir Wilfrid by participating.

My hon. friend concluded with what we call in Roman law a Petition of Principles; he concluded with these words:

Our action should be adequate, commensurate with our ability in our share of the burden. Our policy should not be the product of a momentary enthusiasm or of unworthy fear, but as part of a permanent and well-connsidered plan whereby Canada will undertake her share in the defence of the Empire. Let our policy not be formed by or shaped in response to the spirit of militarism. Our navy is not for aggression, but for the defence of our coasts and the protection of our trade routes; for the maintenance of traditions and ideals for which our British system of Government and our flag stand.

In that memorable speech, Sir, my hon. friend made a case for Canadian Liberalism on this important question of the relations of Canada with the Mother Country in matters of trade, commerce, and defence on both land and sea. He spoke boldly, he faced the issue courageously, and his sentiments then are in sad contrast with the speech which he delivered yesterday, not to the same audience, however. My hon. friend is well aware that there are two schools of thought in Canada. One stands for centralization and the other for autonomy. I

grant, Mr. Speaker, that the apostles of centralization belong, generally speaking, to the élite amongst our English-speaking friends. They are mostly all intellectuals; many of them are university men. Some are in business; many are in the militia ranks, and I must say, also, that many wear titles. But, thanks to the ex-member for Kingston, we have abolished all titles, and I think that the cause of imperialism will, because of the absence of titles, perish after a certain time. I say there are two schools, one in favour of centralization and the other in favour of autonomy, and the school which makes for centralization has made great strides through its clubs and associations and through the press—all this to promote the cause of imperial militarism. The last great war has given a fresh impetus to that cause. I know that on the other side of the House surrounding my hon. friend, the President of the Privy Council, there are gentlemen who are not very strongly in favour of the autonomy of the Dominion. Some years ago, I remember, my good friend from Brant (Mr. Cockshutt), speaking on the naval debate, used the following expression: "This country is sick and tired of the word 'autonomy'; it has been worked to death." What should interest us at the present time however are the words uttered by Sir Herbert Ames, the first to receive office under the League of Nations from the Canadian Government. I judge a tree by its fruit. Now, Sir, what must we think of the first clerk that Canada sends to the Bureau at Geneva when we bear in mind the following words used by him in regard to the autonomy of Canada? Speaking in 1913, Sir Herbert Ames, I find, made use of these words in the House of Commons:

> Autonomy, which was the slogan of the last century, has done its work, accomplished its purpose, and belongs to the last century. It does not belong to the Canada of to-day.

Mr. Speaker, may we not detect in this imperialistic policy a danger for our Canadian autonomy, when the first member appointed under the League of Nations by Canada expresses such contempt for autonomy, the basic principle of the British Empire? The issue is very clear. It is as between centralization and autonomy, as between Imperialism and Canadianism. I need not say that I stand for autonomy and for Canadianism as against centralization and all forms of imperialism. I recall what was said a few years ago by my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council, that Canada was perfectly free, under her present constitution, either to take part or not to take part in the wars of the British Empire. We have made progress and there has been a steady growth of Canadianism since the days when Canada was but a Crown Colony. Before Confederation, my father tells me how well he remembers having met in the streets of Montreal and of Quebec the red coats, the British officers and soldiers. They were the British Garrison, the Imperial troops. They left Canada at the time of Confederation. Sir John Macdonald, Sir George Cartier and the Fathers of Confederation made a bargain with the British authorities that henceforth Canada would defend her own territory, would spend for that purpose a sum amounting to in round figures $1,000,000, and that the whole defence of Canada both on land and sea would be undertaken by the Dominion herself. Under those conditions, the Imperial troops were withdrawn and since that time Canada has resolutely maintained the position that she should not be asked to sacrifice in any particular her rights of self-government, and should be permitted to say the extent to which she would participate in international conflicts. That has been the Canadian tradition, and I cling to that tradition. Before and since Confederation such was the tradition created and maintained by men whose names are household names in Canada—John A. Macdonald, George Etienne Cartier, Alexander T. Galt, Campbell, Charles Tupper and Wilfrid Laurier. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, speaking on this question in the House of Commons, said:

> If England is at war we are at war and liable to attack. I do not say that we shall always be attacked, neither do I say that we will take part in all the wars of England. That is a matter that must be determined by circumstances, upon which the Canadian Parliament will have to pronounce, and will have to decide, in its own best judgment.

And here again is the true Laurier Liberal Canadian doctrine:

> I am happy to say that upon this very question, if defence I needed, but defence I need not, I have my defence in the words coming from the lips of the leader of the Opposition, that under present circumstances it is not advisable to mix in the armaments of the Empire, but that we should stand on our own policy of being masters in our own house, of having a policy for our own purpose, and leaving to the Canadian Parliament, to the Canadian Government, and to the Canadian people, to take part in those wars in which to-day they have no voice.

The garrisoning of Halifax until 1905, and the garrisoning of Esquimalt until 1905 and 1906, was under the management of the Home Government, and the Canadian

Government, true to the tradition to which I have just alluded, then took over Esquimalt and Halifax, and the Imperial troops were replaced by Canadian officers and men. All this, Mr. Speaker, together with the creation of the Canadian navy in 1910, goes to show that Canada has been and is still anxious to preserve her rights of self-determination in military, naval, as well as trade matters. If the present policy propounded by my hon. friend (Mr. Rowell) yesterday is accepted, it is a complete reversal; it is a step backward and not a step forward. I mean the policy propounded by my hon. friend in so far as he insists upon the Parliament of Canada passing or approving this Covenant of the League without a reservation as to our rights as a Canadian Parliament under Article 10. That is what I mean.

Mr. ROWELL: I certainly must have failed yesterday to make my views clear to the House or to my hon. friend, for he has been arguing against a position which I did not present to the House at all. My hon. friend has been reading from an address delivered by me in Montreal in 1912 but in that address I said nothing about Canada's status which I do not absolutely stand by now. The position I then took was the basis of the discussion in the House yesterday. Nothing I said yesterday was inconsistent with it.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The country will read the hon. gentleman's speech of yesterday and compare it with the speech delivered when he was our leader in the province of Ontario, and will see that there is a great difference between them. That is to say my hon. friend in those days was a pure unadulterated Canadian, whereas yesterday he spoke as an Imperialist.

Mr. ROWELL: If my hon. friend would like a comparison to be made would he be good enough to read all I said in Montreal with reference to Canada's status and put it on Hansard, and then hon. members can make the comparison. I say the Liberal autonomist is still the Liberal autonomist; the reactionary is on the other side of the House.

An hon. MEMBER: Oh dear.

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend yesterday submitted to the House and to the country a speech in which, in my judgment —I may be altogether wrong, I do not claim to be infallible, but the whole trend of his argument supported it—he fabricated or manufactured a brief for the Imperialist jingo party for the next election. I may be all wrong, but I am sincere when I make this statement.

Some hon. MEMBERS: You are wrong.

Mr. ROWELL: While accepting the hon. gentleman's sincerity, will he allow me to say that I do not know anybody on this side of the House who wants a general election or who is concerned about formulating such a policy. I certainly never said anything which would justify the conclusions my hon. friend has drawn.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) has the floor, and he may not be interrupted except with his consent and to put a question.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have no objection to being interrupted because my hon. friend was himself subject to some interruption yesterday, and certainly did not object to it. But it is useless to play upon words. The speech delivered by my hon. friend yesterday differs absolutely from the speech he delivered some years ago before the Reform Club. My hon. friend has asked me to read that speech in full. Well, I would ask him if he was sincere in 1912, if he was sincere yesterday, to go to Toronto and to deliver there the same speech which he delivered at the Reform Club. I am afraid my hon. friend would not do it; he could not do it.

Mr. ROWELL: I delivered it at many other places and would be glad to do it again.

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend in 1912 spoke as a Liberal and as a Canadian. Yesterday he spoke as an Imperialist of the hardest type. At any rate his speeches are there. They can be compared, read and digested. My hon. friend stands forth to-day, in view of the altered circumstances in his case, as an advocate of the Curtis plan and the Milner policy, which is jingo Imperialist policy.

Mr. ROWELL: If my hon. friend will permit me? He is absolutely wrong. I have always been opposed to that policy. I was opposed to it in 1912, I am opposed to it to-day. If my hon. friend would pay any attention to what I said, he would see that my whole speech was absolutely contrary to that policy.

Mr. LEMIEUX: If the principles advocated by my hon. friend yesterday should triumph, what would be the result? He speaks of a continuous growth—not a growth towards autonomy, but a growth towards

centralization, thus taking away from Canada the rights she now possesses and transferring them to London. I said a moment ago that my hon. friend was nebulous. He is playing with words—take his magnificent distinction between a legal right and a constitutional right—and I say that the whole trend of his argument yesterday came to this: that there is a change in the affairs of Canada, a change in the Canadian tradition, and that today we are about to transfer the powers possessed by this Parliament to another body on the other side of the water.

We claim, Sir, that we should be governed in all matters by Ottawa, and not by London, except as provided for in the Constitution. I do not advocate the abolition of the right of appeal to the Privy Council, nor do I advocate the abolition of the office of Governor General. If you want a slogan for Canada on this question of our relations with the Mother Country, I will repeat the slogan of 1911: Let well enough alone; let us not be involved in the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom or in its foreign policy.

As I said a moment ago the Imperialists are all intellectuals.

An hon. MEMBER: Those are not.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Oh, yes, they comprise the ablest men—presidents of universities, newspaper editors, political economists. Remember, Lord Milner is not to be despised; he is one of the ablest men in the British Empire. Those Imperialists will try to foster their ideas and to implant their principles throughout the Empire by all sorts of methods and every combination and device possible. They will try to get some weak kneed Liberals to support their plan—indeed, they have secured the services of my hon. friend. By the establishment of Round Table clubs they have reached many young men of Canada. I have been approached myself, as have also many others, with the invitation: Come along; we want to help you Canadians. But once you sit around the table it is easy to realize, Sir, that the so-called true Imperialists will only be satisfied if Canada surrenders the rights she possesses. To-day it will be called a Scheme of Imperial Federation; to-morrow it will be termed a Britannic Alliance; another day it will be an Imperial Partnership; another day it will be Sister Nations of the Empire, or, as my hon. friend said yesterday, the Commonwealth of the Empire; but the same principle underlies all these combinations —it is always Imperial Federation disguised.

The Conservative party and, I might say, Canadians of all parties, have some regard for the opinion of the late Sir Charles Tupper. He was a good Canadian and a good Britisher, and in 1893, speaking in the city of Winnipeg, he used the following language:

> I am perfectly satisfied that a more unwise, a more injudicious, thing could not possibly occur to Canada than to change her Constitution in any radical respect whatever. We have a constitution that has stood the test of more than a quarter of a century and that I would not be willing for any representation in the Imperial Parliament or anything else to change in any material respect. We must ever retain the entire complete and independent management of our own affairs.

Mr. Speaker, the great political power of to-morrow in Great Britain will not be the Imperialist party, it will not be the party of Lord Milner, of Walter Long, of Bonar Law, in other words, the jingo party; it will be the Labour party. And what does the labour platform contain? That platform was launched a few months ago by its brilliant leader, Mr. Henderson, who used the following language:

> Like them,—the Labour Party—we have no sympathy with the projects of "Imperial Federation," in so far as these imply the subjection to a common Imperial Legislature wielding coercive power, (including dangerous facilities for coercive Imperial taxation and for enforced military service), either of the existing self-governing dominions, whose autonomy would be thereby invaded; or of the United Kingdom, whose freedom of democratic self-development would be thereby hampered; or of India and the Colonial Dependencies, which would thereby run the risk of being further exploited for the benefit of a "White Empire." We do not intend, by any such "Imperial Senate" either to bring the plutocracy of Canada and South Africa to the aid of the British aristocracy, or to enable the landlords and financiers of the Mother Country to unite in controlling the growing popular democracies overseas. The absolute autonomy of each self-governing part of the Empire must be maintained intact.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me say once more that I approve of the Treaty of Peace, and I approve the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations. I believe with Viscount Grey:

> Nothing but experience convinced individuals that law was better than anarchy to settle the relations between themselves. And the sanction that maintains law is the application of force with the support of the great majority of individuals behind it. Is it possible that the experience of this war will produce a settled opinion of the same sort to regulate the relations of States with each other and safeguard the world from war, which is in fact anarchy?

I believe in that liberal principle of a League of Nations backed by force in order

to enforce its decisions; but, Mr. Speaker, as a Canadian, subject only to Canadian law, to a Parliament elected by the Canadian people, I approve of the Treaty and the League, provided a reservation is made, that nothing in this act of mine shall impair or abridge the rights, or in other words, the autonomy of Canada.

At the Liberal convention which was held a few weeks ago in Ottawa, I seconded the following resolution, which was moved by a gentleman from Toronto, Mr. Gregory, K.C.:

> Resolved, that we are strongly opposed to centralized Imperial control and that no organic change in the Canadian constitution in regard to the relation of Canada to the Empire ought to come into effect until, after being passed by Parliament, it has been ratified by vote of the Canadian people on a referendum.

Mr. Speaker, I stand by the principle of that resolution. The Prime Minister of Canada has no right to attend, with some of his colleagues, a conference in London and there commit his country to any policy of centralization. The Canadian Parliament, representing the Canadian people, is entitled to know and to pass upon the policy which the Government intends to propound before that new body which is to be created in London.

I know that when any hon. gentleman on this side speaks of autonomy or of the constitution, at once he is met with the suggestion that he is overdoing it. If this Parliament was homogeneous; if there were but one race in this country, the English-speaking race, I would understand that such a discussion would be unnecessary. But we have in this country a majority and a minority, and I wish to impress upon my friends who belong to the majority that the minority, in whatever country it dwells, is ever jealous of its constitutional rights. No one should be surprised, therefore, if when a question of this kind comes before the House those who belong to the minority are anxious to be enlightened; are anxious that no cause of grievance be created; are anxious that no hasty change should be made. Any change from the minority's point of view implies a risk, and every risk for a minority is a danger.

I am a British citizen. I am proud of my citizenship; I would not exchange it for or traffic it with any other citizenship in the world; yet I am of French origin and of French blood. I appreciate the rights and privileges which I enjoy under the Union Jack. My hon. friend need have no craven fear that any one belonging to the minority, that I know of, would turn that flag down or would exchange his citizenship. The French Canadians are well aware of the fate that befell the French minority in the United States. When Louisiana was purchased by the United States there was a large French settlement in that state, but if one goes to New Orleans to-day he will find that if there is a French civil law it is interpreted before the courts in English. In the Louisiana Legislature there is no French language to speak of; the same applies to the courts of the land. So there is no one in our province who would support a movement in favour of annexation.

Oh, if it were only possible for us to understand each other! You, our friends from the province of Ontario, are often misguided. You misjudge your fellow men from the province of Quebec. Why should some of you attempt to bully them? Why do you not treat them with more consideration? The minority is always nervous; is always jealous of its rights and privileges, and there are causes of misunderstandings which should not exist. Do not always offer the cup of bitterness; offer the milk of human kindness. The war is ended now—gloriously ended from the Canadian point of view, from the British point of view. Our soldiers in the trenches have intermingled and have sung the song of love; why should we in Canada perpetuate the hymn of hate? Why should not the public men in the Government estop—I use the legal expression—the newspapers from abusing those who belong to the minority? Is our country, or is it not, an asset to the British Empire? Can we be an asset if, instead of being united, we are essentially divided ?

There is tabled before you, Mr. Speaker, the Treaty which was signed by the Great Powers with Poland. You have exemplified in that Treaty the basic principles which should guide Britishers and Christians all over the world—respect of the minority, respect of their religious, national and linguistic rights. You, men of the majority on this North American continent, are you afraid of five million people who speak the French language? You are over 110,000,000 speaking the English language; surely John Bull would stand his ground under such circumstances. I appeal again to the public men of this country; I appeal to the ministers of the Crown to put an end at once to that deplorable agitation which has been going on from one end of the country to the other since the beginning of the war.

Treat us as equals, because we are your equals. If we are to become, as we will, members of the League of Nations, let us first of all, before joining it, resolve to form a more essential League—the League of a United Canada.

Mr. W. F. COCKSHUTT (Brantford): Mr. Speaker, the motion that is before the House and the subject with which it deals are the most important considerations that have been submitted to the Parliament of Canada since Confederation. In discussing this matter I shall endeavour to stick as closely as possible to the subject in hand. I believe that it is big enough and important enough to call for our best consideration without our turning aside from it in any way to endeavour to make political capital for any party, or to give political bias to any of the things that are embraced in the Treaty.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Lemieux), who, with his usual eloquence, has occupied about one hour and three-quarters, has debated very few of the features of this great Treaty, and, therefore, he will, perhaps, excuse me if I do not follow the vagaries in which he has indulged, because I believe, when he reads that speech, he will come to the conclusion that it is not equal to the great occasion on which he spoke, nor does it uphold fully the ability that he has displayed on some former occasions on very much lesser subjects. I shall refer only to some two or three points that the hon. gentleman has made, believing that my time can be better occupied in endeavouring to elucidate in a humble way and from the standpoint of a business man some of the features comprised in the Treaty. The first remark that struck my observation, that I thought was worthy of note, was this, "that Canada had no treaty-making powers." I think those are the words of the hon. gentleman. It is true he uttered them before the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) came into the House, or I fancy his coat tail would have been pulled, and he would have been reminded that in 1911 the member for Shelburne and Queen's, accompanied by the then member for Brant and others, went to Washington and negotiated the reciprocity treaty because they themselves told us so, and throughout that election the reciprociy treaty it was called. Therefore, I think the hon. gentleman went somewhat afield when he said that we had no treaty-making powers. Nor was that the first occasion on which Canada made a treaty. Sir John A. Macdonald, twenty or thirty years prior to that, went down to Washington and negotiated what was called the Washington treaty, if my memory serves me correctly. It is true that this Treaty and all other treaties must receive the sanction of the Mother Country, but we had the power of negotiating them and the various matters that were dealt with in those treaties were put in by the Canadians themselves who went to Washington to negotiate them. I think I am speaking by the book, and I will call the attention of the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) to the fact that treaties have been negotiated before now by members of the Canadian Government.

The hon. gentleman has brought in several questions which, I say, have no bearing on the discussion, but I think I ought to refer to at least one or two of them. He has brought in the Irish question, and I wish the hon. gentleman would just listen to me for a moment while I show wherein, in his own speech, according to his own showing, he has transgressed his own doctrine. The Irish question, he says, should be settled by the Imperial Government before we, as a part of the British Empire, become a party to this Treaty, because it is a burning question, and he tells us he would settle King Carson right away. He did not tell us what he would do with Ulster, but I gathered from his speech that he would trample on the rights of Ulster with both feet, and King Carson would immediately be dethroned. How does that fit in with his closing remarks when he appealed for tender treatment to minorities? It shows that the hon. gentleman, when he is dealing with the minority in Quebec, as he calls it, has very tender feelings, but when he comes to deal with Ulster, which does not see eye to eye with Quebec in religious and other matters, he would put both feet upon its neck and trample it in the dust and dethrone King Carson. A fine piece of strategy on the part of the hon. member for Maisonneuve! A beautifully high, Christian principle which he would extend to the minority in Quebec but which he would deny to the good old country of Ireland! We have enough troubles on this side without indulging in the Irish question, and we have no more right to drag the Irish question into a debate on this Treaty than we have to drag in the treatment of the coloured races by some of the great powers which are also parties to the Treaty. We could soon get a long way off the Treaty, and I do not purpose being dragged in that direction. But

the hon. member for Maisonneuve ought to be more consistent, and when he appeals for tender treatment towards minorities, let him remember that all minorities do not dwell in Quebec; there are a few in Ireland as well and we think that they should be treated with the same consideration as the hon. member appeals for in the case of the minority in Quebec, in which case he may be quite right. Although I asked him how he would settle this question, he did not tell us how he would do so. He is not an Irishman—it is true, he has told us so. The British Government has said: If Ireland will decide what will settle this question, we shall be only too pleased to do it, but up to date there has been devised by neither the majority or the minority in Ireland anything that will settle this question. The hon. gentleman says that the King is good enough for him in this respect, and that he would let him settle it. Well, he refused to tell us on what principles he would let the King settle it, and if he were in power in Great Britain to-day, he could no more settle the Irish question than he can the school question between Ontario and Quebec, not a bit more. He may appeal for minorities and all that, using fine, high-sounding phrases, but when it comes down to hard pan, you cannot make the different elements amongst those very distinctive people in Ireland come together and live together in peace and harmony under one common rule. That has been tried for thirty years, and I, as an Imperialist as I have been called, would be willing to give of my substance and of my time for the next two or three years if I could help to settle what I believe has been a great bone of contention in the British Empire for a long time. But that is not a matter that appears in the treaty, and therefore, we should not discuss it. I do not purpose dealing with anything further that the hon. member for Maisonneuve has said. It is true that he has expressed in a few closing sentences some opinions with which I myself agree, and I shall endeavour to point those out as I go along in debating this treaty.

The war has come to an end and this treaty is proposing a basis on which a final settlement shall be made. In that respect the destinies of nations and of the civilised world rest within the four corners of this great agreement. I believe that this marks a new epoch in the history of Canada, in spite of what hon. gentlemen opposite may have said. Never before has a treaty of any kind between the nations of the earth been committed to this Parliament for its opinion. Never before have we been asked what our view is with regard to a compact into which we have entered. I for one say that this is a step in advance of anything that has ever before existed in this country and that we are privileged—and I hope we shall rise to the height of the privilege that it is—to give the very best of our knowledge and wisdom to the discussion of this great question.

In that respect I agree to a very large extent with what the Opposition has done so far. They have appealed for time and for information, and in my judgment this is so great a question that it should not be rushed through this House in two or three days if it is thought that two or three weeks would be better. We are asked to undertake obligations that are going to bind us and our children and our children's children as far into the future as we can see. We should therefore take every possible precaution to see that our rights and privileges are safeguarded in every respect. While I say that, I know that nothing I can say or that anybody else may say on the floor of this House can change one line of the Treaty. The Treaty is submitted to us simply for approval, or ratification, or adoption, or whatever you like to call it, but we cannot change one word in the Treaty without the permission of all the other powers that are parties to it. My friends opposite, I think, are suffering undue qualms of conscience with regard to what is buried in the signature that is asked. They seem to shrink from the responsibility of adopting or ratifying or approving this Treaty. Many of their fears I think are more or less groundless. We must at times take risks. On great occasions we must come to decisions, and come to those decisions fairly quickly, and I cannot see anything unreasonable in asking this House to set its approval on this Treaty. Perhaps I may make a homely comparison in order to make the matter more clear to hon. gentleman opposite. This is a most unusual session; the subject under discussion is a most unusual one; and we have some other very unusual conditions in the House. For instance, on the front benches of the Opposition some kind of treaty, or entente cordiale, or combination, has been arrived at between two great political powers, the hon. member for Cape Breton North and Victoria (Mr. McKenzie) and the hon. member for Shelburne and

Queens (Mr. Fielding), for the joint leadership of the Opposition. I do not know whether it is a treaty——

Mr. McMASTER: An organic union.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: —or an understanding or a union, but we are told that they have come together, and I presume that nobody on the back benches will deny that they are two great powers. There may be a convenant between them. It cannot be a League of Nations, but it is a league of two great powers. The question I would ask is: Has this agreement been sumbitted to the Liberal caucus? If so, did they ratify or approve or adopt it, or did they amend it? We have not heard, but we would like to know the terms of this union, because likely they are applicable to the Treaty under discussion. If you will attempt to conceive of what might happen at a Liberal caucus called for the purpose of considering the union of these two great political powers for offensive and defensive political work, I think you will have a good idea of what you are asked to do with regard to this Treaty.

Then you have fears for your autonomy. That is an awful word, as the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) has told us, and he has quoted my views from the naval debate of some years ago. I want to tell you gentlemen opposite that I think your autonomy is in danger right now, because whether this treaty that has been made between these two gentlemen has received the endorsement of the caucus or not we are told by the press that a king will shortly enter this House and will say to these two great powers: "Step to the right. Step to the left. Sit back. I am the king and leader of this great party." Why didn't you elect a president? Surely the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) who has announced himself as a great democrat, has overlooked the fact that he is going to be led by a King, when he might have had a democratic leader.

Mr. LEMIEUX: A King elected by Prince.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: My hon. friend has told us that he is a great democrat, and I, of course, believe what he says, because he is a man who speaks what he believes and testifies what he does know, and sometimes I think he testifies a little more than he knows. I think I have spent more time than I should have in trying to enlighten my friends opposite on what they are asked to do. They are asked to ratify or approve

of this treaty. I want them to understand that in my view, if this House ratifies the Treaty, we shall be bound by its provisions and shall have to live up to them. I am inclined to think that we shall have to live up to the obligations in the Treaty whether or not we ratify it. I am rather of the opinion that we shall have to.

The Treaty documents that have been put in the hands of hon. members are so voluminous and contain so very many important clauses that it is impossible for a layman of my calibre to attempt to elucidate any but a very few of the articles contained in the Treaty of Peace and the Covenant of the League of Nations. I have said on a former occasion, that I believe the mixing of the League of Nations with the Treaty of Peace was the greatest tactical mistake that the Conference could possibly have committed, and I say that again from the bottom of my heart. There is a difference of opinion with regard to the League of Nations, but there is no difference of opinion with regard to making a good sound treaty of peace with the enemy. I think the Treaty was big enough to be handled by itself, and the other matter would have been taken care of a little later on. However, that has not been done, and I, as a loyal subject of the Emipre, and I trust as a good citizen of the world, am going to back this Treaty and vote for its ratification even though I disagree with many of its provisions. I think some of its provisions are extremely dangerous and unworkable, but I am willing to give the Treaty the benefit of the doubt and defer to those who ought to know better, because I believe that in the long run this may prove to be a blessing to humanity.

The High Contracting Parties to the League of Nations were called together to achieve international peace by a lot of very high-sounding principles, which I cannot do better than read. They agree to achieve international peace and security.

—by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations.

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect of all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another.

These are idealistic, high-sounding phrases and are worthy of the best conception of the most enlightened nations of the world. With these articles I am in full accord. The original members of the League, etc., are then dealt with. The first serious objection I have to offer is to Article VII,

Clause 1, which provides that the seat of the League is to be established at Geneva. I am told, and I have seen in the papers, that this is to be changed, but there is nothing in the documents that are laid before the House to indicate this. If the Minister, who is present, will tell me that this change is to be made I shall be glad to learn the truth of it, but I should like to know in favour of what city the change will be made. In my judgment no decision has been arrived at, nor is any one in a position to state what city will receive the honour of being the seat of the League. I do not think that the League of Nations should have been housed at Geneva. Why do I say that? Geneva is the capital of Switzerland, a country which, during the war, never sent a man to fight, a country which was busy lining its pockets with the gold of its struggling neighbours. And I cannot conceive of anything that could have warped the judgment, as I think has been the case, of the powers that assembled to consider the terms of peace to such an extent as to lead them to place this permanent body in Geneva, when there were such cities as Brussels, the capital of a country that had suffered untold agonies during the war, and Paris, the heart of the most valiant nation that took part in the war, the nation that produced the good President Clemenceau, who in my judgment, is the most outstanding and brilliant figure of the whole war. If this Treaty is good we owe a very large dégree of its virtue to the "Tiger of France"—Clemenceau. I could not speak too highly in praise of his brilliant action throughout the war and in the negotiations for peace that followed. I believe he has had an immense effect upon what has been done; but unfortunately in some respects he was unable, by either voice, vote or influence, to carry the conference always in the direction it should have taken. I am not now speaking simply by book or from the four corners of the Treaty, but I have in my hands voluminous articles—far too large to be read to the House at the present time—which justify the opinions I express, which opinions are largely drawn from these articles. I think, however, I should be justified in stating that the Covenant of the League of Nations was incorporated in the Treaty largely at the instance of President Wilson and those who were associated with him in the United States and who to-day, it would appear, are the principal kickers against its contents. I deplore this situation, but we cannot overlook it and I think we are justified in requesting some information as to what is going to happen if this Treaty is carved up in the way in which the Ottawa Journal, no later than September 5, informed us it would be. This is what I read:

> Committee approves shell of Treaty but refuses to accept vital conditions.

This is the Senate Committee of the United States.

> Article 10 is repudiated in totality by Foreign Relations Committee of U.S. Senate—Also claims right to retire from League of Nations.

What follows?

> The Senate Foreign Relations Committee late yesterday finished its work on the Peace Treaty with Germany, and after adopting four reservations to the League of Nations Covenant, ordered the Treaty to be reported to the Senate with about two score amendments previously incorporated.

I would ask the hon. gentleman who is leading the House whether, should these two score amendments be introduced, the Treaty will come back to us in order that we may review and endorse or otherwise deal with the amendments that are injected by the United States Senate? Can this Treaty be unduly amended after it has been passed? We are told that we cannot amend a word, that we cannot dot an "i' or cross a "t". Is it possible that the United States, which has been the main sponsor of the League of Nations, should now be endeavouring to incorporate such a number of amendments? The report goes on to tell what some of the amendments are, and they are very important to us and should receive our grave consideration. They provide: "for the return of Shantung to China under the amendment of Senator Lodge to substitute China for Japan in the Shantung section;" " for withdrawal of the United States from representation on the numerous international commissions." This amendment was by Senator Fall, Republican, New Mexico, and involved about thirty-five textual changes.—"For limitation of the authority of American representatives on the Reparations Commission to act without direction of their Government except on shipping questions."

They provide, further—and this is what I want Canada to note " for equal voting power in the League Council Assembly of Great Britain and the United States." The United States proposes that it shall have equal voting power with Great Britain and all her Dominions. Now, if, as one or two gentlemen have said to-day, voting and influence should be decided in proportion to what has been done to win the war, surely it cannot be seriously contended that our

esteemed brethren to the south, for whom I have the very highest regard, should have as much to say about the Treaty as Great Britain and all her overseas Dominions that were in the war from start to finish and sacrificed millions as against the United States' hundred of thousands. It is invidious to draw distinctions of this kind, but when the Senate proposes that these things shall be done we cannot afford to ignore altogether what has been done by our neighbours in the United States. There are other important amendments, but time would fail me to deal with them all. However, I ask the Minister of Justice (Hon. Mr. Doherty), who is sitting here and will likely speak later, to tell us what will become of these amendments. Will they come back to this House after we have ratified the Treaty, or will they be rejected by the great Executive Council of the League of Nations? These are important considerations which we cannot afford to overlook. As regards the selection of Geneva as the headquarters of the League of Nations, I think, when we are talking of amendments, that this matter is a proper one for consideration, and the seat of the League, I submit, should be changed to any one of the great cities I have mentioned, such as Brussels, which was the heart of the storm; Paris, which also was almost in the centre of the storm; Rome, London, and even, yes, even Washington. These all have infinitely better claims to be the home of the League of Nations than has Geneva; for Switzerland never spent a dollar to help save civilization. I, for one, strongly protest against the selection of Geneva, and I understand that a storm of protest has been registered in Great Britain against it. I hear that the seat is to be changed, and in my opinion it cannot be changed too soon. We come next to Article 8:

> The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of Peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest points consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.
>
> The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.
>
> Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

That, I think, is a wise provision. I have no objection to it, and it seems to be a proceeding along the right lines.

Now I come to deal with clause 10 which has been such a stumbling block to members opposite and which seems to be more or less in the mind of every member of the House, and we want to know what it means. I as a business man, want to know what article 10 means, and though I have listened to this discussion, though I have read the speech of the Prime Minister and as many documents as I could possibly digest in the last few weeks in regard to it, I have not as yet reached any decision in my mind as to its meaning, and I think it is up to the Government or somebody else, to tell this House, before the Treaty goes through, what our obligations are in a military and in a naval way under that clause.

Mr. BELAND: Hear, hear.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: I am fully of that opinion. I am not saying this to injure the Treaty. I said I was going to support it and I want to see it go through. But we as business men, to whom this Treaty is committed, should investigate, should inquire, and should find out what article 10 means. I have told you that it presents one of the most wonderful ideals that the world has ever put down on paper. These ideals of the League of Nations, to preserve the benefits that man has received from the Christian religion, and from civilization ever since the world began down to the present time, are being crystallized in this Treaty and being put where nothing can harm them, but we want to know on what basis they are going to be defended.

The member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) in his closing remarks, which I think were a great deal wiser than the most of his speech, has just told us that if the League of Nations is any good and has any force it stands finally on the power that lies behind it——or, in other words, the amalgamation of the armies and navies that compose the forces at the back of the League of Nations. I think article 10 is worthy of serious debate, and I for one am not speaking with a view of making the slightest political capital for myself or for anybody else. I do not wish any individual, any government, or any cabinet minister, to be held responsible for any view that I hold with regard to article 10, but I say, in my judgment, that if the League of Nations has any backbone in it at all it is finally contained in the five or six lines composing the article referred to. First, you have moral suasion, then you have diplomatic interference. Later on you have economic pressure, and the exercise of all those arts of civilization

that are apt to bring a recalcitrant nation into line. But when all these have been tried without result, what is the final appeal? It may be said that it is unchristian, it may be said it is the old doctrine, but it is there in the Covenant just as truly as the English language can put it, in my judgment—it is "the big stick." If the League of Nations has any value, after it has tried all these expedients to bring the fractious nation into line, it has the expedient of telling them that if they are not open to reason, if they are not open to humanity's appeal, if they do not have regard for other nations, if they fail to understand all other arguments—then, "If you won't do it, we will make you." That is the good old doctrine that is as old as the hills, and that is going to stay with us, in my judgment, for all time in spite of our ideals—and I trust that my ideals in that regard are just as advanced as those of other gentlemen who may think I am giving utterance to a very heterodox suggestion. But I believe that, so far as the Scriptures themselves are concerned, they have taught us that when all these other things fail the final remedy is a sudden jerk-up:

> "He that being often reproved and hardeneth his neck shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy."

And there are many other passages in the Scriptures to the same effect. Now the League of Nations is replete with what I conceive to be pious opinions which are very beautiful, and pious observations which are very valuable, but in the few brief lines in Article 10 lies the crux of the whole situation, and in my judgment it means—and I repeat that I alone am responsible for what I am saying—that every nation that sanctions this Treaty will have to put up a certain amount of force to back it up later when it is required. My hon. friends opposite fear that that will be done without the ratification of Parliament. I cannot say whether it will be done with or without the ratification of Parliament, but if you are a member of the League of Nations as Canadians you will have to put up your share, or pay somebody else to put it up. That is my judgment and reading of Article 10, although that view may be all wrong. Can we escape our obligations? The argument of those gentlemen who shout so loud for Canadian autonomy, and shout so loud for Canadian nationality, and fail to realize that all these bring their obligations. I cannot understand. If we are a big enough nation to sign the Treaty we are a big enough nation to put up what is required of us, and we will have to put up the men and the money that our population and our resources call for as compared with the other thirty-two or forty-two, or whatever number it may be later on, signatories to the League. I see many defects about the League, but I hope it will work out all right. I do not want to see difficulties that I can avoid, but let us consider this supposition: Suppose, for instance, Germany is again the aggressor and France is the object of attack? France's forces have been limited to probably less than 100,000 men—I do not know the exact figures. Germany's forces have been placed at about 100,000 and they are only proportionately reduced. Suppose that France is again the object of attack. Where is the machinery contained in the League of Nations, or have any of the gentlemen who returned from overseas yet explained that point, to hold back the enemy while the League tells the different nations that compose the combination how quickly and how many men they are to get to the front? These are all questions that we must consider. France would be attacked and Paris would be entered before the United States forces could get over. You cannot get away from the possibility of future wars—they are there. I have here an article which deals very fully with this Treaty, and it makes the statement that Bonar Law, speaking six months after the armistice was signed, stated that there were twenty-three wars at present in progress. Twenty-three wars in progress six months after the armistice was signed! Then the League of Nations has got plenty of work ahead of it, and it is setting off in very stormy times; and if any gentleman on either side of the House thinks that we are in the position of using only moral suasion and reading texts of Scripture to those who threaten civilization, my own view is that they have another guess coming.

We are at the present moment up against the most unsettled conditions that the world has ever known. The Dark Ages of the past thousand or two thousand years contain no record of such atrocities as are at this moment being committed in Russia and in other countries of Europe. The League of Nations, I hope, will be able to control all these things, but it appears to me that they have got a very big task ahead of them, and that we who are expecting to escape with little or no obligation will find that our modest army, which was raised last session from 5,000 to 10,000, will look very little in the presence of some of

the difficulties which we shall be called upon to settle.

If any one connected with the Government can give me any other interpretation than I have placed on Article X, I will be only too pleased to hear it; but in my judgment it carries most serious obligations. Those obligations I am prepared to assume, but I want hon. members to know that I am signing with my eyes open—that I believe my signing implies my assumption of these obligations. I think the qualms that affected the hon. member for Kamouraska (Mr. Lapointe) yesterday are very well founded, and that whether or not Canada is a party to undertaking these obligations we cannot renounce them and remain as a constituent part of the League of Nations.

If the League of Nations means anything it means that all the civilized and enlightened Powers of the world are joining together to settle all difficulties with greater and lesser peoples by certain methods laid down within the four corners of that agreement. The principles are explicitly laid down, and probably for a time at least they will be lived up to to the letter; but I fear there is a rude awakening in the near future for many who think we have heard the last shot fired and seen the last battleship launched.

I do not want to be pessimistic, nor do I want to cast any cold water on the League of Nations or any other thing that will bring peace and happiness and unity to this war-stricken world; but I want to say that in my judgment we should not rest our faith on any broken reed, nor should we believe that once this great Treaty is signed all trouble is ended forever. I have said that the United States is largely responsible for the idea of the League of Nations. I believe it has received a good deal of encouragement in other countries, notably Great Britain; but, if I am credibly informed, a great many of those in Great Britain who have advocated the League of Nations have done so with a view to appealing to the good opinion of the United States rather than in any belief that it was the final settlement of the ills of the whole world. I hold in my hand a document written by one of the most able men in Britain, the Duke of Northumberland. He is a man of affairs; he was involved in the coal strike and had to deal with some rather obstreperous individuals He has given here some reflections on the League of Nations, and as a good Britisher, as I profess to be, and believing him to be also an equally good if not better Britisher than I am, I hope it will not be considered that I am endeavouring to do any harm to any feature of the Treaty if I read you a few of his reflections, which were published by him in England last month. This is what he says, in part:

> At last the public have been informed what the League of Nations really means. It was certainly time, for if the future system of international relations is to be founded on this principle, the public should have known all about it long before this. It is true that no opinion they may express upon it will affect the question, because there is no intention of submitting the decision to them . This seems somewhat strange, in view of what we have been told about the value of "open," as distinguished from "secret," diplomacy. Indeed, we are told that the great advantage of the League is that it is democratic; it will bring all the peoples of the world into touch with the foreign policy of their Governments, but the foundation on which that foreign policy rests is nevertheless a matter with which Parliament has no concern. If it had been left to the diplomatists to establish this system, the public might have been content to acquiesce, for, with all the faults of the old diplomacy, there is something to be said for the principle that "there is nothing like leather," but when the matter is left in the hands of a body of amateurs the public should be very chary of accepting their conclusions without exhaustive investigation.
>
> Many excellent people—

This is what I wish all those who look upon the Treaty as something ideal to listen to very critically:

> Many excellent people have greeted this scheme with enthusiasm, not so much from any conviction of its practical success as from a vague idea that there is a kind of ethical or religious principle involved in it.

Mr. McMASTER: Is there not?

Mr. COCKSHUTT: Yes, there is. I have already said that, and the Duke says that that is the reason people are favourably impressed:

> This idea has been fostered by the Church of England; many of its bishops, led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present and spoke at the meeting at the Albert Hall, have given it their enthusiastic support. If their action had merely consisted in showing their approval of any honest effort on the part of a stricken world to establish peace on a secure foundation, no criticism could have been directed against it; but they have gone much further than that, and their action really amounts to associating the Church with a political expedient. "At bottom," said the Archbishop, speaking of the League, "it was the fruit of the Christian faith." Now, with all due deference to the Archbishop, this League no more deserves that description than, say, the Roman Empire, which was certainly a far more efficient League and had nothing whatever to do with the Christian faith. The truth is, it is just as much a political device as is any other principle of foreign policy. It is not a whit more Christian than the principle of the balance of power. But, apart from this,

there is apparently, to judge from the phrases used, a vague notion that it is a means of achieving the Christian ideal. If this can be done by political means, what becomes of the Church's mission?

But, as a matter of fact, this policy is indistinguishable from that of the balance of power; both are based on the principle of combination against an aggressor. The only difference is that one is reasonably effective; the other is not. The fact that the supporters of the League claim, to quote Lord Robert Cecil, that it provides "machinery for the discussion of international labour questions, the improvement of health and hygiene, the protection of native races," the removal of abuses such as the sale of opium and of arms and ammunition, etc., is no argument for the League at all. All these results could be obtained perfectly well by improving our diplomatic machinery and holding periodical International Conferences. But it may be said, Why object to the League? It can do no harm—at least it points us to an ideal of brotherhood and closer co-operation between nations. The answer to this question is that the League would be harmless if it rendered us more, instead of less prepared for war in the future. Its supporters do not, of course, assert any such exaggerated claim as that it eliminates the danger of war, but they do assert that it will tend to remove the minor causes of conflict by a general improvement in the system of international relations, and that we shall be better prepared for war because we shall receive more notice when a danger arises, and the whole machinery of the League will be brought into play to avert it. But this argument really ignores the danger of a future attempt to dominate the world such as has been made by Germany.

The writer goes on at considerable length, and I would like to read the whole statement if time permitted, but I do not wish to weary the House, and so I shall read but another sentence or two:

The opponents of the League are accused of having no alternative to offer. As a matter of fact, the League has probably sacrificed a finer opportunity for establishing peace on a sure foundation than has existed at any previous period in history. The Entente Powers were, after the Armistice, absolutely supreme—they could have imposed any conditions both on enemies and neutrals. With a definite offensive and defensive alliance between Italy, France, Belgium, Holland and Denmark; with the British fleet securely established at the mouth of the Baltic and with Constantinople in our hands; with a combined, carefully thought out scheme of defence, of a line stretching from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier; with a definite guarantee of military support from Great Britain; with Germany deprived of essential requirements for the manufacture of munitions and materials of war; with the British fleet in a position to blockade every German harbour at a few hours' notice—the western Allies would at least have been secure for the next fifty years or more. Whether they will be so now is problematical.

These and other arguments as advanced by the Duke of Northumberland are, it appears to me, worthy of the very serious consideration of those who think that the British nation as a whole is fully in accord with the idea of a League of Nations.

I have dealt somewhat fully with this League of Nations because I believe it is the principal stumbling block in the way of ratification of the Treaty. As I say, in my judgment the Covenant of the League of Nations should have been dealt with separately. The Treaty of Peace with Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria could have been submitted to us many months ago had it not been for this League of Nations. Probably the Treaty of Peace would have been signed long ago and then the League of Nations, if it was to be gone into, could have been taken up later, the matter being given full deliberation and due regard being had to all the obligations entailed by the League upon Canada and upon every other country which would be a party to it.

Article 21 of the Covenant reads as follows:

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

That looks to me like a kind of mental reservation placed there for the purpose of appeasing an outcry that was being made by our neighbours to the South. It may be that it was justified, but I suppose every other nation could have submitted something concerning which they would like to have had special treatment. I do not approve of the mentioning of the Monroe doctrine ahead of any other doctrine that might be mentioned by any of the other signatories to this Treaty.

Here is what Article 26 says about amendments:

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whoes Representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

So that if amendments are submitted and adopted, any of the thirty-two powers who do not approve of the amendments must cease to be members of the League. It looks to me as if it will very soon be a dwindling League. It is quite possible to contemplate that in the not very distant future, Germany and associated powers, invited somewhat later on to enter the League, may be the main voting force in the League before it is finally destroyed—as I expect it will be, in time.

These considerations may cause a smile, but at the same time they are very serious. I hope that I have got at the bottom of the whole thing and that the worst is already known. I have tried to throw a little light on these few clauses and I am afraid that I have done so very feebly and very imperfectly. But regardless of what others might think or do, I was bound, in order to satisfy my own heart and conscience, to point out what I believed to be the difficulty in the way of carrying out this so-called League of Nations. If I am all wrong, so much the better; if none of these dangers exist in the League, I am only too glad to know of it. But I want it to go on record that though I am subscribing in full to the whole thing and want to see it go through, I do not want any undue haste. I do not want anybody to be able to say afterwards: I approved of the thing, but I did not know what was in it; I did not understand it. Until we know what is in it, therefore, until we feel that we understand it, we are justified in having a little discussion and in endeavouring to find out what everything in it means.

I trust that the Minister of Justice (Hon. Mr. Doherty)—because his colleague who has spoken (Hon. Mr. Rowell) has not given us any light—will tell us before this goes through exactly what our obligations are under Article 10. I do not think there is anything to be gained by holding anything back, because if you do hold anything back you will be accused later of not having given out what you knew. I take it that these gentlemen who have so ably represented us overseas do know what everything in this Treaty means. I am willing to give them credit for knowing every blessed thing that there is in the Treaty, and I do not think that they should hold anything back now that they are asking us to ratify it. I believe that this House and this country want to know every obligation that we are undertaking when we subscribe to the Treaty containing the Covenant of the League of Nations and all the other articles that are embraced in it.

If the Canadian delegation did nothing else than the one thing to which I am about to refer, their presence at the Conference was justified. In my judgment there has never been anything so hopeful in connection with the settlement of labour disturbances and labour unrest in the world as what has been accomplished by the insertion in the Treaty of Part XIII, which relates to labour. I am willing to throw up both hands and cheer loudly for those who are responsible for introducing into the Treaty the convention with regard to labour that was read in the House by the Prime Minister on the 2nd of this month and which appears on page 19 of Hansard. If the labour question is ever going to be settled, and I trust that it is, it can only be settled, in my judgment, by all the nations of the earth taking a hand. You cannot have a settlement of labour conditions in Canada when labour in all the other countries with which you compete is down-trodden and oppressed. You cannot give to Canadian labour the enlightened place it should take unless Britain, France, United States, all countries of the earth, have similar legislation with regard to their labour. Why do I say that? We cannot afford to pay high prices for labour in Canada and compete with every country in the world that pays low prices and sends goods into this country. Economically we cannot afford to do it; in justice to our labour market, we should not for a moment think of it. Therefore I say that when this labour convention is placed on an international basis, when workers throughout the whole world are considered as human beings—and they deserve the best that we can give them—light and hope and glorious comfort will come as a result of the introduction of this convention into the Treaty of Peace. I give all credit to our Canadian representatives who were very largely responsible for placing this provision in the Treaty. It is one of the finest things in the whole Treaty; it holds out more hope and gives promise of more comfort to the tired workers of the world than anything that has been done within recent generations.

Another criticism that I have to offer—and I am sorry that I am compelled to criticise and that I cannot bring to the attention of the House all the features of which I approve—is that the economic conditions and the size of the indemnity with which Germany is to be liberated are altogether too small. I do not purpose discussing what Canada is going to get out of this; I do not expect one dollar, because there are others that deserve thousands of dollars before we get one. When I look at ravished Belgium and war-rent France, and Poland, and Serbia, and Roumania, and all those devastated countries of Europe, I say I have not the heart to ask that we receive a dollar at the present time. But I think the nation that caused all this wrong, that has practically destroyed, for the time being, the civilization of the world and has set humanity back fifty or a hundred years, should have

been made to pay through the nose. But that has not been done. When Lloyd George was making his appeal to the British electorate in December last he said: "Those who started it" (the war) "must pay to the uttermost farthing, and we shall search their pockets for it." Did he do that? As I read this Treaty of Peace, the Allies have not begun to hit Germany as France and Belgium have already been hit. The first estimate that was brought in was £1,000,000,000 of damages that Germany might pay; optimists placed the amount at £2,000,000,000, while even the German representatives themselves admitted that they might pay £5,000,000,000. No paying through the nose there. No "searching their pockets for the uttermost farthing." In my opinion Germany should be made to restore, first and foremost, every bit of damage she has done to Belgium and France. She should not have been let off. This may not be Christianlike, but it is business. In my judgment Germany should have been made to suffer in the same way as the Germans have made other nations suffer and in a way that cannot be rectified in generations. Further, the economic terms provide only that this shall continue, I think, until 1951, or during the life of the present generation. He is an optimistic man who will admit that France or Belgium will be restored within one generation. Why should Germany escape entirely at the end of one generation when other nations which have suffered will be enduring this for perhaps three or four or five generations and we ourselves in Canada will be carrying a war debt and paying the interest on a war loan long after the first generation of Germans who are to escape have passed away. No one can doubt that. And, in my opinion, the economic conditions are also too lenient. I have not time, as I say, to read the various conditions that are imposed, but I want to draw attention to the fact that Germany undertakes to let all the Allies into her country with their wares and goods without any discrimination. It might be well to point out that the Peace Conference did not see fit to penalize Germany to the extent of punishing her by imposing free trade upon her. That would have been too hard, I judge. So Germany was let off and she has only to allow goods in at the same rate as she does in the case of the favoured nations of the world with which she may be more friendly. It would have been a harder punishment if Germany had been compelled to submit to free trade for ten or fifteen years, and I should like to have seen that done, but that has not been done, and Germany, in my judgment, has escaped altogether too lightly. While that cannot be rectified now, and while we cannot very well ascertain at the present time how the indemnity is going to be apportioned amongst the various nations, we trust that Germany will be made to pay for all the damage she has wilfully done. She would never have done that damage if she had not thought she would be the winner, because Germany always makes the loser pay, and pay hard. Now that she has lost out after all this blood and carnage and destruction it seems to me it has been a comparatively feeble thing to allow Germany off as cheaply as she has been allowed off under these terms. We are not out after money, but we are out to punish those who caused the wrong. We are told that they are going to be tried by a tribunal; that the murderer of Edith Cavell and the murderer of Captain Fryatt and others are going to be placed on trial. Whether those trials will take place or not I do not know. We are also told that the Emperor of Germany himself shall be tried, and what his sentence will be, nobody can tell. I for one never did hold him totally responsible for all that happened. He was surrounded by a number of war lords that he probably could not control, and whether the trial of him even in Great Britain would lead to a satisfactory sentence from the standpoint of humanity, I am not prepared to say. I do not believe that personal punishment upon the Kaiser would do very much good, but the pangs of conscience that he must suffer when he views the blood and tears of millions staining the land of France and Belgium and all the other ravaged countries—if anything can reach the heart of man that will give him sufficient punishment, I think he has it there. I would take him over those districts, and if he has not seen them, I would let him see them. I would let him see the widows and orphans that he has caused and show him that he and all his war lords, with their blood-thirstiness and their avarice for wealth and world-domination, have brought a sea of trouble to people who are more innocent and better living people than they. That, in my judgment, would be probably the most bitter punishment that could be administered to a man with a conscience and a mind that is not entirely filled up with offence. I do not thirst for the blood of the Kaiser, nor do I think the trial of as proposed in London or anywhere else will appease any great

number of the population of the earth; but when we think of all the destruction that has been caused and all the outrages that have been committed during this war, I, for one, think that punishment of a fitting nature should be meted out to every one of those high in authority who can be proved guilty of such gross outrages on a long-suffering humanity, such as the sinking of the Lusitania, with its innocent thousands on board, or the deaths that I have referred to, and the hundreds and thousands that have been killed in air raids who had nothing whatever to do with the war and whose taking off could have no effect whatever on its outcome. In my judgment all these acts call for punishment—not vengeance but punishment of a kind that they who committed these outrages can understand; for there are certain classes of punishment that the ordinary German does not understand. Therefore I would hit him in the pocket, because that is the most sensitive part of his constitution. I would hit him also for the brutal outrages that were committed in the name of war necessity, and which were no more necessary and could no more be justified than taking the life of a new-born babe. These acts call for condign punishment. Though I have not mastered all the provisions in the Treaty for the punishment of these people, I trust that the punishment will be good and proper, and that these people will be put in their places.

I close these few imperfect remarks by saying that I look upon the ratification of this Treaty as the most serious step we shall ever be called upon to take as long as we live. I look upon this occasion as the most momentous which the Canadian Parliament has ever faced. I recognize that the Treaty carries obligations that bind us and our children, and will continue to bind us as long as the Treaty exists and we are members of the League. But, as the Treaty has gone as far as it has, although I have many misgivings as to its final success, I am willing to accept the League and advocate the ratification of this Treaty by this House. Though I recognize it as an experiment, as the most gigantic experiment that the world has ever tried, I heartily wish it Godspeed and every success; and if any act of mine, or any prayers of mine, can help to make this Treaty a success and bring the blessings to the world that are foreshadowed here I would regard it as a glorious privilege. I appeal to my friends opposite not to make this a party question. I am in accord with a great many of the things that have been said on the other side of the House, but I am going to support the Treaty because I cannot see that there is anything else that we can do. I do not think my hon. friends opposite can rightly do anything else. I want to see the House stand united on this Treaty, While we may wish to make mental reservations, or even written reservations, it is not permitted for us to do so at this stage. Therefore, I ask hon. gentlemen to take it on faith, the same as I am doing, and with their voice and vote and work help to make this Treaty the grand success that President Wilson and those associated with him expect it to be, so that the world may rise to a higher and better plane, and Christianity and civilization and the rights of the weak may prevail. I ask you gentlemen not to make any party capital out of so great a question, but when this question comes to a vote, vote on it not simply as a national question but one of international importance that will have the most far-reaching effects on every country in the world.

[Mr. Cockshutt.]

On motion of Mr. L. J. Papineau, the debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned at 6 p.m.

Thursday, September 11, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

ADULTERATION AMENDMENT ACT.
(Bran and Shorts.)

Mr. DONALD SUTHERLAND (Oxford S. Riding): Moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 7, to amend the Adulteration Act (respecting bran and shorts or middlings).

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Explain.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: The object of the Bill, Mr. Speaker, is to prevent what has become a common practice, more particularly on the part of the large milling companies of Canada, namely, the adulteration of bran and shorts or middlings by adding thereto an enormous quantity of both ground and unground weed seeds, which is permissible under existing legislation, although entailing heavy losses annually on those engaged in raising and feeding live stock, and in agriculture generally.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

WAR INDEMNITY—CANADA'S SHARE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): I would like to call the attention of the Government to a despatch which appeared in yesterday evening's city papers, purporting to be from Australia and having reference to the indemnity to be paid to that Dominion by Germany. The despatch is dated Melbourne, September 1, and is in this form:

> Premier Hughes has informed the members of the Australian cabinet that if Germany makes the first indemnity payment by 1920, Australia's share will be ten million pounds sterling.
>
> When the indemnity was fully paid, he stated, Australia's share would be nearly sixty million pounds sterling.

Is the Government in a position to inform the House whether that is a correct statement or not, and if it is, how does Canada's share in regard to indemnity correspond with that which is claimed for Australia?

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): I am not in a position, of course, to express any opinion as to whether Mr. Hughes' estimate—as I assume it to be—of the amount of indemnity which Australia may ultimately receive is or is not accurate. I presume that he based his estimate upon such claims as he may have knowledge that the Government of Australia contemplate making, and which he anticipates would be allowed, and likewise upon such reliable knowledge as he may believe himself to be in possession of as to the claims which will be established by the other Allied and Associated Powers, and the consequent portion which might equitably be allotted to Australia. This is the only method by which I can see he is able to arrive at the figures mentioned. Of course, as I say, it is quite impossible for me to express any opinion as to the accuracy of his method.

GREAT WAR VETERANS—GRATUITY CLAIM.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. CHARLES G. POWER (Quebec South): I would like to call the attention of the Government, and particularly the attention of the Minister of Militia, to a despatch which appears in the Ottawa Journal this morning. It purports to be from Hamilton, Ontario, and is headed:

> Currie favours a Commission for Veterans. Believes their appeal for body to deal with gratuity should get Government consideration.

It goes on to say:

> I believe the veterans' reasonable appeal to have their demands for an additional gratuity dealt with by a commission should receive consideration.

And further:

> Regarding the additional gratuity, however, I will in the near future make known in more detail my views on the matter.

I would like to know whether General Sir Arthur Currie, Inspector General of the Military Forces of Canada, is speaking for the Militia Department or is reflecting the mind of the Minister of Militia when he makes that statement.

Major-General MEWBURN (Minister of Militia): I have not seen the article in question; I am not aware of what statement General Currie made. He has, no doubt, as all good citizens have, the interests of the returned soldier at heart. He is expected in Ottawa to-morrow, and I shall call his attention to the matter. He certainly could not have in mind that he was reflecting the views of the Government or of myself, because I have not discussed the matter with him nor have I had an opportunity of doing so.

Mr. J. A. CURRIE (North Simcoe): Mr. Speaker, I desire to notify the Government that I will on Monday next move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the question of gratuities to soldiers and their dependents.

Mr. McKENZIE: With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I wish to read a despatch which I received this morning and which I have been requested to read in Parliament. It is dated at Bracebridge, Ontario, September 10, 1919, and addressed to me at Ottawa:

> Be good enough to express on the floor of the House of Commons to-day the emphatic protest of the Liberals of the Province of Ontario against Sir Robert Borden's refusal—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. It is not competent for any hon. member upon the Orders of the Day being called, to read any document or to make any statement which calls in question any action of the Government.

Mr. McKENZIE: Well, I am not permitted to read the telegram.

CANADIAN SHIPS REGISTRY.

TRANSFER OF CANADIAN OWNED SHIPS TO CANADIAN REGISTRY.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. N. W. ROWELL (President of the Privy Council): The leader of the Opposition

(Mr. McKenzie) yesterday asked me if I could give any information whether ships not British, which were under charter to Canadian companies, and which were commandeered by the British Government, will be returned to the former charterers, and I promised to inquire and make answer to-day. The question doubtless refers to ships owned in Great Britain and registered there, under long-term charter to Dominion Coal Company. These ships were requisitioned during the period of the war by the British Government. Immediately following the termination of the war, representations were made by the Canadian Government to His Majesty's Government, requesting that these vessels should, with the least possible delay, be returned to the chartering company. In a despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General dated 26th June, the contents of which despatch were communicated to the House of Commons by the Prime Minister on 1st July last, and may be found in unrevised Hansard at page 4477, it is stated that of the five vessels in which Dominion Coal Company are interested, three have been released from requisition and returned to the owners, and the remaining two are to be released as soon as present cargoes are discharged. It is understood that these two were undergoing extensive repairs, and if they have not already been released to the owners, they will be as soon as they are ready to be placed in commission. We have not heard that they have not been released.

THE DEBATE ON THE PEACE TREATY—

DISCUSSION ON THE PROCEDURE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): I should like to say just a word about the procedure in connection with the matter which is at present the main subject of debate in the House, the Peace Treaty. The other day a request was made that at some period before the discussion on the resolution was concluded the House should go into committee upon it, and the Prime Minister expressed his willingness to meet that desire. Apart from that desire and the willingness to meet it, it is, of course, not necessary that there should be any committee stage on this resolution. That being the case, unless the desire which has been expressed still persists, it appears to us that we should not interrupt or curtail the debate for the purpose of putting the resolution into committee. If, on the other hand, the desire to which I have referred still persists, we, of course, would be willing, at such a time as may be found convenient by the House, to meet that desire.

Mr. McKENZIE: The understanding between the Prime Minister and myself was that we should finish to-day the business in connection with this resolution. No particular time was assigned one way or the other, in respect either of the discussion before the Speaker or of the discussion in committee. My own view is that we should get into committee as soon as possible, when all members have spoken who wish to speak at this stage, and devote as much time as we can to the resolution in committee. I am not, of course, in a position to say when the committee stage will be reached.

Mr. PECK: I would like to ask, Mr. Speaker, by what right two men in this House, the leader of the Government, and the leader of the Opposition, come to an arrangement as to the time when this discussion should close, without doing their followers the courtesy of referring the matter to them? This is the most momentous question that has ever come before this House: it has to do with the greatest event that has taken place in the world since the birth of Christ. Unless there is some strong reason why we should get through—and if there is, the members of the House should have been consulted with regard to it—I do not see why this debate should be curtailed. After all, we are sent here to represent our constituents and to express such humble views as we may have on these questions. I would like to know, therefore, whether there is some authority with which I, as a green member, am not familiar under which these debates can be concluded at a certain time upon the arbitrary decision of the leader of the Government and the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. SPEAKER: The question is of course entirely in the hands of the House.

Mr. McKENZIE: I may say that I took the best terms I could get from the Prime Minister.

Mr. DOHERTY: I should like to have it clearly understood that in the making of the arrangement there was no purpose of curtailing the liberty of debate, more especially no purpose or intention of preventing hon. members from having opportunity of discussing as fully as they might desire the terms and conditions of the Treaty.

But there was this very important consideration; the Treaty will not be ratified until the Government of this country is in a position to advise His Majesty upon that subject. Prior to giving that advice, the Government have submitted the Treaty for approval by the Parliament of Canada.

Mr. DENIS: I rise to a point of order. I understand that every member must speak to the Chair. It would give us a great deal of comfort if the hon. gentleman would speak to the Chair so that we may be able to hear him.

Mr. DOHERTY: Mr. Speaker, I was under the impression that I was speaking to the Chair, though for the moment my face was turned in another direction. I trust that Mr. Speaker will appreciate the fact that no discourtesy was intended to him. I have, of course, every desire to make myself heard.

It was because of the necessity of enabling the ratification of the Treaty to take place at as early a moment as possible that this arrangement was arrived at as to the disposal of this resolution.

I might add that there will be full and ample time for the most complete discussion of the treaty, on the Bill which has been introduced into this House for the purpose of conferring upon the Governor in Council the necessary power to give effect to that treaty. There was not and is not any desire to curtail the liberty of debate, and, moreover, as the Speaker has said, the matter is, of course, in the hands of the House. I think, in so far as that latter observation is concerned, it would be well that members of the House should bear in mind the importance of promptitude, consistent always with fair consideration in dealing with this particular matter. That the treaty should be promptly ratified is of great importance by reason of the fact that it will become effective as determining all the delays provided for in the treaty, from the time that it has received the ratification of Germany and three of the great powers. The British Empire, of which we are one of the constituent nations, is one great power to be counted amongst those three, and it is important, in order that we, along with the rest of the world, may begin at the earliest possible moment to benefit by the further proceedings that may be carried on, that we should not retard that ratification by the British Empire of which we are a part. I understand the United Kingdom is in a position to act, and I think, other nations as well.

Hon. Mr. FIELDING: I have no particular views on the point of procedure which has just been referred to, but I am afraid I shall have to take exception to the suggestion of my hon. friend (Mr. Doherty) that this treaty can be discussed in committee when the Bill is before us. The Bill does not ratify the treaty; the Bill deals with matters of detail, and I believe any hon. member raising the question can succeed in establishing that you cannot discuss the treaty in committee on the Bill. The treaty will then have been dealt with and approved, and you can discuss only matters contained in the Bill itself. I have no particular complaint to make, nor point of procedure to take exception to, but I question whether my hon. friend's suggestion will be found feasible.

THE PEACE TREATY.

DEBATE RESUMED ON THE MOTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER TO APPROVE OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

The House resumed consideration of the following proposed motion of Sir Robert Borden, adjourned from September 10:

That it is expedient that Parliament do approve of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany (and the Protocol annexed thereto), which was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth day of June, nineteen hundred and nineteen, a copy of which has been laid before Parliament, and which was signed on behalf of His Majesty, acting for Canada, by the plenipotentiaries therein named, and that this House do approve of the same.

Hon. WILLIAM STEVENS FIELDING (Shelburne and Queen's): I believe, Mr Speaker, that the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers on the one side and Germany on the other, which Treaty we are invited to consider, is in the main a good Treaty. It has been described by some one, I am not sure by whom, as being next to the Holy Scriptures, the grandest document in human history, and there is something in its character to justify the description so given. That there should be some dissent from some of the provisions of the Treaty is certainly not a matter of surprise. If we have regard to the vastness of the problems with which the Treaty deals, if we have regard to the many rival and conflicting interests with which it had to deal, to the efforts required to reconcile those differences, the wonder is not that there is still some difference but that the statesmen who were assembled around the table at Paris were

able to find, in so large a measure, an agreement upon that which they had under consideration.

As to the Covenant of the League of Nations, which forms a part of the Treaty, while it would be too much to say that it is not open to some criticism, and possibly some reservations, I think we should all regard it also as a noble effort to put an end to the horrors of war and to give to a distressed world the blessings of peace. I have no hesitation in saying that the statesmen, whoever they were, who had any active part in bringing about the completion of the Treaty, including the Covenant of the League of Nations, have rendered a service for which they deserve the thanks of the civilized world.

But we are discussing in this debate not merely the merits of the Treaty itself. The debate has taken a wide range, and we have been spending a good deal of our time in discussing the policy of the Government regarding the Treaty, and particularly the claim that they have made that, by this Treaty, and by the proceedings in connection with it, there has been a great advance in the constitutional status of Canada. That aspect of the question obliges me to express some dissent. I want to speak for myself alone, for I shall not be surprised if some of the views I may have occasion to utter will not altogether be endorsed by hon. gentlemen on either side of the House; but one must call a spade a spade, and it is my emphatic judgment that the whole policy of the Government in relation to the Peace Conference and in regard to the proceedings which they are now asking us to engage in is a colossal humbug, designed to impose upon an innocent Parliament and to bamboozle a too-credulous people, who have been led to believe that our statesmen who went over to Paris did some Canadian business, a belief for which there is no foundation whatever. It is my judgment that it was not necessary for our representatives to go to Paris under the terms and conditions which took them there. It is my judgment that the present procedure for ratifying, or approving if the word is preferred, this Treaty, is entirely unnecessary, and, therefore, I am unable to treat the situation with the gravity which some hon. gentlemen have been attaching to it.

Let me guard against a mistake. If any man in this House or out of it says that I am content that the interests of Canada shall at any time be disposed of by men who are not representatives of Canada, he will be saying that for which there is no foundation whatever. Whenever there are Canadian interests at stake, I shall be found standing for the vindication of those interests, for their representation, before any tribunal which may be called to deal with them, by Canada's proper and responsible representatives, the ministers of the Crown, or by men chosen by the ministers of the Crown. If the question under consideration is one of our Imperial relations, one within our own family circle, I shall be among the foremost to insist on the maintenance of the autonomy of Canada; I shall be among the foremost to claim that we shall uphold and adhere to every constitutional right that has been won for Canada by the efforts of our statesmen who have passed away. If a question is to arise in relation to some foreign country, I shall be prepared to maintain, as in the past, that in the treatment of that question Canada shall be represented by responsible ministers of the Crown, or somebody chosen by them. In these two cases, the one of our own Imperial relations, the other as to our relations with a foreig. country, wherever there is a real interest of Canada at stake, I want Canada to be represented by the ministers of the Crown, the chosen representatives of the people. When there is something going on in which Canada has no interest, when there is something in which Canada, if she has an interest at all, has only that remote interest which comes to every citizen of the British Empire, an interest which we share in common with our respected fellow-citizens of the Fiji Islands, when there is that kind of a question or a group of questions to be considered, I would not waste the time of four ministers of the Crown and a great deal of public money in having the representatives of Canada try to deal with such questions. In short, I would have Canada represented, and adequately represented, when there was any Canadian business to be done; I would not be over anxious to have her represented when there was no Canadian business to be done, and the latter seems to me to have been largely the situation with regard to the proceedings in connection with the Peace Treaty.

There is a sentiment in this matter, I suppose, as well as facts, and the two should be considered. I do not undervalue sentiment; far from it. Noble sentiments move men to noble deeds, and very often there are times when we may put aside all other considerations and be moved by high and noble sentiments. But sentiment is only of value when it can be harmonized with

facts. When sentiment runs up against cold facts it does not weigh very much. Now there are some cold facts in connection with the Peace Conference which we should consider. There is one great basic underlying fact that I am anxious that this House and the country should absorb, because it is the foundation of my contention, and that underlying basic fact is that there was no business of Canada before the Peace Conference at Paris. Our representatives first went to England. That was quite right. The British Government had given the assurance that the Dominions would be consulted when the time for peace-making approached, and it was a very proper undertaking for the British Government to give. Undoubtedly it was the right thing for our ministers to go over to England and discuss the matter fully with the British Government, but when they found that there was no Canadian business coming before the Conference I do not think it was a wise policy to press for representation, especially for representation separate and apart from the British Empire. We had some little discussion of the matter last year when I presented a little evidence, as I think Hansard will show, of how our delegates were obliged to spend their time over there. Let no man say for a single moment that I am desiring in any way to undervalue the talents of our representatives over there, still less, that I desire to belittle them. It would be a silly thing to do, and the man who would attempt it would only succeed in belittling himself. The gentlemen who represented Canada are eminent public men of unquestioned ability and large experience in the public life of this country, and if there had been any Canadian business to do they would have done it. They did not do any Canadian business, through no fault of their own, but simply because there was no Canadian business to do. The evidence which I was able to submit to the House last session went clearly to show that these gentlemen had the greatest difficulty in filling in the time; they did not know quite what to do. There were a number of committees appointed on a variety of subjects, and the managers of the Conference distributed our friends over these committees and their names were published in the press. There was a system which I mentioned to the House last year of what one of the delegates expressed as "eyewash," which meant that with nothing to do they were making an effort to lead the public to suppose they had something to do. That was all set forth in the House last session. It had a humorous side then, but time, experience, and this Treaty now show that those statements were substantially correct. These gentlemen did not do anything concerning Canada, not because they had not the ability—they had it—not because they had not the desire—they had it—but because there was absolutely no Canadian business coming before that gathering.

Mr. C. W. PECK (Skeena): I would ask the hon. gentleman if the sacrifices we made in the field, and the 55,000 dead we left in the fields of France and Flanders, did not give us the right to say something about the conditions of the Peace that was to be concluded?

Mr. FIELDING: If there were any Canadian interests in the world affected there would be no question of our right. The sacrifices that were made by the 50,000 or 60,000 Canadians now lying on the fields of the Continent would give us a claim to any position that we want in considering the affairs of the nation, but they do not give us a claim to make ourselves ridiculous by undertaking to deal with things of which we know nothing.

Mr. H. B. MORPHY (North Perth): Does the hon. gentleman pretend to say that the Canadian people have no interest in the peace of the world?

Mr. FIELDING: We are a part of the British Empire, and I desire that we shall always remain so, and I therefore regret the policy of hon. gentlemen in pleading for separate recognition apart from the British Empire. By their demand for separate recognition apart from the British Empire they are beginning—they may not have meant it so—to break up the British Empire. There is no question of our rights as within the Empire to participate in all its deliberations. We have in the representatives of the British Government in London statesmen who would take due account of the interests of the Empire at large. I again say that upon any point where Canadian interests were particularly affected it would be desirable that we should have special representation, but when there was no Canadian business before them, when no Canadian interests were affected, I say it was not wise for us to insist upon having representation of Canada when there was really nothing of importance from a Canadian point of view for our representatives to consider.

Mr. J. H. BURNHAM (West Peterborough): Would my hon. friend object to our

representation if the Old Country had asked for it?

Mr. FIELDING: I should like to have the correspondence before answering that question.

Mr. BURNHAM: I will produce it.

Mr. FIELDING: If there is any such correspondence I am sorry it was not brought down by the responsible ministers of the Crown. I am sorry that my hon. friend, who now appears to be on the cross benches, should be the medium through which we are to get the information that the minister of the Crown should have brought down.

The right hon. the Prime Minister—and no one regrets more than I do that owing to illness he has not been able to be here during the debate—has been such an important factor in the whole business that we would all naturally desire him to be present, and if it were not for the understanding that the debate is to close to-day I should not be speaking to-day; not that anything I might say would be any the better or worse for his being present. But I would prefer him to be present.

The Prime Minister undertook to give us an explanation of the character of the business which engaged the attention of the delegates. I do not know that it was necessary that he should do so. As I have already said, we know that our representatives have intelligence and ability, and I am sure that in any body with which they might be brought in contact their intelligence could offer some useful suggestions, but that would be the poorest reason in the world for undertaking to deal with large matters that do not concern us. However, the Prime Minister gave us some explanation of what they had been doing. In the first place, with a larger draft than usual upon the first personal pronoun, he told us of the part they had taken in various matters, beginning with the part he had taken in regard to the labour question. The labour question is the world's widest problem; it is a problem which everywhere creates so much trouble that I never like to object to any effort that is made by any man who thinks he has a means of bringing peace as against the industrial war that is so widespread. I am not complaining that the Prime Minister should do whatever he could in that direction. At the same time I would remind him of this, that after all, his labour resolution is a pious opinion of what ought to be done. We have had excellent arrangements from time to time as between labour and capital but we could not get labour to accept them and work under them. I hope we shall be more successful in this case. I hope that the project to which the right hon. gentleman referred will be successful in settling some of these problems, but I think it would be going rather too far if it is his intention to have us imply that, had he not been there, this thing would not have been brought about. The right hon. the Prime Minister is in some sense a representative of labour. Well, so am I. We are all in a measure representatives of labour. But there were men over there who were better representatives of labour than the Prime Minister. There was Mr. Barnes, the Labour representative of Great Britain; and, though he was not a member of the Conference, there was that very eminent labour representative of America, Mr. Samuel Gompers. Are we to be gravely told that, with Barnes and Gompers looking after the labour question, if the Prime Minister of Canada had not been there nothing would have been done? Are we to be gravely told that, with those Labour men present, who would undoubtedly see that the labour question was properly dealt with, nothing satisfactory would have been accomplished if our respected friend the Prime Minister had failed to attend? I have the greatest respect for the intelligence and ability of the Prime Minister, but I most respectfully submit that if he had never gone there at all, Barnes and Gompers could have been safely trusted to safeguard the interests of labour. Then the right hon. gentleman gave us some further information as to what they had been doing. He told us that he was vice-chairman of a committee on Greek questions. Well now, you can see, Sir, how important that was. Greek questions are no doubt important. But is any sane man going to contend that it was necessary for our friend the Canadian Prime Minister to go over there to look after Greek questions? Surely, Mr. Speaker, surely, sanity will not encourage that view. Then we come to my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works, who was then Minister of Customs (Hon. Mr. Sifton). The Prime Minister explained to us that that hon. gentleman was chosen as vice-chairman, I think he said, of a Committee on Ports, Waterways and Railways—a very interesting subject certainly. But stop! They were not Canadian ports; they were not Canadian waterways; they were not Canadian railways. From beginning to end of about sixty long clauses which relate to

ports, waterways and railways, in the responsibility for which my hon. friend shares, there is absolutely no reference whatever to any Canadian port, waterway, or railway. Surely, then, it was not necessary for us to send a delegation over there to arrange about railways, ports and waterways in which we were not particularly concerned. There is not a word about the port of Montreal, although there is a good deal about the port of Hamburg. There is no reference to the port of Quebec, or of St. John, of Halifax, Vancouver or Victoria; but there is reference to Hamburg and Dantzig. In all reason, was it necessary for us to send over representatives to arrange about the waterways of the Danube? There is no reference in this Treaty to the noble St. Lawrence.

Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN: Will my hon. friend permit me a question? Were we not as Canadians interested in the ports of Hamburg and Dantzig?

Mr. FIELDING: Yes. The only interest we have in them is one which would certainly have been adequately protected by the British statesmen, and that interest is that we should have free access to them. But there is no provision that Canada should have any particular access to them. Will my hon. friend suggest that if Sir Robert Borden had not gone over, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando would not have taken the greatest care to ensure that there was no discrimination against them?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I merely suggest this, that where Canada as Canada has interests, even though other nations have the same interests, our interests should be looked after by those who represent this country and are responsible to it, and not by those selected by any Parliament or people not answerable to us.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Is that a question?

Mr. FIELDING: I do not object. We have no interest that is not the common interest of the world at large in that port question, and it is preposterous to contend that it was necessary to send over delegates from the Dominion of Canada to arrange about the waterways of the Danube, the Elbe, the Oder and the Niemen. Surely, Mr. Speaker, if we have any interest in these things it is the common interest of the Empire at large, and there was no special interest to Canada which called for special representation.

Then my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster), we are told, was Chairman of a commission on economic questions. Well, Sir, if you read over the forty or fifty clauses relating to economic questions you will find no reference to anything in which Canada is particularly interested.

The great purpose of the economic clauses was to see that Germany, in the new order of things, did not discriminate against the Allies. Will my hon. friend suggest that, if our delegates had not gone there, Germany would have been permitted to discriminate against the Allies? Was it not one of the most natural things in the world that the Allied representatives should insist that Germany should not be permitted to discriminate against them? My hon. friend the Minister of Interior (Mr. Meighen) will hardly ask us to believe that if the Minister of Trade and Commerce had not been present some exception would have been made by which Canada could have been discriminated against while all the rest of the civilized world enjoyed free access. During the time that these hon. gentlemen were absent, serious conditions were prevailing in Canada. Never in the history of this Dominion was there more need of the concentrated attention of the ministers of the Crown than during the past year. When we consider the unrest that existed, the strikes that were growing almost to revolution in one of our great cities,—when we regard all these things, surely we must admit that it was a time for ministers to be at home and not elsewhere, if their presence abroad was not imperative. If their presence was necessary over there, if they were dealing with Canadian questions, then undoubtedly much could be said in defence of their absence. But inasmuch as they were not dealing with Canadian business, I am one of those who say that it would have been wiser had they come home. Was there unrest? Yes, unfortunately; everybody knows there was. But if the men who thought that our ministers ought to have been at home at that time still entertain that view, I beg them to take comfort in the reflection that while they were not here they were carefully considering the navigation of the Danube. If in the presence of the strikes which existed there were men who thought that our ministers should have been at home to join with their colleagues in the consideration of these grave matters, I ask these men to be patient and enduring, because the explanation is that our ministers were exceedingly busy in arranging the affairs of Czecho-Slovakia. And if our Budget was delayed, if the business of Can-

ada was seriously disturbed by the absence of my hon. friend; if by that delay of the Budget there was a degree of uncertainty in regard to the business of the country, which was a matter of serious consideration, then I implore the business men who still entertain that view to be patient and considerate; for the Treaty can be produced to show that at that time the hon. ministers in question could not come home to attend to the Budget or the business of Canada, seeing that they were engaged in devising means by which the lost Koran of the Caliph Othman might be restored. And if our Civil Service, which was on the verge of revolt because again and again its members had been promised consideration and again and again they were put off,—if they feel that they have some grievance owing to the absence of those hon. gentlemen who should have been here to look after their affairs, let them take comfort in the fact that our ministers were very busy preparing a clause to provide that somebody should discover the skull of the Sultan of Mkwawa.

I think, in order to show the Canadian affairs that our ministers were so busily engaged in, and in order to satisfy those who are disposed to grumble—and this is a grumbling world that we live in—I ought to be permitted to read one or two clauses. I was tempted to read some of those clauses relating to the boundaries of Germany, Poland and other places, to show the kind of work our friends were busy with, but to tell the truth, I was afraid of mispronunciation, so I did not do it. But here is a clause of the greatest importance. Article 246 is as follows:

> Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, Germany will restore to His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz the original Koran of the Caliph Othman, which was removed from Medina by the Turkish authorities and is stated to have been presented to the ex-Emperor William II.
>
> Within the same period Germany will hand over to His Britannic Majesty's Government the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa, which was removed from the Protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany.

How could our ministers be expected to come home and attend to strikes, unrest, and things like that when they had the questions of the Koran and the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa before them? I am not ridiculing these things. I have no doubt they have a proper place in the Treaty. I have no doubt that some people regard them as of importance. I simply submit that it was not necessary for our Canadian delegates to discover these ancient relics.

[Mr. Fielding.]

I think the putting forth of the claim for representation of Canada separate and apart from the British Empire was not wise, and I think it is going to make for trouble in the future. It has already been the cause of trouble in the United States. The claim of our Dominion to separate representation has been one of the most serious obstacles of the ratification of the Treaty in the United States. I do not want to endorse the American position on anything. If there was a fight between Canada and the United States of America we would all want to be on the Canadian side. At the same time, in a matter of cold argument, we have to admit certain facts. I think the claim of the American Government has a large measure of logic in it, when they say that it is unfair that they, a nation of over 100,000,000 people, should have only one representative in the Assembly of the League of Nations, while the British Empire has six. I do not see any logical answer to them. But, I think their alarm needless. I do not think they need fear any harm coming to the United States from Canada having a seat at the Council of the League of Nations, if she should have one. I suppose they are a little afraid of Canada. They may remember that a great political party not long ago won office and power in Canada by an anti-American campaign; by a campaign which was correctly expressed in the slogan: "No truck or trade with the Yankees." Our American friends may remember that, and they may naturally say: "We cannot afford to allow Canadians to have a seat at that board; they are an anti-American people; look at what they did in 1911, but, I would like to offer them some comfort. Let me reassure them. I think they need not be alarmed. I have only to remind them that the leaders of the party that obtained power by that anti-American cry had no sooner got into office than they laid it aside. They began to pay compliments to the United States. They began to go to Boston, New York and Chicago and to make nice speeches telling the Yankees what splendid fellows they were. Really, the Minister of Finance of that day loved them so much that he was even willing to borrow money from them to the full extent of their ability to lend. If our American friends are disturbed at the idea of Canada having a representative in the Assembly, if they are disturbed by the notion that Canada's presence there will harm them, I beg them not to be afraid. If they have no better reason than that for

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opposing the Treaty they had better close up the discussion and approve of the Treaty. Nevertheless, as a cold blooded matter of argument, there is much in their objection.

The Hon. the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), in his speech the other day, referred to this question, and said that our American friends are overlooking an important point. I had suggested, as my hon. friends may remember, in a former session, that the state of New York would have as much reason to ask for special representation, in addition to the national representation, at the Peace Conference as Canada would, because the state of New York is a big factor in the United States—much bigger, I think, than Canada is in the British Empire. It is difficult to answer the contention that the state of New York, or any other great state, was as much entitled to separate representation as any separate section of the British Empire. The President of the Council met that by this comment: Why, he said, the United States is one great nation, while the British Empire is composed not only of the United Kingdom, but of five other nations, and therefore there is no comparison between them. A moment's reflection will show my hon. friend that that argument cannot bear examination. He uses the word "nation" in the same breath in two ways as meaning the same thing, when it means entirely different things. The nation that he speaks of, the United States, is a sovereign nation subject to nobody, while the five nations that he speaks of are not nations at all, but dependencies of the British Crown and subject to British authority. Why, then, should he pretend that they are in the same position? Why should he claim that Canada is a nation—if we are to use an expression that is used much too freely—with the same status as the United States, when he knows well that it is not so? Canada is not a nation in the sense in which the word is used. Ah, but did not Sir Wilfrid Laurier say that Canada was a nation? Yes, and in the sense in which he used the word, it is a nation. The word "nation" is capable of a number of meanings. Any group of people may be called a nation. We have Indian tribes in Canada that are nations, but we would not undertake to say that they were sovereign nations. In the broad meaning of the word Canada is not a nation; Canada is a dependency of the British Crown.

Sometimes, I know, people do not like the name of a thing. I know some friends of mine who dislike to hear it said that Canada is a colony. It does not break my heart if anybody refers to Canada as a colony. Names are sometimes important, but it is the thing that is important. The rose by any other name would smell as sweet. I am more concerned with what Canada is than what you please to call it. It is in one sense a colony, and there is no reason why any man should be ashamed of the name. There are a lot of chaps over in England who, I think, should have the G.O.F., meaning the Grand Order of Fussers, who are constantly trying to regulate the relations between Canada and the Mother Country. They recently undertook to change the name of the Royal Colonial Institute, an old institution there. They objected to the word "colonial," and they wanted to change the name. I forget what they wanted to call it, but the good sense of the English people refused to tolerate that change, and so they retained the old name.

Canada is not a nation, Canada cannot be a nation. When the hon. gentleman speaks of Canada standing on a position of equality with the Mother Country, it is apparent that the argument cannot be sustained for a single moment. There cannot be two parliamentary governments of equal authority in the Empire. One must be subordinate—subject, if you like to use that word—in a certain sense to the other. Canada has been correctly described as one of the galaxy of nations which form the British Empire. In that sense it may well be called a nation; but any attempt to call Canada a nation in the world sense, in the sense of international law or international negotiations, is simply an attempt to lift oneself by pulling at one's boot straps.

I have said, Sir, that that has caused trouble in the United States. I am under the impression that it may cause still further trouble, because I think the argument that has been advanced in the United States has very much to support it, although I think our American friends give it needless importance; and if any of them should run across my observations, I can tell them frankly that they need not have the slightest fear that the Dominions, and especially Canada, whatever place they may have in the League of Nations will be moved by any unfriendly spirit towards the great Republic.

Now, Mr. Speaker, not only do I think the claim set forth by Canada for separate and distinct representation, apart from the British Empire, was a mistake, but I think the pretence that we need this ratification or approval of the Treaty by Canada is

arrant humbug. The ratification by Great Britain is beyond all question effective. There cannot be a debate about that. I do not believe that any of my hon. friends in the Government—and they include some able lawyers—will stand up and say that in his opinion, if we did not pass this resolution, the Treaty would cease to be effective. One does not need to be a lawyer to see that. An ordinary layman, like myself, can easily see that when the British Empire, through His Majesty the King, ratifies the Treaty, it is ratified for every part of the British Empire. Therefore I think the procedure here is really a bit of humbug; it is not necessary.

The hon. member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon) put a question the other day to the President of the Privy Council which was very pertinent. He asked: What about Newfoundland, what is her status? Has she not the same status as we, and what is she doing? The President of the Privy Council replied that it was as much as he could do to answer for Canada, and he was not called upon to answer for Newfoundland—a very fair and proper answer. But the idea that was in the question of the hon. member for Dorchester remains: What is Newfoundland's position? In all that constitutes status—that overworked word "status"—Newfoundland stands on even terms with Canada. She is a smaller country than Canada; she is an older colony than Canada; she is now known as the Dominion of Newfoundland. For all purposes of constitutional discussion Newfoundland is exactly in the same position as Canada. The Premier of Newfoundland went over to the Conference in England. I am not sure, but I think he went to Paris; if he did so, he speedily discovered that there was no business there concerning Newfoundland, and he had the good sense to come home and attend to Newfoundland's business. Our ministers, when they made a similar discovery respecting Canada's business, were content to stay there and go through the tomfoolery of attending to business that was not Canada's.

Mr. STACEY: May I be permitted a question? In view of the very strong language used by the hon. gentleman I would like to ask—and I could listen to him with very much more composure if he would favour me with an answer—as to whether he himself sent any sons overseas?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh, oh. Shame.

[Mr. Fielding.]

Mr. FIELDING: Mr. Speaker, I have little regard for the man who would blow his own horn through the service of his son.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Mr. STACEY: Mr. Speaker, if I have done or said anything out of order I humbly apologize, but I do not know that my question is out of order.

Mr. McKENZIE: It is certainly out of order.

Mr. STACEY: If so, I beg to retract it. Certainly I am the last man in this House who would attempt to even think of blowing my horn through anybody else's efforts. But I do think that my question—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not object to the question of the hon. gentleman. From my point of view it was out of order, except on the point that no member can interrupt another member who is addressing the Chair. But I do not take the objection that the question is out of order, although I do not think in this instance it was a wise question to put. Shall I tell the hon. gentleman that I have only one son? He enlisted as a private soldier in the month of August, 1914, he saw service, and is now home with an honourable discharge, having won his commission after two years in the ranks.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. McKENZIE: A cowardly interruption.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. FIELDING: I have said that in my judgment the ratification or approval of this Treaty is not necessary by this Parliament, and—I hope the word is not offensive—it seems to me that it is a part of the general humbug surrounding this matter. I suppose the ministers can fool some people over this question, but I know they cannot fool their own friends over it. They cannot fool that eminently respectable Conservative newspaper the Montreal Gazette, for a few days ago the Gazette said:

> The Bill to ratify the Peace Treaty, which is the excuse—

Oh, I want you to notice that word "excuse".

> —for the special meeting should go through as a matter of course. The Parliament of the United Kingdom has given its sanction to the instrument, and no matter what any legislative

bodies of the colonies may do, in due time the Empire will be at peace with Germany.

So the Gazette sees through this foolish pretence that we have to ratify or approve of the Treaty. The Gazette is right; the ministers are wrong.

Then there is another thought: I do not think ratification is needed at all, I do not think approval is needed at all; but if approval were needed, it did not require a special session of Parliament for that purpose. I am not as well informed as I would like to be regarding events in the Sister Dominions, but so far as I know there has been no special session of any Parliament of the Sister Dominions. Perhaps my hon. friends the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) or the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) can inform me if that is so.

Mr. ROWELL: My information is that Parliaments in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand have been convened for this month for the purpose of dealing with the Treaty. Whether the sessions are special or regular, I do not know. The South African Parliament is now in session; I think New Zealand has already approved the Treaty, and it is now, I believe, before the Australian Parliament.

Mr. FIELDING: The point I desire to make is this: If approval was necessary it could have been had without a special session of Parliament. We made a change in the fiscal year some years ago, for a distinct purpose. It was found that when Parliament assembled, as it usually did, at the end of January or in February, the sessions were protracted into the summer, and it was thought desirable to make a change whereby the sessions could begin much earlier and end much earlier. Formerly the fiscal year ended on the first of July. It took about seven months to get papers and records together, and that threw the session into the months of January or February. Therefore we changed the fiscal year so that it ended on the 31st day of March. Allow the same seven months and Parliament could meet in October or November. It is as easy now for Parliament to meet in October or November as it formerly was to meet in January or February. So with a diligence on the part of the ministers after they came home, a little diligence on the part of the officials, instead of meeting on the first day of September we could have met in October and had the advantage of a very early session of Parliament, so that we would not need a special session. Now we are called together in a special session which I do not hesitate to say is not necessary; I join the Montreal Gazette, which is a strong Conservative paper not accustomed to deal rashly with public questions, in stating that the Peace Treaty is only an excuse for this parliamentary session. We are unnecessarily, wastefully, called together in a special session of Parliament which will cost at least a million dollars of public money. We are asked to practise thrift and economy; we are called upon to exercise all the virtues that men ought to practise to-day—and the Government sets the example by calling a special session of Parliament which is not needed at all and flinging away at least a million dollars.

With regard to the status to which my hon. friends attach so much importance, I really think it is very much magnified; as I said a moment ago, the word has been very much overworked. We have a written constitution; by it the status of Canada is fixed, and there can be no material change in our constitutional position except through an amendment of the British North America Act. There has been no such amendment; there has been no change in the status of Canada; actually at this moment there is no change in Canada's constitutional status. We have gained in prestige—you may call it status if you like, if you do not use the word in a constitutional sense.

Canada plays a much higher and a much bigger part in the affairs of the world than she ever did, and of that we are all proud. Canada's increasing prestige has been brought about in our time by three events. The first was in 1897, when under the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier the commercial system under the British preference was introduced. Undoubtedly that added much to Canada's prestige in the eyes of the world; undoubtedly that added prestige to Canada's position throughout what I may call the colonial Empire. And may I not pause just to remark that whatever prestige we gained by the step which was then taken, whatever increased status came to Canada as a result of that step, was accomplished in the face of the strenuous hostility of the present Prime Minister.

The second thing which added to the prestige or the status of Canada, if you wish to call it that, was the South African war. Then hundreds and thousands of the sons of Canada volunteered for service and went away down to South Africa to fight for the flag. Undoubtedly that made a deep impression upon the British mind everywhere.

The third and the last thing which added to our prestige, surpassing all in its grandeur and magnitude, was Canada's part in the war which is just now happily coming to an end. The splendid response which Canada made to the call of the Emipre, the splendid service given by our sons, surely have made a record for Canada of which we are all proud. These are the things which have made the status of Canada, but there has been no change whatever in our constitutional position.

The Prime Minister in his remarks spoke repeatedly as if there had been some constitutional change. He spoke again and again of the " thirty-two of the world's nations concerned in this Treaty, implying that Canada was one of the thirty-two. The President of the Council said that in the peace negotiations Canada had the same status as the smaller Powers. The Prime Minister, in the course of his remarks, said:

> Accordingly I proposed that the assent of the King as High Contracting Party to the various Treaties should in respect of the Dominions be signified by the signature of the Dominion plenipotentiaries, and that the preamble and other formal parts of the Treaties should be drafted accordingly.

The right hon. gentleman was mistaken. He may have proposed that, but he never accomplished it. If he proposed that the name of Canada should be inserted in the preamble of the Treaty as one of the parties to the Treaty—and he says as much—the British Government must have rejected his proposal. We have the preamble in our hands, and we find that it was not made out in the way that the Prime Minister suggests. The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan are described in the Treaty as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers; Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Czecho-Slovakia and Uruguay —these are the High Contracting Powers, and Canada is not mentioned among them. In any agreement that is made, the preamble sets forth the parties to the contract. We have in this agreement a preamble which does not include Canada, as the Prime Minister suggests—which ignores Canada altogether. Canada has been allowed to sign her name through her plenipotentiaries at the end of the document, and somebody has happily described that as about as effective as putting a postage stamp on a letter after a minister of the Crown has duly franked it. Canada was allowed to put the extra postage stamp on after the thing had been done, but she is not recited in the preamble as one of the High Contracting Powers. It is another attempt to get a shoddy status where no real status exists.

Now, these questions have some bearing on the future. What of the future? What is to be our relation to the Empire and to the world? I do not think it is worth our while to worry very much about our political future. There are questions concerning our industrial future that may well give us some consideration. There are questions concerning our financial future that may well engage our attention. But really I do not think there is any cause to worry about our political future. I do not see any particular reason to be afraid of the future. We meet sometimes the statement—and I am sorry that occasionally it is affirmed in Canada—that "things cannot go on as they are." Why? What is wrong? The other day the President of the Council put a question to the member for Kamouraska (Mr. E. Lapointe) which, I must say, I thought was a fair question. He said to the member for Kamouraska, after that gentleman had spoken of the anomalous position of Canada: "What change do you propose?" The member for Kamouraska did not answer; he could not answer, and I do not blame him. But that is a question that you need not level at any particular member. Suppose we turn the other way and ask the Minister of Justice what changes he wants? If something must be done, if our status hitherto has not been satisfactory, what should be done? If we have a grievance, what is it? We have a right to ask every man who complains of the present state of affairs in Canada: What is your grievance? What is your remedy? What do you want? Hon. gentlemen in the Government occasionally talk about this question of status, about the necessity for conferences and all that kind of thing; I ask them, what do they want? I do not want any change at this moment, not even a change of Government.

I know that some people, like the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) will say: " You want to go back into the old colonial condition." Well, we have never got out of the old colonial condition; we are still in it, only instead of calling ourselves a colony, we call ourselves a Dominion. I have no grievance as to our present relations with the Mother Country, and I do not see any reason why we should manufacture bogus reasons to create a shadowy

status which has no existence. The President of the Council, who has a fine capacity for making a hogshead of lather out of an ounce of soap, dwelt with a great deal of force upon a certain resolution, a resolution of the Imperial Conference which, he said, made an important change in our constitutional status. I have not the resolution at hand, but the substance of it was this: That hitherto, if the Government of Canada desired to send a communication to the Government of Great Britain, they would send it through the Colonial Office in Downing Street, but hereafter—a great change!—the Prime Minister of Canada could send it direct to the Prime Minister of Great Britain. That was the resolution. Those of us who know something about London will remember that as you leave Trafalgar Square and Charing Cross and pass down Whitehall, you find that a turn to the right brings you into Downing Street. On the one side of Downing street you will see the stately buildings of the public offices, one of which is the Colonial Office. Across the street, about three or four minutes' walk is the official residence of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, No. 10 Downing street. Do you see the great change that has been brought about? Before the resolution passed, the postman when he got into Downing street, would turn into the Colonial Office and leave the letter there; now he will go a few steps further and hand it in at No. 10 Downing street. That is the great constitutional change that has been brought about. We should not try to magnify trumpery resolutions of that kind into a constitutional change. There is no need of a constitutional change in the status of Canada to-day. If at times we feel that we are in an anomalous position, to quote the words used the other day, we should do well to say this to ourselves: "Yes, there is something anomalous in our position, there is some thing strange about it, but before we condemn it, let us see what you have to put in its place." Once in a while we hear somebody suggest, under his breath, independence. I have no sympathy in the world with anybody who wants to make this an independent nation, separate and apart from Great Britain. I am not of that mind at all, but I can pay the advocates of independence, if there are such, the compliment of saying that I can understand what they are driving at. They want to make this an independent nation. But I cannot understand what men are driving at who are constantly speaking about our present status and who are not able to tell us what they want. What is our present status with regard to the Mother Country? What grievances have we? What resolution has ever been placed upon the records of this Parliament to show that we have any grievance at all? When has any Prime Minister of this country been empowered to go over to England to a conference in order to demand a constitutional change of any kind? What is our position in relation to foreign negotiations? Let me take what has occurred in times past in this regard. The Prime Minister spoke of His Majesty the King issuing plenipotentiary powers to the members of our Paris delegation, as if it were something new. There is nothing new in that. For the last twenty or thirty years, or more, the representatives of Canada have received these powers from His Majesty the King whenever they were necessary. Sir John A. Macdonald received the same powers when the went to negotiate the treaty of Washington. Sir Charles Tupper received the same powers in connection with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Sir Wilfrid Laurier received the same powers when he was authorized to conduct negotiations in regard to the Fisheries Treaty. Finally, to introduce a personal note, my good friend Mr. Justice Brodeur and myself received the same powers when we had to go to negotiate the commercial treaty with France. So there is nothing new in this issuing of powers and authority to our ministers under the sign manual of the King. It is an old story; we have the power to-day, by the consent of the British Government, practically to make our own commercial treaties, although technically we have not that power.

There was a time in olden days when treaties were made by Great Britain for the whole Empire and when she did not stop to consider whether Canada or anybody else was interested in the matter. It was in those days that the famous Belgian and German treaties were made which in later years gave us so much trouble, those treaties once described by Lord Salisbury as "those unlucky treaties." They were made when Canada was not receiving the same recognition as she is receiving to-day. For the last twenty or thirty or forty years, or more, no step has been taken by the British Government in regard to any question affecting Canada without consulting Canada and according Canada an opportunity to express her views and to be represented when any negotiations were to take place. What more

do we want? That is practically giving us the right to make our own treaties. I cannot understand the meaning of this cry from time to time about the need of enlarged status. I have no sympathy with the cry that something must be done. I do not believe for a single moment that we have any reason to fear Canada's political future. The British Constitution has developed a remarkable capacity for adapting itself to the changing conditions of the times, and I believe it will continue to do so. I believe that, from day to day and from month to month, by various methods, by our conferences, by the communications that are taking place, by greater intercourse, by all these things, we shall gradually come to have a stronger and stronger power in our relations with the Mother Country. I do not know how you are going to define it; I do not attempt to define it myself; I am content to express my hope and belief that it will come. I had occasion in a previous discussion, a little while ago, to use some words which I can but repeat, because they express the thought which is in my mind and that which I believe represents the thought of the people of Canada:

> "I want Canada to have all the freedom that is possible in the management of Canadian affairs, all the unity with the Mother Country that is possible without the sacrifice of the freedom we now enjoy, and I want Canada to be all the time a part of the British Empire."

I have an abiding faith that if any circumstances shall arise in which a difference shall seem to exist between the Mother Country and ourselves, the statesmanship which has been developed in the past will continue, and we shall find a way which shall be consistent with our own freedom, our own autonomy, and with the unity of the British Empire.

There is one part of the Covenant of the League of Nations which has been the subject of very much consideration and discussion both here and elsewhere. I refer to Article 10 of the Covenant. It has been read before, but I must ask permission to read it again because it is necessary for the comment I wish to make:

> The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Upon that Council Canada could technically have representation, but practically she cannot. The Council is composed of the representatives of the Five Great Powers who are always to be members, with four others to be chosen by the Assembly, Canada will have her vote in the Assembly. She could be chosen to be one of the members of the Council, but is it conceivable that the thirty odd nations are going to name Canada to fill one of these places when the British Government already has a seat on the Council? I do not think it is possible. Technically, it is possible. If you say that Canada could be chosen by all these small nations, I do not dispute that fact, but that it ever will be chosen is highly improbable. Therefore it seems that Canada by Article X is going to be, I will not say at the mercy, for that is not the right word, but at all events subject to the will in matters of vast concern of a Council on which she can have no representative. I am justified in making that statement. Instead of having an improvement in our status, I am going to submit to the House that we have an impairment of our status by this Treaty, unless we take pains to protect ourselves. What would be the position if we take absolutely no action? If this session had never been called, and if the Treaty had been ratified, as it will be ratified, by His Majesty the King, what would be the effect upon Canada? It would bind the whole British Empire. It would bind every foot of soil which is under the British flag. But it would bind Canada subject to the terms of the Canadian constitution, and while Canada would be technically bound by that ratification no power under Heaven but the Parliament of Canada, so long as the British North America Act remains, could issue an order to send one Canadian soldier overseas. That was the position in 1914. Immediately the declaration of war was made in August, 1914, Canada was at war, because Great Britain was at war. If the German fleet had the next day bombarded Quebec, St. John or Halifax that would have been entirely within their rights. We were at war, but no power other than this Parliament could determine what part we would take in that war. That was our position then; that is our position today. The ratification of the Treaty by His Majesty the King would bind Canada, but it would bind her subject to the terms of the Canadian constitution. We are going to lose that power if this Treaty be ratified without any reservation whatever. I think it must be clear that under Article 16 this Council may determine that an act of war has been committed and can demand of any country within the League of Nations

that it shall contribute a certain proportion of the forces necessary to enforce the commands of the League. I do not think there ought to be any doubt about that. However, I must speak with deference, because my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council said the other day that that was not the proper interpretation. I noticed my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) indicate just now by a movement of his head that he did not agree with me. He also claims, no doubt, that the interpretation I put upon it is not the correct one. I am only going to ask them to admit this, that it is a debatable question. It is a question upon which men may differ, and have differed. Able and brilliant lawyers in the United States have said that that is what it means. My hon. friend the President of the Privy Council says it does not mean that. The Prime Minister has said on different occasions that in anything that may be done with regard to our status the autonomy of Canada is going to be preserved at all costs. I think he said so in his speech the other day. Again and again at different sessions the Prime Minister has declared "Do not be afraid of any of our negotiations. Whatever else may happen we are going to stand for Canada's autonomy." He brought a resolution to that effect from the Imperial Conference quite recently. All I ask my hon. friends opposite to admit is that it is a debatable question. They may be right; other men will think otherwise. Since my hon. friends opposite are of that opinion, I am going to ask them to join me in protecting the autonomy of Canada by an amendment which I am about to move; not an amendment to the Treaty, that could not be done, not even a reservation, but a declaration that in approving this Treaty we have no intention of abandoning Canadian autonomy. I beg to move, seconded by my hon. friend from Kamouraska (Mr. Lapointe), if I may use his name, that the following words be added to the resolution:

That in giving such approval this House in no way assents to any impairment of the existing autonomous authority of the Dominion, but declares that the question of what part, if any, the forces of Canada shall take in any war, actual or threatened, is one to be determined at all times as occasion may require by the people of Canada through their representatives in Parliament.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Mr. Speaker, I would be very sorry indeed to be any party to adding any contribution to anything that may have sounded discourteous in the present debate. I congratulate this House that in the course of this debate there has not been anything of that kind unless it be found in the somewhat emphatic expressions which the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Fielding) has seen proper to apply to men whose actions he would not belittle to save his very life. Inasmuch as he told us that the man who would belittle the ministers who went over to the other side to represent Canada would merely belittle himself, I should like to ask him what we are to think of a man who spends from an hour to an hour and a half belittling, not any individual men, however great they may be, but belittling his own country. I ask the hon. gentleman to reflect on that. From start to finish of his speech he was intent on showing how insignificant Canada is, how utterly useless was any contribution to any question interesting the people of this world that might be made by the people of his own country through their representatives. We were implored to see how absolutely absurd it was to suggest that perhaps Canada, on any question that, interesting as it might be to Canada was interesting at the same time to any body else, might like to say a word about the whole question. We were implored to confine ourselves to things that interested Canada and that by no possibility could be of the slightest consequence to any body else. We were lectured, because, forsooth, we were of opinion, and acted on that opinion, that in this world Canada holds a place, and holds that thing which the hon. gentleman so greatly contemns holds a status that entitles her to respect, and entitles her to expect that people will listen to her voice and to claim her right to express by her own statesmen her own views on those things which, because they do interest the civilized world, interest this Canada of ours that is taking and means to hold its place of influence among civilized nations. Mr. Speaker, if we are never to speak about any matter or any question that is not exclusively a Canadian question, might I ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) why we felt called upon to send our 500,000 soldiers to pour out their blood upon the battlefields of Europe, and why we have imposed upon ourselves a financial burden which it will take us and our children after us years and years to discharge? There was no question in that war that interested Canada exclusively. Great Britain, the British Empire, France, Italy, Belgium, the civilization of the world, were interested in the questions at stake; and if the hon. gentleman were

logical, he would have asked: Why should Canada spend money and send men about a matter that did not interest her exclusively? I say, Mr. Speaker, that that language is language that belittles our country. The hon. gentleman stated that in what he was going to express he would probably find himself differing from other hon. gentlemen even on his own side of the House. I am glad to believe, even more glad to know, that in what he said in that regard he does differ from many men on the other side of the House, as well as, I venture to say, from all men on this side.

The hon. gentleman told us that this was a good Treaty, taking it as a whole. He told us that the Covenant of the League of Nations, taken as a whole, was acceptable to him; and upon a motion to approve that Treaty he proceeded to give us an argument directed to demonstrating the absolute inferiority of Canada's position as compared with any of the other nations of the world, and her position of absolute subordination within this Empire to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. And he did this because, he said, we had made on this side of the House extravagant claims with regard to the progress made by Canada in the paths that lead to nationhood. Then at very considerable length he fought with a bogey of apprehensions which he seemed to consider existed somewhere about the future relations between Canada and other parts of the Empire. He was at great pains to fight these apprehensions. He inquired again and again what reasons there were, and why it was that people were clamouring for a change. Mr. Speaker, I had not heard any clamouring for a change on this side of the House, but I had heard—and for the benefit of the hon. gentleman I shall endeavour briefly to repeat it—I had heard it pointed out that our country had grown from being a colony—that title which the hon. gentleman loves so much—to being a nation, just as the child grows from childhood to manhood.

It has not been claimed on this side of the House that this Treaty made Canada a nation; nor has it been claimed that anything that happened at the Peace Conference made Canada a nation. Canada has grown to nationhood and Canada is a nation; and she does not go seeking anywhere to any of the Allied or Associated Powers, to any foreign power, to Great Britain herself, to the entire Peace Conference, to confer upon her the gift of nationhood. Peoples, starting under the tutelage of other countries that have sent forth their sons to establish colonies, in the course of time, as they grow, come to acquire qualities that belong to no colony. What is the proper position of a colony as towards its mother country? Why, it is the position of the child in the nursery. It takes the directions of its mother country; it follows the mother country without any question in whatever line of action that mother country chooses to adopt as governing its conduct towards the outside nations of the world. And when that line of conduct leads to conditions that call for the facing of those outside nations in arms, while the relationship is purely that of guiding and governing mother country and dependent colony. Then it is the business of the mother country to provide not only for her own defence, but to carry upon her own shoulders the burden that may result from the line of conduct which she and she alone has chosen to adopt; and if her child colony over there, that had nothing to say about how those conditions were brought about, is exposed to danger, it is for the mother country to defend it. Was that the situation in regard to Canada? Nationhood is a matter of fact; it is not a question of what is written in a statute-book or what is declared by one nation in relation to another.

Nations may recognize the nationhood of another nation but nations do not make the nationhood of another. It was in the position of a nation that we in this country found ourselves at the outbreak of the recent great struggle and that, indeed, is the condition which had existed throughout all those preceding years in which the late distinguished leader of my hon. friend, without the mental reservation that he suggests, proudly proclaimed that Canada was a nation.

We went into that struggle as a nation and we played a nation's part. We played it nobly—our soldiers did—and we who stayed behind did our best to make the glorious effort of our soldiers successful. We played a nation's part. We did not as a colony run to cover and say to the Mother Country: Oh, it is for you to do the fighting; it is for you to protect yourself and us too. No, we sprang to the front as a nation among the world's nations. We took our place side by side with the men of other nations and we did our share in the achievement of the victory that has made the world safe for civilization. We have never suggested that our growth or anything that happened in connection with

this Treaty, took us out of the British Empire. Our standing—I will say "standing" because I do not want to shock the sensitive ears of the hon. gentleman more than need be by the use of the word "status"—was voluntarily and willingly recognized on the part of all nations of the British Empire, led by the United Kingdom long before this war broke out. The hon. gentleman has referred to the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1917 which recognizes that any arrangement looking to the organization of the different component parts of this Empire should have as its starting point and its necessary condition the preservation of the rights of the Dominions as autonomous nations of the British Empire. Then, why should the hon. gentleman be so stirred up by that affirmation? Is it
5 p.m. that he does not want the country to be a nation?

Mr. FIELDING: If the hon. gentleman means: "Do I want this country to be a nation separate and apart from the British Empire?"—no.

Mr. DOHERTY: I said a moment ago, and I hardly needed to have said it, that we have made no claim for this country as a nation separate from the British Empire. There is nothing farther from our thought or our desire than that. But does the hon. gentleman know what the British Empire is? What is it that he does not want to be a nation separate from?

Mr. FIELDING: I hope my hon. friend will not regard me as being discourteous but I really cannot understand his question.

Mr. DOHERTY: The British Empire is composed of different countries living together under one king and all these countries have unanimously and repeatedly recognized the fact that they—I am speaking now of the self-governing dominions and the United Kingdom—constitute a group of nations which group of nations is the British Empire. There is not some country somewhere to which Canada is attached and which country is the British Empire. That would leave us outside of the British Empire. attached to it if you will, a "dependency" of it—another word that the hon. gentleman loves. But that would not place us in the British Empire and that is where Canada is, in the British Empire and one of the autonomous, self-governing nations that constitute the group which is known to the world as the British Empire.

I might perhaps advance a little in the order in which I would follow the hon. gentleman if I followed him in the order in which he spoke and refer in this connection to what he looked upon as a triumphant demonstration that the recommendation of this Government that His Majesty the King should sign the Treaty on behalf of Canada by the plenipotentiaries recommended by the Government and that this should be stated in the preamble to the Treaty was not acted upon. He said: "You will not find the word 'Canada' mentioned in the preamble of the Treaty." Then he reads the preamble. He found the "British Empire" mentioned in that part of the preamble which defines the contracting parties but he did not find any special mention of Canada. But when the British Empire came to act what did he find? The British Empire, acted in the making of the Treaty by His Majesty the King, the sole treaty-making power within the Empire. When it came to the matter of getting the signature of the British Empire to that Treaty His Majesty the King acted for and on behalf of these different nations that compose the British Empire by plenipotentiaries representative of each one of these nations and appointed on the advice of the Governments of these different nations which enjoy constitutional government. When His Majesty the King came to act and the signature of the British Empire had to be attached to the Treaty, to provide the signature of the British Empire there were required the signatures of those statesmen specially representative of the United Kingdom and of the Crown colonies and dependencies plus the signature of Canada, plus the signature of Australia, plus the signature of New Zealand, not because they pretend to be nations separate from the British Empire but because they are the nations that make up and compose the British Empire.

Now, the hon. gentleman said that this proceeding of ours to-day is a waste of time, a colossal humbug, and I am not sure that he did not also describe it as a piece of tomfoolery. I wonder if the hon. gentleman understands what it is that we are doing to-day. His Majesty the King has the treaty-making power of this British Empire, and he has the ratifying power with regard to treaties made by this British Empire. In the olden days the King exercised that power of his own authority, but as the Constitution grew and the people came to count for something, His Majesty exercised it with the advice, and only with the advice, of his responsible ministers. This Treaty will be ratified by His Majesty—I say "will be," not "has been."

The hon. gentleman read from a newspaper that the Parliament of the United Kingdom had ratified or approved of the Treaty, and that that settled it. It is not in the power even of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to ratify the Treaty. What that Parliament did was to approve the Treaty—not in the form precisely of this resolution, which has been introduced for expedition's sake—but by passing an Act on the lines of the Bill which will be submitted to this House, empowering His Majesty in Council to take all steps necessary to give it effect. By doing that they expressed their approval, and that having been done, the ministers of the United Kingdom are ready to-day to give their advice to His Majesty that he should ratify the Treaty.

But what is His Majesty waiting for? His Majesty knows, if the hon. gentleman does not know, that there are other nations composing his great British Empire than the very great United Kingdom which is at the centre of it, and he is waiting for the advice of his constitutional advisers in Canada. And those advisers are here before this House asking for its approval, because they feel, and I am sure this House feels with them, that in this the first participation in our own right as a component nation of the British Empire in the actual work of treaty making we should start the good precedent; that treaties will not be ratified until the people, through their representatives, have expressed their approval of such treaties. That is what this "bamboozling tomfoolery" means. This "bamboozling tomfoolery" is participated in by His Majesty the King as the Head of the Empire, and the same "bamboozling tomfoolery" has been participated in by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and, as my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) pointed out, has been or is to be participated in by the Parliaments of all the self-governing dominions. But we forsooth are told in the superior knowledge of the hon. gentleman—who would not for any consideration in the world have it suggested that his country is a nation—that this is a piece of "bamboozling tomfoolery."

Now, having belittled his country, in the process of doing so the hon. gentleman thought it wise to belittle the usefulness of the men who went over to the Peace Conference—he would not for the world belittle the men individually; indeed, he had to give them a certificate of capacity as individual men. What paralyzed them? They were Canadians. "Why," he said, "the interests of labour were at stake; Mr. Gompers was there, Mr. Barnes was there; what need was there for Sir Robert Borden and for my hon. friend the Minister of Customs (Mr. Sifton)?" Why, he asks, was there need for any Canadians; surely the outside world produces the men of ability—our friends to the south of the line, our friends in the United Kingdom, they produce all the great men of this world; no Canadian is any use anywhere; He would not for the world belittle the individual men. But what is he doing when he uses such language? And let me tell him that though he may forget, the men who went over to represent Canada were not unmindful that there is a great labour population within this Dominion that has its own interests, its own points of views, and its own rights to be preserved and protected. And let me tell him further, that when he reads that part of the Treaty dealing with the great organization which has been created to give protection to the legitimate interests of labour—to give effect to those pious aspirations at which the hon. gentleman sneered as being contained in the declaration of principles which the right hon. the Prime Minister moved at the assembly of the conference—if he will look at the Covenant which establishes that organization, he will find that in the composition of that body the employers and the workingmen of Canada will have their representatives in equal number with every one of the nations of this earth other than the five great powers, and that they will have not only an equal number of representatives but an equal voice and influence in and an equal eligibility to the council of that great body. And may I tell the hon. gentleman—and I will be violating no confidence when I tell it—that it was not Mr. Gompers and it was not Mr. Barnes who secured that right for the industrial interests of Canada; it was the right hon. Sir Robert Borden and my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton). It was not by sneering at Canada that it was done. We did not go over and say: Oh, we are a little colony; please, now please do not listen to us on any question that might possibly interest anybody outside of Canada.

Please be good enough to understand that the contention of the hon. gentleman is that our vision is absolutely circumscribed, and that, in the world's peace we are not interested in the slightest degree. The peace of the world was broken through causes that did not interest Canada; sixty thousand

Canadians gave up their lives and the rest of us were called to the sacrifices that I have mentioned—yet the question did not interest Canada. When you are dealing with the matter of how things are to be disposed and ordered upon the continent of Europe—and it was conditions on the continent of Europe that gave rise to the war—when you are settling and determining those conditions in such a manner as may best tend to avoid the recurrence of such a war, be good enough—the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) would have us say—not to listen to any Canadian; will you kindly send us home again, because we are an economical country and the cost of living is high in Paris.

It was because we took an attitude very different from that that Canadian labour, the Canadian employer and the Canadian Government, vastly interested as it is, vastly interested as this whole country is in everything that affects the conditions of labour, will have a voice adequate and equal to that of all the other nations, with the exception that I have mentioned, in the determination of the decisions to be arrived at by the great international body that is to give effect to those high principles which evoke nothing but a sneer from the hon. gentleman.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) asks: What was there over there that Canada was interested in? I have mentioned this labour organization. May I tell him that Canada was very materially interested in the proposed convention with regard to aviation, and in the legislation contemplated by the Parliament of the United Kingdom in that regard? In order that he may realize that Canada is sometimes very much interested in matters that he is satisfied to leave to be settled by Mr. Barnes and Mr. Gompers, may I mention the fact that legislation was projected to govern aviation, not only outside this country, but actually, in a general sense, within the limits of this Dominion? I am sure he will be surprised that the Canadian delegation protested emphatically—and what is more, protested effectively—against any such action. Yet, the British North America Act never took legal power away from the Parliament of the United Kingdom to enact that legislation. But over there, as among people in Canada who concern themselves with looking carefully into what is meant by the British Constitution, they know that the "fine-drawn distinctions," as the member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) called it, of the President of the Council between legal power and the constitutional right to exercise that power, is as plain as daylight, just as plain as it is to every man who has ever opened or looked at a book on the law of the British Constitution. Recognizing that notwithstanding that legal power they had no constitutional right, as we affirmed, to pass legislation to govern the internal conditions of Canada, whether on the water, on the land or in the air. They yielded to our representations. We, therefore, will make our own legislation in connection with such matters, and that is an assertion—an awful assertion, I am sure, in the mind of the hon. gentlemen—of Canada's possession of one of the qualities of a nation; her absolute right constitutionally to govern herself in accordance with laws made by the Parliament of Canada. That right was recognized, although it is undoubtedly true that as matter of law the Parliament of the United Kingdom might have passed that legislation.

Just one word more upon the subject of the need of our representation on the other side. The hon. gentleman virtually asked what we were doing there. Does he realize what that gathering was? Does he realize that it was a gathering of the representatives of the triumphant powers of the world and that we had taken our part in achieving their triumph? Yet he says: Oh, Canada should not have had any representation there that derived its authority from the democracy of Canada. Mr. Speaker, I am not lacking in respect for the great statesmen of the United Kingdom. But if in the dealings of this Empire with the outside world Canadian affairs are to be carried on on democratic principles, then Canada's participation in such dealings must be by representatives who hold their authority from the people of Canada and from no other source. And in the great world's democracy the great Canadian democracy is going to hold its place and have its say through the representatives who owe to it their authority.

The hon. gentleman sneered at the Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden having anything to do with the fixing of the boundaries of Greece. There seems to be a horror of Greece on the other side of the House. The member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon) told us the other evening that he might believe that the President of the Council was bringing to Canada the, by him highly appreciated, gift of nationhood, but he held back and he trembled because, he said, he feared the Greeks even when they bore gifts. The hon. gentleman is horrified because a great Canadian statesman repre-

sentative of this nation of the British Empire ventured to take part as representing that entire Empire in a settlement of the boundaries of Greece. Does the hon. gentleman know that bound up in the question of the boundaries of all those different countries over there is the question of the future peace of the world? Yet we, who are certainly interested in that future peace, are to be condemned because the representatives of the British Empire as a whole thought that there was a Canadian man who would give valuable service in settling one of the most critical questions with which the Peace Conference was called upon to deal. Surely a prophet is not without honour save in his own country, at least in that very little country which Canada is in the eyes of the hon. gentleman.

I do not want to detain the House unduly as I know other hon. gentlemen are anxious to take part in this debate. I should like, however, to say a few words with regard to the subject of this Treaty itself. Before passing to that, however, might I just say a word or two in answer to the references made to Newfoundland's position and the argument drawn from the fact that Newfoundland was not represented. I do not know why it was that the representatives of Newfoundland were willing to forego representation; I do not know why it was that they did not assert their right. That is their affair; it is for their representatives who did not assert their right to settle that matter with the people of Newfoundland. I think we might safely say that Canada had a stronger claim for representation, because there is some difference between 250,000 people and 8,000,000 people. With all the good will that 250,000 people can possibly have, they cannot play the same part within the Empire as 8,000,000 people can. But it is not for me to tell the reason why Newfoundland was satisfied to go without representation. Canada was not; Australia was not; New Zealand was not, and I am satisfied that the people of those three countries will endorse the action of their representatives who insisted upon that representation.

As regards the constitutional question, the hon gentleman has told us, and a number of others have also stated, that we have a written constitution and that that is the last word. We have a written constitution enacted for what purpose? It was enacted to distribute throughout this Federal country the powers of legislation. The Privy Council is on record as having said that the whole field of legislation had been by that Act conferred upon the Dominion of Canada, either upon its central Parliament or upon the Parliaments of its provinces. When that was done the last work that a written constitution could do was done. But because we had that written constitution, we did not cease to live under that British constitution that is not written in books, that rests upon the continued practice of the British people—of the people of the British Empire, which includes us Canadians as well as the people of the United Kingdom. I was surprised the other evening to hear the hon. member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon) say that the British constitution was limited to the United Kingdom, as though we had not all of us for years boasted—and no man did it more frequently nor more eloquently than the late great leader of the Liberal party—of our enjoying all the benefits and advantages of the British constitution—and it is not all written in the British North America Act. The British North America Act said the last word that could be said in the way of determining what our legislative powers were, but it left us there with those legislative powers, in the condition in which we then stood, still within the British Empire and enjoying the benefits and advantages of the British Constitution. And one of the principal of them is the possibility of growth from smaller things to greater things, and we have gone on and we have grown from those smaller things to greater things and one precedent after the other has occurred, each going on broadening from one to the other and making more clear our right of self-government, our constitutional right to that self-government even though there be legal power in the Parliament of the United Kingdom to enact laws binding on us. I am not going to weary the House with particular instances, but we have the instance of the discussion of the copyright with the result of the recognition that although the British Parliament had legal power, we exclusively had the constitutional right to legislate. There was the question of naturalization when a few years ago the British Parliament started out by enacting a naturalization law that was to be effective in Canada. There is no question that they had legal power to enact that law, but we asserted our right and told them that they had no constitutional right to exercise that power, and they recognized that and they did not exercise their legal power. I have referred to the recent discussion with regard to the aviation law. Over in Great Britain they recognize our national status and that con-

stitutionally the whole field of Government of Canada is ours. It is only in this country that you find the little man who wants to hang on to the colonial status of his country and to insist that she is subordinate to and to be governed by another portion of the Empire. However great that portion may be—and we all respect it, we all recognize what she was the source of for us all, and we shall all be happy to recognize her as the first among these equal nations—we contend that, as a matter of fact, we stand as an equal nation within the Empire.

The hon. gentleman pointed out things we could not do. We were told for instance that when the Prime Minister wanted to communicate with the King the other day by an Order in Council of the Government of this country he had to hand it to the Prime Minister of Great Britain. He could not address it directly to the King, and we were told that all these things go to show that we are not a nation. I am not clamouring for a change; I would not like to disturb hon. gentlemen, but what these things go to show is simply that it may, perhaps, be necessary that in the performing of these functions which our nationhood brings to us we should find a different machinery. But because of our own free will, we should choose to communicate with His Majesty through His Majesty's Prime Minister in Great Britain, or because, if you will, that is the only practical method existing to-day of having that communication reach His Majesty, how can that be said to affect that other question of fact; whether or not we have all the attributes of a nation. That fact has been recognized not only within the Empire but by the assembled nations of the world. As I have said, I do not contend that any body on the other side, within or without the British Empire, has given us nationhood.

We have grown up to nationhood, and it is ours. What came over there was the recognition of our nationhood. May I read just two paragraphs from the rules of the conference. Surely there can be no better place to go to to find out what Canada is in the eyes of the other Powers who sat in that Conference than to that Conference itself. When that Conference was called upon to make rules as to who should sit in the Conference, and how those who sat in it should be divided, what did it do? It provided:

> The Conference summoned with a view to lay down the conditions of Peace, in the first place by peace preliminaries and later by a definitive Treaty of Peace, shall include the representatives of the Allied or Associated belligerent Powers.
>
> The belligerent Powers with general interests (the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan) shall attend all sessions and commissions.

We have there five great States, one of them the British Empire, of which Canada is a part. To continue:

> The belligerent Powers with special interests (Belgium, Brazil, the British Dominions and India, China, Cuba, Greece, Guatemala, Hayti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Siam, the Czecho-Slovak Republic), shall attend the sessions at which questions concerning them are discussed.

Now in the outside world we rank with Belgium, with the much despised Greece perhaps, with every one of the nations outside of the British Empire and of the four great States who constitute the principal Allied and Associated Powers. We rank with them in the eyes of all the outside world and are entitled to speak with the same authoritative voice that they do, and to be listened to as they are entitled to be listened to. And yet, forsooth, we are reproached because here within our own country we venture to call our country a nation. Let me add just one word on this point, and it is to present a wonderful contrast. The other day my hon. friend from Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) fought for hours with the bogey of Imperialism that was hidden away somewhere in this Treaty or could be traced somewhere in the words or actions of somebody on this side of the House. To-day, lo and behold, we have the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) his heart sad within him because we have started to break up the British Empire. The hon. gentlemen can perhaps reconcile these two views when they get together.

Now I proceed to the amendment which the hon. gentleman has moved. He has proposed that the following words be added to the resolution:

> That in giving such approval this House in no way assents to any impairment of the existing autonomous authority of the Dominion but declares that the question of what part, if any, the forces of Canada shall take in any war, actual or threatened, is one to be determined at all times as occasion may require by the people of Canada through their representatives in Parliament.

The amendment raises in the first place, I think, the question of what is the real meaning of Article X, not what is the nature of the obligation imposed upon Canada but what is the effect of the second

phrase of that Article. A great deal has been said with regard to Article X in this House, and outside of it. and in this country and outside, and I am perfectly free to admit that there is a great deal to be said pro and con with regard to the nature of the obligation that is by it imposed upon and accepted by all the nations who are parties to the Covenant. I do not purpose here to take up or discuss the nature of that obligation, nor whether it is one which the nations generally or Canada in particular should assume. I heard no criticism from the point of view of the nature or scope of the obligation. I do not purpose to express an opinion one way or the other upon that at the present time, for a reason which I will give very shortly. The amendment directs itself, if I understand it, to that part of Article X which deals with the manner in which the method of fulfilling the obligation is to be determined. The hon. gentleman, I think, shares the apprehensions of a number of other hon. gentlemen that by the second part of Article X "In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled," Canada's right to determine the question of what part, if any, the forces of Canada shall take in any war, actual or threatened is in some way put in danger. I think if he will read carefully the wording of the Article he will see that his fears are not well grounded. This is not an article which Canada alone is asked to sign; it is an article which all the nations who become members of the League are asked to sign. All of the members of the League undertake in unqualified terms the obligation to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and political independence of all the other nations who are members of the League. For the moment we are not concerned with the question whether or not they should have undertaken that obligation. What has given anxiety to the hon. gentleman and to other hon. members is the manner in which provision is to be made for the carrying out of that obligation. The second sentence of Article X reads as follows:

> In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

There it is stated in words as clear as the English language affords that the Council is to exercise an advisory function, not that it is to order any of the nations to do anything. It seems to me inconceivable that it should be suggested that because the Council has that advisory power,—the power to advise how Canada ought to fulfil its obligation—that it can claim in any way power to step in between the Government of Canada and the citizens of Canada and order a single soldier away from Canadian shores, or impose upon any Canadian citizen the obligation of contributing a dollar. I quite understand that when that advice is given there will arise a situation in which it will be for the people of Canada, who will be acting then through their Parliament, as they act now, to determine whether or not they should accept and act upon that advice; and it will only be if the Parliament of Canada decides to accept and act upon that advice that it will proceed to send soldiers and to raise money. Between the people of Canada and the operations of the Council, under Article X, there will always be standing the undisturbed power of the Parliament of Canada, and the same thing will be true with regard to the constituted authority, whatever it may be, in any of the countries which are members of the League. Now, it is to be admitted that the entering into this obligation will at that date put this country and every other country that subscribes to it in a position where it will have the duty of giving very serious thought to that advice. And I believe, with no hesitating belief, that if that advice presents itself in those days to the minds of the representatives of Canada as advice that is based upon a fair consideration that there has been unjust aggression such as is contemplated here, and that under the circumstances it is fair that Canada should be called upon; and if such advice as the council may give concerning the proportion of aid is fair advice, I have no doubt that the Parliament of Canada will accept it and act upon it. But if the views of the Parliament of Canada should be all the other way, there is absolutely no suggestion of any machinery in the Covenant of the League of Nations whereby a solitary soldier could be raised in Canada or a dollar of Canadian money spent. And as I have said, that is true of all the nations that take part in the Covenant. What the Article does is to recognize the soundness of the principle and the policy of a joint guarantee, so to speak, of the territorial positions and political independence of all the members of the

League. I am not dealing with the question of the nature of that obligation, and whether in its nature it is one that ought to be assumed. But when you come to the question of how far the power of the Council threatens the power of the Parliament of this country, I say without hesitation that it is impossible to suggest that there is any danger in that regard. More than that however, the advice that Canada should take part can never by any possibility come from a Council upon which Canada will be unrepresented; and coming from a Council upon which Canada will be represented it will not come unless it is unanimous; that is to say, unless the representative of Canada, who doubtless will be acting under the direction of the Parliament of Canada, has concurred in the advice that Canada should act.

Mr. FIELDING: My hon. friend assumes that Canada will have a representative, but does he show how?

Mr. DOHERTY: That is just what I am going to do. My hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Hon. Mr. Rowell), I thought, showed that clearly the other day.

Mr. FIELDING: He showed us that we could have a representative but not that we would.

Mr. DOHERTY: I purpose to read the provision which says that we shall have a representative under certain circumstances. There are three categories of people who may sit upon the Council. There are the representatives of the five great Allied and Associated Powers who are to sit there for all time. There are four representatives of the Powers with special interests who are to be elected by the general body of the Powers with special interests, and among whom Canada may be one of those elected. As to the probabilities of Canada being elected it is not worth while speculating. And when it comes to a question affecting directly any power among the Powers with special interests which is not represented on the Council, then that Power will have the right to send a representative to sit as a member of the Council; and when it will be a question of what part or interest Canada should take in any future war, surely no one will suggest that that is not a question in which she has a special interest. Even my hon. friend, who is incredulous about any special interests of Canada, will, I think, concede that that is a question concerning which Canada will have a special interest.

Article 4 provides:

> Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

Mr. FIELDING: That would mean if that member were a party to the dispute.

Mr. DOHERTY: There are two distinct things which my hon. friend must bear in mind—

Mr. FIELDING: Suppose that there is a dispute in which Canada is concerned. Let us admit that Canada would be entitled to send a representative. That is debatable and I do not admit it; but suppose for the sake of argument that Canada would be entitled to have a representative. Suppose that Canada is not a party to the cause except that twenty members are directed by the Council to contribute soldiers. Will each one of the twenty have a seat on the Council?

Mr. DOHERTY: If they discuss a question affecting each of the twenty at one and the same time, at the same meeting, then every one of those twenty will have a seat on the council.

Mr. FIELDING: Only when it is a party to the case.

Mr. DOHERTY: There are provisions for the Council dealing with disputes or cases, and there is a provision that stands by itself as to when there is no dispute, when nobody is suggesting the existence of a dispute upon which the Council is to pass. The facts provided for in Article X are these: Someone, referring no dispute whatever to the Council, is guilty of unjust aggression upon the territorial integrity of a country. There is no question or case submitted to anybody. That country has violated its obligations; it has submitted no case, but has gone to war. Under Article X it is the duty of every other member of the League of Nations to take its part to defend and preserve that integrity, and the Council meets, with no dispute before it, to determine as between the nations which of them should take part and what should be the proportion of each. When the question arises someone suggests in that council: "Well, Canada ought to take a hand in this," and he gives this, that or the other reason why it is proper to call upon Canada for a couple of hundred thousand men. The moment that is introduced to the Council, you have a meeting

to consider matters specially affecting the interests of Canada. That is the way that everybody I spoke to in Paris understood that section. I do not think I ever heard an explanation of Article X that did not conclude with the pointing out of that fact.

Mr. FIELDING: Under that interpretation the whole assembly would become members of the Council.

Mr. DOHERTY: If the Council chose at one and the same meeting to consider the duties and obligations of all of the members of the League who were not members of the Council, and if it was thought necessary that they should be considered at one and the same time, then the consequence that the hon. gentleman points out would come to pass. But let me suggest that that condition is highly improbable. Supposing it happened, what would be the harm? If it was a question of all the member nations of the League joining in apportioning between themselves the share of each, the most right and proper thing in the world would be that all the members of the League should come to the meeting. But that would happen rarely and infrequently. If the Council, dealing with a situation of that kind, had to determine what they would do with the small countries that would not be represented: Belgium, Poland, or, perhaps, Canada, that would involve the presence of a representative of any of these countries. The Council of Ten, in dealing with the Treaty, proceeded on the same basis. When the question came up where a nation not represented on the Council was specially affected, they called in a representative of that nation. That only meant that when they were dealing with something that affected, say, Poland, and another country, they called in a representative of each. If they were dealing with something that affected only one of the smaller nations, they called in a representative of only that one nation. The thing worked satisfactorily and I do not see why it should not work satisfactorily under this system.

Mr. DEVLIN: Is it dependent on the Council's decision whether, say, Canada would be called in or not?

Mr. DOHERTY: If the Council contemplated advising that Canada ought to take part in a war, then the Council would have to call Canada in, because the provision is that any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited whenever there is a question specially affecting its interests.

Mr. BELAND: In what capacity?

Mr. DOHERTY: To sit as a member.

Mr. BELAND: Having a vote?

Mr. DOHERTY: Of course.

Mr. BELAND: Where is that stated?

Mr. DOHERTY: All the members of the Council have votes, and it is provided that this gentleman shall sit as a member and his right to vote is not negatived.

Mr. BELAND: There is no special provision for the vote of a member who is invited to act as a representative. The evident purpose is to afford representation to the country that is invited to be present.

Mr. DOHERTY: I think you will find a provision that each member of the Council has a vote.

Mr. BELAND: My hon. friend knows that it is specified that the Council shall be composed of nine.

Mr. DOHERTY: Certainly, excepting on these occasions. You make a provision that every member of the body shall have a vote and then in the next line you say that on certain occasions John Jones shall be invited to come in and sit as a member. Surely he has the vote that a member has.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at 8 o'clock.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice)—Resuming: Mr. Speaker, when the House rose at 6 o'clock I was answering the suggestion of the hon. member for Beauce (Mr. Béland), that although, when our interests were especially affected, we would be entitled to a representative to sit as a member of the Council, that did not, in his view, give us a right to vote. I have pointed out that the provision itself is for the sitting as a member, and that where it is intended that a vote should not count special provision is made in Article 16. But there is something which is more direct and more absolute than that. In the first place, Article 4 provides in the last paragraph, that:

> At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

So that at meetings of the Council, each member, without distinction, represented

there shall have one vote. But what perhaps is more conclusive is the provision in Article 5.

Mr. BELAND: Will the hon. minister allow me to interrupt him at that point? Each representative can have only one vote; that is what the hon. minister has read. The British Empire already has one vote.

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes.

Mr. BELAND: How can Canada have one vote also?

Mr. DOHERTY: Because Canada, as a member of the League of Nations, is distinct from the British Empire. If the hon. gentleman will turn to the provision determining who are the original members, he will find himself referred to the schedule of the signatories of the Peace Treaty—one respect in which it was worth while for Canada to be a signatory by itself. But in the schedule itself he will find specified as the members of the League the British Empire, then Canada, Australia, and so on. So that the British Empire is one member of the League and Canada is another member.

Mr. TRAHAN: Will the hon. gentleman allow me a question?—But as a part of the British Empire. Because if you look at the appendix you will see that Great Britain, or the British Empire, is mentioned as a heading, and Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India are mentioned as sub-headings, indicating that they are members of the League of Nations, but as forming part of the British Empire.

Mr. DOHERTY: They are in a list under a sub-heading. But to give the interpretation the hon. member puts upon it is to suppose that the representatives of the United Kingdom conceded that the United Kingdom was not a member of the British Empire. That is not a complete list of the members of the British Empire; it is a list of those members who are distinctively members of the League of Nations, and the United Kingdom is not a distinctive member. To put the interpretation that the hon. member does on the mere fact of a difference in printed type means that he has to conclude that that is a list of the component parts of the British Empire, which forces him to the conclusion that the United Kingdom is no part of the British Empire. We have heard invoked as conclusive on the subject of interpretations the authority of the President of the United States. Might I point out to the hon. gentleman that upon this question which he is now raising my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) the other evening put upon Hansard the authoritative interpretation of Mr. Lloyd George, of Mr. Georges Clemenceau, and of Mr. Woodrow Wilson, in which they specifically state that each of the Dominions is eligible as among the Powers of particular interests entitled to have elected on the Council a member of the League each for itself.

Mr. TRAHAN: But—if you will allow me—when the British Empire is interested in a dispute concerning the British Empire as a whole the Dominions will have a right to sit on the Council, but they will not have a right to vote because they will be members interested as part of the British Empire.

Mr. BELAND: Hear, hear.

Mr. DOHERTY: That may possibly be true if you are dealing with matters which concern the British Empire as a whole.

Mr. TRAHAN: Yes.

Mr. DOHERTY: But when that happens, Canada will be entitled, as within the British Empire, to state her views as to who is to represent the British Empire. But once you come to the case—and that is the case we are dealing with—where Canada has a particular interest as Canada, where the question is: How many soldiers shall Canada be called on to furnish, then Canada will have her special representative sitting as a member on the Council of the League of Nations, and that, notwithstanding the fact that Great Britain has a member sitting there.

Mr. TRAHAN: If such member is elected by the Assembly.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. DOHERTY: No. I do not think the hon. member was here this afternoon, when I pointed out that when the day shall arrive that the Council is considering what part it will call on Canada to play in any particular war, then Canada will be invited to send a representative to sit as a member of the Council.

I was going to point out that there is not only the provision in the last paragraph of Article 4 that at meeting of the Council each member of the League represented shall have one vote, but there is more than that. Article 5 provides:

> Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assem-

bly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

Now, Article 4 has said that at the meeting when they are discussing what contribution Canada shall be asked for, Canada shall have a representative to sit as a member; and Article 5 says, that every decision shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting. Therefore it is impossible to conclude otherwise than that when it will be a question of calling upon Canada, or rather of advising Canada—for it is not a question of enforcing an obligation—of advising that Canada shall make a certain contribution in men or money or otherwise, Canada will be sitting there as a member of the League, and for any decision at that meeting there will be required the agreement of every member represented thereat. Words could not be clearer. It is impossible combining those texts to persist in the suggestion of a doubt on that point. As to the sub-heading, I think I have sufficiently dealt with that. I may say that not only the three outstanding great powers understood that as I understand it, and said so, but if you understand it as the hon. gentleman does you must determine that the United Kingdom has ceased to be a member of the British Empire, because you treat this as a list of the component parts of the British Empire and the United Kingdom is not there. I need not say that that is an impossible conclusion.

Now, Mr. Speaker, to come directly to the amendment and the proper method to deal with it. The hon. member has said that we should add this amendment to our resolution because the question which we have been discussing is at least debatable. Although the particular feature of it to which he attaches importance and which he looks upon as objectionable and seeks to correct by this amendment has been debated, with all the profound respect that I entertain for those who in this House and outside of it have debated this question, I confess that it does not seem to me to be debatable. But if we suppose for a moment that it is debatable, then one of two things is true. Either that portion of the article does mean what the hon. member fears it may mean; either it imposes an obligation upon Canada which constitutes an impairment of the existing autonomous authority of the Dominion and makes the question whether the part, if any, that the forces of Canada shall take in any war, actual or threatened, one which is not to be determined at all times as the occasion may require by the people of Canada through their representatives in Parliament, or it does not. If it has the effect that the hon. gentleman attaches to it, then certainly it imposes, not upon Canada in particular but upon all the nations that subscribe to it, a most important derogation to their respective sovereignties. If this clause means that, it is certainly a most important clause of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the suggestion that our approval should be accompanied with a declaration such as is contained in this motion amounts to nothing more or less than a refusal to accept this condition of the Covenant. A vote for this amendment, therefore, is, in effect, a vote to reject this provision of the Covenant; and you cannot reject the Covenant for part and adopt it for part; nor can you reject any part of the Covenant and imagine that you are adopting the rest of the Treaty —it is one whole. So that if the hon. gentleman's fears are grounded, this proposal is that we decline to approve of the contract because we approve subject to the striking out of a substantial provision. On the other hand, if the article does not mean what the hon. gentleman apprehends, then this resolution is absolutely useless. So that I cannot, for my part, contemplate for one moment the acceptance of the proposed amendment.

Mr. CANNON: Does the hon. gentleman consider as an amendment to a treaty a reservation made by one of the contracting countries?

Mr. DOHERTY: A reservation made by one of the contracting parties either involves an amendment to the treaty or is absolutely worthless and of no effect. The hon. gentleman would not suggest to me that having been presented with a contract which I am asked to sign in my every-day business, I could sit down and sign the contract, and, simultaneously or a moment before, sit down and write a reservation. If I signed that contract, I might stack my library with reservations or load up the other party to the contract with them, but the contract would mean just what it said and I would be bound by what I had signed. The only way that this amendment could be made to produce any effect would be if it were transmitted with our resolution of approval and if His Majesty, or whoever might represent him, when he came to impose his signature to the ratification, should insert that reservation

above his signature. But if he did that it would be saying, in effect: I do not sign the contract as it is; I sign it provided something else is put into it. And what about the other parties to the contract who have never agreed to that reservation? The hon. gentleman knows that a contract involves the consent of two parties in idem. The hon. gentleman gave us a little Latin the other night; I should like to show that I know a little, too. If a reservation affect the substance of the contract; if His Majesty's ratification signature on behalf of Canada is subject to a reservation that modifies the contract, then we stand as having refused the Treaty. If the hon. gentleman will turn to any of the books on international law he will find that instances are given. I recall in particular the instance of a treaty to which the United States was a party—I cannot recall the name of the treaty. The Senate agreed to it with reservations and all the rest of the parties to it said: Well, the United States has not agreed to it. And the treaty never became effective. If reservation is to have effect it can only have effect if in some way all the other parties to the contract assent to it.

Mr. CANNON: Would not a reservation be considered as our mode of interpretation of a clause?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, but that, I think, does not better the hon. gentleman's position. Let us come down to the simplest thing in the world and put this question: Does the hon. gentleman suggest that if a contract is presented to me in precise terms stipulating that I lease his house for $1,000 a year I can sign it and interpret it as meaning that I have to pay $500 a year? Is that a contract? These reservations or interpretations may be worth what they may be worth to salve the conscience of people who are hesitating to accept particular provisions. But if they modify the contract and have effect at all, it simply puts one of the parties in the same position as he would be in if he had not signed the contract.

Mr. JACOBS: I suppose that a treaty could be signed with a mental reservation?

Mr. DOHERTY: Well, I am afraid that a mental reservation would not be any help to the signatory. The hon. gentleman, entertaining that view, will, I fully expect, vote against the amendment, because the amendment is down in writing and he can have his mental reservation. All of us can have many mental reservations about different provisions in the Treaty.

Mr. DEVLIN: Do I understand the minister to refer to the amendment that is now before the House as affecting the Peace Treaty itself?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes.

Mr. DEVLIN: Is it not an amendment to the resolution which is under discussion?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, it is an amendment to the resolution, and the resolution is that we approve of the Treaty.

Mr. DEVLIN: But the resolution will not form part of the Peace Treaty.

Mr. DOHERTY: No, but it is the basis upon which this Government will have to act in advising His Majesty whether he should ratify this Treaty on behalf of Canada.

Mr. DEVLIN: I thought that that would be decided by the Bill based upon the resolution.

Mr. DOHERTY: No. If the hon. gentleman will read the Bill, he will see that its purport is to empower the Government of Canada to give effect to the different provisions of the Treaty, but the advice that the Government of Canada is by His Majesty called upon to give as to whether His Majesty should ratify the Treaty, will be advice given pursuant to this resolution, and if this resolution be that this Government should advise His Majesty to ratify the Treaty with a declaration that His Majesty, acting as he will be on behalf of Canada:

> In no way assents to any impairment of the existing autonomous authority of the Dominion, but declares that the question of what part—

And so on. If that means anything, if it affects in any way the Treaty, then, as I have said, His Majesty will not have ratified the Treaty on behalf of Canada. If, on the other hand, it does not affect the Treaty, that is to say, if nothing in the Treaty at the present time impairs the rights referred to, then it is absolutely purposeless to make such a reservation. We are face to face with this proposition: Do we purpose approving the Treaty and advising, on the part of this Government, His Majesty to ratify the Treaty, or do we not?

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Does the minister consider that this reservation affects the meaning of the Treaty?

Mr. DOHERTY: In my opinion, it does not in any way affect the meaning of the Treaty.

Mr. DEVLIN: I have not the Treaty under my hand, but as I remember it, the preamble of the Peace Treaty begins with the United States, and the second Power is the British Empire. Does not the British Empire, whether we ratify the Treaty or whether we do not, whether we accept this reservation or whether we do not, act through the King?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, the British Empire acts through the King. Canada is part of the British Empire. His Majesty entertained the view that when he purposed signing a Treaty on behalf of the British Empire, the way to do it was to sign it on behalf of each of the nations that compose the British Empire, and, therefore, he named plenipotentiaries to sign that Treaty on behalf of this nation that forms a part of the British Empire, and through them he signed that Treaty for Canada. His Majesty is proceeding now to ratify the Treaty, and he purposes following the same course, that is to say, he is going to sign it for the whole British Empire, and in his judgment, whatever may be the judgment of hon. members, he desires the advice of this nation of his Empire as to whether he, on behalf of the whole Empire, which will include us, is to ratify that Treaty. And before his Canadian advisers take the responsibility of giving that advice, they are asking this Parliament whether it approves their doing so. That is the absolutely simple operation which is taking place.

I have endeavoured to make clear the reasons why the proposed amendment seems to this Government absolutely unacceptable. One reason, and to me a conclusive one, why we should not adopt an amendment of this kind is that if it can be of any effect its effect will be to place us in the same position as though we had disapproved the Treaty.

But there is another reason why we should decline to entertain this amendment, and it is a reason to which I should like to call the attention of every hon. member who—and I think many hon. members are in that position—while he approves the general principle and the general plan of the Covenant of the League of Nations as well as of the Treaty as a whole, entertains doubts, and in some instances, very serious doubts, with regard to certain provisions and I am not going to say that the objections made have not been supported by arguments that deserve very careful consideration. But I want to point out to all the members of this House and more especially to members who have raised the objections to which I have referred, or who may find that the Covenant is open even to objections that have not been raised, that there is a method of having those objections met, which will be an effectual remedy, provided only that we approve the Treaty and having so approved it, and having, therefore, had it ratified on our behalf, we become a member of the League of Nations.

The Covenant of the League of Nations is not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, it is not a thing that is insusceptible of alteration and improvement. This great League of Nations is a new association that has been brought into existence. It is true that it has been furnished—a most unusual procedure—with a constitution to start off, which has been prepared and agreed to in advance by a certain number of those who contemplate becoming members; but there is provision in that Covenant itself for the amendment of the Covenant and there is furthermore provision for a right of withdrawal from the League for those who have gone in. Let me ask hon. gentlemen who entertain objections, that, in their judgment, are serious, to certain clauses of that Covenant: Is it better or wiser, because they do not like those particular clauses, because, in other words, this Covenant, the first attempt at making a proper constitution for this new association of an absolutely new kind, is not in every particular in accordance with their views, to reject it, with the consequences that would follow rejection. I do not imagine that our rejection would affect the continued existence of the League of Nations and its proceeding to do the good work that we all hope is before us, but it would leave us outside of the League of Nations.

Mr. DEVLIN: It would. There is no doubt about that?

Mr. DOHERTY: In my judgment, there is absolutely no question about it, and the converse proposition involves that Canada can be forced into the League of Nations against her will; and with all the respect that I entertain for hon. gentlemen who have suggested that it is constitutionally within the power of the United Kingdom to force us to become members of the League of Nations, I for one do not believe that to be true.

And in the second place I am convinced, as I am sure we all are convinced, that if the United Kingdom had the power to do

that she would not exercise it. The day has long gone by when there is any desire on the part of the United Kingdom to deal with Canada—or, with apologies to the hon. member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding)—with the other nations of the Empire with any assertion of the right to coerce.

Mr. CANNON: In what position would the United States of America be as regards the Treaty if the American Senate adopted the report which has just been sent to them by the Foreign Relations Committee?

Mr. DOHERTY: I am assuming that the report referred to—I have not seen the last text—involves substantial modifications of the Treaty. If that be so, and the United States Senate adopts those reservations, the United States will in effect have declined to become a party to the Treaty. While on that point I should like to point out that there is a substantial and material distinction between the position of Canada and the position of the United States with regard to this Treaty. The same distinction exists between the position of the United States and the position of Great Britain and possibly with some exceptions of the other nations that signed the Treaty. In these other nations there is one authority that has the treaty-making power. With us His Majesty the King has the treaty-making power. Now all treaties require to be ratified, unless under exceptional circumstances there is a stipulation to the contrary, before they are binding, and the authority which can ratify or authorize ratification is provided for in the constitutions of the different countries. The position of the United States is different. The President of the United States cannot make a treaty without the advice and consent of the Senate, so that up to the present time the United States has not actually made a treaty. We have made a treaty subject to ratification. The United States, having acted by the President of the United States alone has only acted by a part of its treaty-making power, and if the other part of the treaty making power should undertake to say: "Well, so far as the President goes he has made this Treaty, but we do not advise or assent to this Treaty being made unless this, that, or the other modification is made," it will in effect be declining to become a party to the Treaty. I say this subject to correction. It is a perilous thing to undertake to expound the constitution of another country.

Coming back to the question of the Covenant of the League of Nations, there is in it provision for amendment. Speaking for myself I should have been glad to have seen provision making amendment more easy, but there is provision for amendment. What does that mean? It means that at the first meeting of the League, and it is expected there will be a meeting shortly—at one time the meeting was expected to be in the month of October, but the delays that have occurred in different countries with regard to ratification have made that date impossible—any member represented in the assembly, and nobody has disputed that we will be represented there, will have the opportunity of putting forward his objections to whatever provisions he finds objectionable, and there face to face with everybody concerned, face to face with the body that can effect a remedy without delaying or affecting the Peace Treaty itself in any way, he will have the opportunity of lodging his objections and having the matter settled. With all the respect that I entertain for the great Conference that has delivered to the world this draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations, I permit myself to say that probably in that first assembly of the representatives of the members of the League you will find a body, I will not say more competent, but probably more favourably situated to consider calmly, quietly and deliberately such proposals as may be made and to give re-consideration to such clauses of the present Covenant as may be called in question. I say that without any reflection on the Conference, but one cannot lose sight of the fact that the Conference, in addition to dealing with this weighty problem of the creation of the League of Nations, had in addition intricate and complex problems of the very first importance that had to be solved to bring about the Treaty of Peace itself. I would therefore appeal to every member of this House who sees objection, and serious objection, to certain clauses of this Covenant to join with us in expressing that approval which will bring about ratification of the Treaty and ensure our membership in the League of Nations. Having done that, we shall have done our part to put in motion that great machine, if I might use the expression, with whose intended purpose I am sure we are all in absolute sympathy. Let us do our part to get that organization into active existence, helping thereby to set on foot and make a practical thing what the world has sighed for and dreamers

have dreamed of for centuries. Nobody in the present day can take to his soul the flattering unction that he conceived the idea of a League of Nations. There have been projects for a League of Nations for centuries past, different projects put forward by men of great weight in their day. They, all of them, failed of realization. We having got so far, let us have to-day no responsibility for the failure of the realization of this project to the extent of bringing it into existence so that it may start on its great work. And if part of that great work should be the amendment and improvement of this Covenant, its own constitution, the sooner it is put in a position to consider the desirability of taking that action if on mature consideration it is found necessary, the better for the whole world.

In conclusion, therefore, I have but to reiterate what I have said with regard to the position which the Government finds it necessary to take upon the proposed amendment, and to repeat my hope that this House will see its way to adopt the resolution unanimously. I think that, with what I have pointed out with regard to a better opportunity that will come for dealing with this Covenant, if it requires improvement, as soon as the League of Nations has been brought into existence—with that present to our minds, and with this further fact present to our minds, that if any of us consider modification essential or of great importance, or if this House upon further consideration should come to the conclusion that modification in connection with Article X or any other provision is necessary, it will be perfectly open and competent to this House, when it sends its representative to the League of Nations, to send him there with instruction as to the amendment, whether it be this or any other that, in the opinion of this House, is essential or necessary or desirable in the interests of Canada, I trust that we shall unanimously adopt the resolution. You will send your representative, as I have said, to a place where, if he can persuade the other nations that the amendment is desirable he can have it effectively dealt with and should his effort so to persuade fail, then it is always open to us to withdraw should we so desire.

Mr. LUCIEN CANNON: May I ask the minister one question? Should Canada withdraw from the League, after giving proper notice, who would then decide if Canada had fulfilled her obligations to the League?

Mr. DOHERTY: The question, I may say, does not seem to me from a practical point of view to be of very great importance, because I cannot conceive that Canada during any period in which she would be a member of the League would put herself in a position in which it would be questioned whether she had fulfilled her obligations or not. But if we do assume that Canada finds it necessary to withdraw, and if she be of opinion that she has fulfilled all her obligations and somebody in the League of Nations is of a different opinion, whoever it may be that may seek to hold Canada within the League of Nations, notwithstanding her withdrawal, because she had not fulfilled her obligations, will have incumbent upon him the duty of proving that she had not fulfilled them. So far as my reading of the Treaty goes, there is no tribunal established to determine whether or not a nation has fulfilled its obligations.

Mr. CANNON: Could Canada withdraw and the British Empire remain in the League of Nations?

Mr. DOHERTY: In my opinion, I do not see that there is anything to prevent Canada withdrawing from the League of Nations even though the other nations of the British Empire determine to remain within it. Gentlemen all speak as though Canada were one thing and the British Empire another. Canada is part of the British Empire, and if Canada withdraws part of the British Empire will have withdrawn.

Mr. CANNON: I do not want to interrupt the minister because I realize he must be tired, but this is a very important point. We are a distinct member of the League of Nations, according to the hon. minister. Would we then withdraw as a distinct member and nevertheless remain a part of the British Empire?

Mr. DOHERTY: Everybody who agreed to the Covenant agreed that we, while remaining a part of the British Empire, should become a distinct member of the League of Nations. If we could become a distinct member—I say "distinct"; I do not say "separated from" or any other word that implies that we are not still in the Empire—if it was possible for us to become a distinct member of the League of Nations, then I cannot see how it can be contended that such a distinct member cannot withdraw.

Mr. CANNON: What would be our position then as regards the British Empire?

Mr. DOHERTY: That would be a matter to determine between the different members of the British Empire. If that question

should arise, just as if any other question should arise as to what the members of the British Empire, or the British Empire as a whole, should do with regard to external matters, and if it should be impossible to arrive at an agreement as to what should be done, all I can say is that we would find ourselves face to face with a very serious situation. We would be a partnership whereof the members could not agree, and what the consequence would be I do not want to foretell. I have confidence, and I am sure we all have sufficient confidence, in the sound sense, the common patriotism, the desire to meet each other that prevails among the different members of the British Empire, to go to bed and sleep peacefully without worrying our heads with fears of what is going to happen when it is found impossible to agree. It is no more probable that we should find it impossible to agree as to membership in the League than it is that we should find it impossible to agree upon any other question affecting the relations of the British Empire, or the relations of any of the nations of the British Empire with the outside world.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I feel that with the co-operation of quite a few members of this House I have taken up more time than I should have had I been all alone. However, no one will dispute the importance of the question. I have had numerous appeals made to me for such information as it was in my power to give, and so far as I have been able to recall such questions as have been put to me, I have endeavoured to answer them to the extent of my knowledge. I venture to repeat my hope and my confidence that this House will reject the amendment and adopt the resolution purely and simply, and I trust that it may do so unanimously. After all, as I have pointed out, if you make the very most of the objections to which any one or more of the conditions of the Covenant may be open —our accepting it as it stands makes us members of the League, and thereby we create for ourselves the opportunity to urge our case for modification before a body that can grant effective modification. If our effort should fail there and we should still be convinced that there are insuperable, fundamental, important objections to any of the clauses of the Covenant, or if experience should show that they do involve us in a responsibility beyond what we understand to-night, or beyond what we may then consider it just or right that we should assume, there is always the open door for us.

What then do we risk by lending our aid to the attainment of what has been so long the world's most glorious ambition the leagueing together of the nations for the maintenance of Peace even if we think the plan has some defects? If any member feels that it has objectionable features what do we risk if we by our votes ratify this Treaty and place ourselves in the League of Nations thus providing ourselves with a proper forum in which to obtain improvement? If we should fail there to obtain any amendment we may deem essential, we shall be free to walk out of the door as untrammeled as if to-night we should vote to reject the Covenant in toto, or any of its conventions. Of the ultimate object to be attained the importance cannot be exaggerated. The risk to be taken is assuredly small. To those who doubt I would say have the courage to take it.

Mr. L. J. GAUTHIER (St. Hyacinthe-Rouville): Mr. Speaker, the question with which the House is confronted is one of those problems in regard to which there might appear to be so much prejudice that it is with great diffidence indeed that any member of this House undertakes to participate in the debate. But the question is of such magnitude and it carries with it such a heavy burden of responsibility that I feel in duty bound to give my modest and humble contribution to the debate. My task indeed is rendered more arduous by reason of the fact that I am following the hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) who has had the privilege of attending the Paris Conference and who has introduced into the debate a lot of explanations. If I may be permitted to express an opinion upon the address which has been delivered by the minister, I would say that I was more favourably impressed by the last part of it than by the first. The last part was more the speech of a statesman than the first part, although I do not want to show any disrespect towards the minister. He has charged my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding) with trying to belittle the country and the plenipotentiaries who were sent to Paris. This may be good tactics but surely it is not what might be expected from an hon. gentleman of the status or the standing of the Minister of Justice. We have been called upon to attend this session of Parliament, we are sitting here as members of Parliament, and when a gentleman of the standing and experience of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queens rises in his place to offer criti-

cism and to take part in the discussion of so important a document as the Peace Treaty, he can do it on his own responsibility without being charged with trying to belittle his country or the representatives of the country who went to the Conference.

The Minister of Justice asked a question which was so to speak, the infancy of art. He asked: "Was Canada interested in the war?" Certainly our country was interested in the war. We had a war session and we gave a blank cheque to the ministers of the Crown. We suspended the laws of the country; we introduced conscription; we enlisted an army of some 500,000 men. There are 60,000 of our soldiers who lie entombed in the soil of France. Were we interested? Why did we participate? Because we decided to join hands with the Mother Country. We decided to take part in the war and to cast in our lot with the Allies in order that Prussian autocracy should be smashed and that future generations of Canadians should enjoy the liberties that our forefathers had won for us. We were interested in the war, and we have done our share. I would ask the ministers of the Crown: "Are we not interested in securing peace"? They say: "Yes," and I say "Yes" also. If we are interested in securing peace, and if it be true that we cannot secure peace and obtain a cessation of hostilities until this Treaty is ratified by the proper authorities, why should the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) ask the King to wait, to stay his hand, and not ratify this Treaty until this Parliament has been consulted? It was first ratification, it was next approval, and it is sometimes approbation that is asked; —it may be concurrence or endorsation later on; we do not know what it is. But we claim, and we have a right
9 p.m. to claim, so long as we offer honest criticism, that the act which is asked from this Parliament has no value whatever. Have we not a right to our opinion if we have the courage to express it in a fair way why should some hon. members try to mis-state our position and to tell us we want to remain a colony and that we are Little Canadians? I believe that such criticism is out of the question and ought not to be introduced into a debate such as this. The question is too serious to try to make political capital out of it.

The Minister of Justice has said that Canada has grown from a colony to a nation. On this argument I wish to join issue with him. I would ask the House:

When did we emerge from a state of dependency to a state of nationhood? Was it before the war, was it during the war, or was it after the war? As a component part of the British Empire we were at war as soon as war was declared by Great Britain. We could have been attacked. We did not wait to be attacked, we decided to participate. But when our soldiers reached the soil of Europe they were incorporated into the Imperial army and formed part of it. Some hon. gentlemen claim that Canada being one of the sister nations forming the British Empire surely she was a nation. The day before yesterday the hon. President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) read before this House two documents, in one of which it was stated that we could not get copies of certain papers without securing the consent of the Imperial authorities.

Ships that had been commandeered by the Admiralty could not be restored to this country and registered here without first securing the assent of the Imperial authorities. Is that the status of a nation? Did we acquire nationhood during the war? I say no. The only answer—and this is where we cannot agree—the only answer which need be used to refute the argument that we have changed from being a component part of the British Empire to become a nation is contained in the Order in Council appointing the plenipotentiaries who were supposed to go to Versailles and affix their signatures to the Treaty of Peace on behalf of the Dominion.

I submit, Sir, that nationhood on our part cannot be attained except by the act of three powers: First, the Canadian people, who would manifest their intention of changing their present dependency for nationhood; second, a parliament regularly elected with a specific mandate; but I believe that in our position even on the initiative of these two powers, nationhood could not be secured without the participation of the Mother Country. And here is what I base my argument upon. Canada was ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, together with a population of 65,000, to whom and their successors were preserved certain privileges and prerogatives, and Great Britain pledged herself to safeguard them. In 1774 we had what we call the Quebec Act, and the same safeguard was embodied therein. Afterwards we had the Constitutional Act of 1791, followed by the Union Act of 1841, and finally the Act of Confederation of 1867. The privileges and prerogatives so preserved to the former population and

to their successors have been safeguarded by the Crown of England, and we claim, Sir,—I do not hold the same opinion as my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding); I hope that at some future time Canada will have her independence and become a nation—but I claim that when that time shall arrive independence could be given to us only by the will of the people, duly declared by Parliament, and concurred in by the Imperial authorities, so that the privileges and prerogatives granted under the signature of the King of England may be maintained for the benefit of the successors of those who were ceded by the Treaty of Paris.

Some hon. gentlemen want to believe that we are a nation. I claim, Sir, it is impossible for us to be a component part of the Empire and at the same time to be a nation. My hon. friend from Dorchester (Mr. Cannon) asked the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) this question: Supposing that Canada, as a distinct nation, should retire from the League, and that the British Empire should remain in the League, what would happen to Canada? Well, Sir, Canada being a component part of the Empire, she would have to remain in the League. She would come out as a distinct entity, but she would remain there as a component part of the British Empire.

The Minister of Justice gave us many explanations of the Treaty provisions, and I was very glad to hear them, because I had read in the New York Times of August 30 a report which made me feel somewhat uneasy. I was under the impression, from the explanations that we had had so far from the representatives of Canada at the Peace Conference, that this article referred to the Minister of Justice, as it is in this form was correct.

> We quote from a statement made recently before the United States Committee on Foreign Relations (Part 17 Treaty of Peace with Germany) by Mr. Frank Walsh, who was one of the delegates sent to the Peace Conference on behalf of Ireland. Speaking before the Senate Committee, Mr. Walsh's statement is reported as follows:
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> "Senator Brandegee: At the time this covenant was accepted by the plenary Conference was there any attempt to elucidate its provisions, to explain the various provisions in it, or any debate upon it, other than the formal set speeches of the heads of the nations which presented it to the Conference?
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> "Mr. Walsh: Not a particle. It had been presented before, there were some objections made to certain parts in it, and it went back, and this meeting was called, and I talked to one of the most powerful members of the Conference outside the Big Four. He is a lawyer of very fine ability. As we are going in to have everything open, I will say that it was Judge Doherty, of Canada, representing the Dominion of Canada, and the night before he did not know what was in it."

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. GAUTHIER: If this report is correct I suppose that the hon. minister since his return to Canada has had all the time necessary to study the Treaty, because he gave quite an explanation of its provisions.

He said that we have a written constitution. Sir, it is because we have a written constitution that I consider—and I do not want the expression I am going to us to be regarded as showing a want of respect for the hon. minister or of other hon. members who share his opinion—I say it is because we have a written constitution that I claim it is absurd, without amending this written constitution, to state that we were a colony yesterday and that we are a nation to-day. Why, in a matter of this importance, should hon. members play with words? They may be pompous, sonorous and consoling, but no words however strong or grandiloquent can alter the written constitution that we have in the British North America Act; it is an impossibility.

The hon. minister (Mr. Doherty) in answer to a question put, I believe, by my hon. friend from Dorchester (Mr. Cannon), said that there was a difference between the American Senate and this House. I believe so, Sir; and the reason is very clear and very simple. The United States of America are a nation, we are not; they have sovereignty, we have not.

The President of the United States cannot be a party to a treaty on behalf of the United States without the consent of the Senate; the representatives of the great powers cannot make treaties; they must go back to the proper authority—to the authority which is representative of the sovereignty of the land. The comparison, therefore, which my hon. friend seeks to make really does not exist.

I now come to the amendment proposed by the member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding). I listened with a good deal of attention to the speech of the Minister of Justice and I must say that I cannot agree with him. It is debatable whether we are a nation or not. I say that it is debatable, because some hon. members on the other side contend with a good deal of seriousness that we are a nation, while there are gentlemen on both sides of the House who affirm that we are not a nation. But whether we are a nation or not, we do not

want our privileges to be impaired. Why should the Government, through the Minister of Justice, refuse the amendment which has been proposed? If we are a nation, we are entitled to all the privileges of a nation; why should we not keep those privileges unimpaired? If we are not a nation, why should we take away from Parliament the privileges accorded to it by our constitution? The amendment of my hon. friend is a safeguard, whether we are a nation or not—but the minister does not want to accept it.

Let me put this question. Having always in mind the fact that the amendment is merely the addition of a safeguard and that it does not impair the resolution, can it be denied that when our representatives, holding a mandate from this Parliament, sit in the conferences which will subsequently be held, their position will be made stronger with this amendment than it would be without it? Why should the Government refuse this amendment? It is all very well to appeal to the generosity, to the philanthropy, to the sentiment of members who do not feel disposed to swallow this proposal without discussion—having first covered them with abuse of all kinds. Sir, I will try to explain why the Government does not want to accept the amendment, even though it would safeguard our privileges and strengthen the hands of our representatives at future conferences.

Basing the nomination of the plenipotentiaries who were supposed to represent Canada on an Order in Council passed under a law which was of a very exceptional nature, and doing so without consulting Parliament, the Government has, through the Canadian delegates to the Peace Conference, entered into the Covenant of the League of Nations which is embodied in the Peace Treaty. To my mind, the Peace Treaty proper is what marks the cessation of hostilities; the League of Nations is simply a preventive of future wars. By this Order in Council, then, the Government took upon their shoulders a responsibility which they were not obliged to take. Why did they assume that responsibility? I am speaking only for myself, but I have my own suspicions. A few moments ago the Minister of Justice said that the nation of Canada would have to provide for the defence of this country. Well, Sir, that is no new obligation; that is an obligation which rests upon us under our constitution. So that there must have been some other reason; what was it? The Minister of Justice says that the member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) agitates the bogey of imperialism. Who was interested in setting in motion the machinery which caused the Prime Minister of Canada to go to the Prime Minister of England, not at the request of the Prime Minister of England, but to ask a favour? Who was interested? Was it the British Empire? No; if they had been interested, they would have indicated their interest by requesting the Prime Minister of Canada to do that. Was it Canada that was interested? No; the people of Canada were not consulted about it. Who, then, were the parties interested? I contend, Sir, that the Prime Minister was obeying orders that did not emanate from the British authorities. In Great Britain there is a school of men who believe that the British Empire cannot attain its objects and ideals and realize the form of Government which Britain has given to the world without linking together all the Dominions which are the component parts of the British Empire. Our own imperialists are not satisfied with the sacrifices that Canada has made for the sake of freedom and liberty. They refuse to open their eyes to the significance of the events which brought ruin and devastation to the German Empire, that country whose imperialists and junkers of the Wilhelmstrasse declared war in order to create their proposed system of Mittel Europa and German domination over the world. They refuse to be enlightened by this example, and to-day the German war lord who at one time had the audacity to proclaim himself the partner of God is an exile in the castle of Amerongen.

What is going to happen, Sir? Hon. members opposite have hurled across the floor of the House expressions which indicate if not their contempt, at least their disregard for the people whom I represent. But these things have no effect upon me; I stand by the rights accorded to my people under the constitution which was granted by my King, and within that constitution I want to remain.

It satisfies me, it is the safeguard of my privileges, my prerogatives and my liberties, and I want to keep it; and whenever Britain will acknowledge that the time has arrived to grant us the full sovereignty of nationhood, I have confidence enough in Great Britain to say in advance that the nation which has affixed her signature to the documents that I have quoted will see that these privileges and these prerogatives will be safeguarded. We are not secessionists; we want to remain with Great Britain. And, may I be permitted to say, our only safeguards are His Majesty the

King, the Union Jack and the British authorities. I have confidence in no other. Do hon. gentlemen believe that we would be foolish enough to cast away our protection and our safeguard? Let them not be afraid. We will remain British subjects and we will remain faithful British subjects; but we claim that it is our privilege to look in advance and when we see dangers, when wreck threatens, we believe it is our right, our duty, to say to the Government: Halt, stop and consider what you are doing, and beware that the act that you are committing to-day is not the beginning of a repetition of the sad story which the exile of Amerongen is at present weeping over.

Mr. FRED. LANGDON DAVIS (Neepawa): Mr. Speaker, it is almost certain that any speaker coming into this debate at this late hour will have to repeat some of the things that have already been said, and I trust that in that event I shall have the patience of the House. A little over five years ago, Germany entered on the destruction of the world, a world that had in a little over a hundred years built up a mercantile system, a system of economics and finance, which was unknown before that time. The greatest factor in that great development had probably been Great Britain. She had developed first her system of manufactures; she had developed the theory of free trade; she had seen that in the development of the world and in the development of nations lay her greatest safety and her greatest profit. Her moneys were spent in the United States of America, in Argentina, and throughout the dominions of the British Empire, building up other nations with which she might trade. During this time Europe, with a feeling of uncertainty, was trying, nation by nation, to build up a system by which each would be sufficient to itself. Even when alliances were formed for the protection of some balance of power, there were strategic territories which each sought to acquire for itself, and which its allies sought that it should acquire.

Such, perhaps, was the explanation of the aggressions of Germany when she sought Schleswig, when she sought Alsace-Lorraine. Such too was the attitude of mind of Austria when she acquired Bosnia and Herzegovina in direct conflict with the Treaty of Berlin. Such was the condition of Europe. And when Germany upset the balance of the world and tried the strength of her system against all the remaining strength of the world, her hope of success lay in one direction and in one event alone, namely, the speedy gain of her ends through her greater preparation. That end she was not able to attain for all her century of preparation. She first had adopted the system of conscription; she had gained the territory she needed for her support; she had the arms and equipment together to make an attack upon civilization. What beat her in the end was the system which Britain had supported. At the end of the struggle, we found Britain with every nation which had a surplus of food supplies her ally. All those were supporting France and freedom from the aggression of the military states. So Germany's attack upon the economic system of the modern world, upon its financial system, and throughout the war upon its social system in her denial of the tenets of Christianity, failed in the end and miserably failed, and now she faces the payment of the penalty for her offence. And great indeed was her offence. She has set back social and domestic reforms in all democratic States for probably two or maybe three or four generations. The moneys that were needed for certain purposes we have had to put into the effort to defeat her, and should we now attempt to carry on the work upon the old separatist principle, that setback will undoubtedly be the result. It is only through a system which is made possible by a League of Nations that it will be possible for this world to recover itself and to put itself upon the road towards renewed freedom for social and domestic reforms.

It seems to me that when we speak of British Imperialism, we should draw a distinction between that and every other Imperialism the world has ever known. The fact of the matter, as I see it, is that the British Empire grows from its circumference, that its Imperialism arises on its confines and not at its centre. It has been truly said by one that "the expansion of England is carried forward by the Overseas Dominions; that British statesmanship did not broaden the Empire, but British statesmanship is coloured by the expansion of England. And such, indeed, is the fact. If we go back even sixty-five or seventy years, we shall find that Britain was prepared to see each of her colonies set out on a road of independence. That road was not taken because of the choice of those colonies. We in Canada hoped for a greater thing. Lionel Curtis, in his book, has said, and I think truly said, that "we will have a higher organization of the commonwealth

when that is the road to a higher freedom." Such to-day we do not see. Indeed, it may be said that in the development of the outlying parts of the Empire, we have taken the road of autonomy; we have gone so far along that road that now it is practically unthinkable that we should turn back and reverse ourselves and be an Imperial federation.

Indeed, if you will read the reports of addresses upon that ninth resolution of the Conference of 1917, you will see that all who spoke upon it spoke with one mind. They spoke then of equality of nationhood; they spoke of the colonies as nations. In listening to this debate I could not help thinking that it would be well if some of our friends on the Speaker's left were to recall the time when Sir Wilfrid Laurier came back from the Jubilee and spoke of Canada as a nation. The Conservative party then called his expression mere rhodomontade, and it seemed to me that that word was in the minds of many of those who have spoken in this debate, when similar expressions as to Canada's status as a nation were heard from your right, Sir. The fact is this: It is recognized not only in the confines but at the centre of the British Commonwealth that we are citizens of one Empire, subjects of one King, and that the citizens of one part of the King's domains are not sovereigns over their fellow-citizens in another part. That is our comprehension of our situation. It is true that we have been granted a charter in the British North America Act for this nation of ours. The hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr Fielding) properly drew a distinction between the ways in which that word "nation" is used. The word "nation" may be used when you speak of a sovereignty, and also when you speak of a people. For instance, we see resuscitated to-day, after a hundred and fifty years of submergence, the "nation" of Poland. Who will say that Poland through the years of her disasters has not been a nation? She knew no tie of sovereignty, she governed not herself; but she was a nation. What makes us a nation? Is it not the thought and the aim in the hearts of you and me and the people like unto us? Indeed, it is that thought that makes us Britishers, and while that thought is the same for Britain we shall be Britishers, and when that thought and that sympathy cease we shall cease to be Britishers—God forbid that the time should come soon; I doubt if it will ever come, but that is the fact. Why, to-day, have we no feeling of inferiority when we meet this British citizen whose vote may settle our destiny? Do you or I, when we meet him, ever have that feeling in mind? No. Why? For this reason: The grant that has been made by the British Crown to us can never be taken back, and it lies in our hands to make that grant complete. If this Parliament or any other Parliament chooses to declare Canada a sovereign state Britain will raise no hand against it. Our fate lies in our own hands. That we have not gone on to independence in the past, that we do not seek to go on to independence now, is because we have a higher and a greater hope. We know that in the British Empire we can be a greater force for righteousness, a greater controlling influence in this mundane sphere than ever we could be as a separate state. Once an American asked me why we did not think of becoming Americans. I chanced to think of an illustration and took a coin from my pocket and said, "When that coin is worn to a wafer that you can twist between thumb and finger the effigy of His Majesty can still be discerned upon it," and I said "Such is the spirit of the people of Canada." That I believe; that I know. We sent 55,000 men to their death not merely to defeat militarism and to maintain the freedom of the world, but to demonstrate our oneness with the British Empire.

With regard to the League of Nations, I fully agree with what the Minister of Justice has said as to the meaning of Article 10, and I cannot see the effect or importance of the amendment which has been proposed. I think that if hon. gentlemen will read Articles 16, 4 and 5, after reading Article 10, they will see that there can be no other meaning than that we as a nation concerned shall be consulted, and on that consultation we have a veto as to any demand that may be made upon us. That, after all, is but a sensible provision. If Canada should be asked in a case of that sort to contribute forces and we did not wish to do so, there are a dozen ways in which we could refuse without declining outright the request of the League of Nations. We could so delay in making our preparations that our forces would not land upon the field in time to be of any use. It would be no use trying to compel any state to take any such action unless there was good will and co-operation behind its efforts.

The Covenant of the League of Nations also recognizes, most sensibly, that there

will yet be wars among states, and recognizes that there should probably be defensive alliances. That I understand to be the meaning of section 21—that there may still be defensive alliances between states for their protection. That is what France has been demanding for herself. She is not, I believe, willing to rely entirely upon the conditions of this Covenant, but seeks rather the assistance of those tried and true friends, Great Britain and Italy. It is true that the League of Nations does not live up to all that some of us would like to see, but then very few of us ever make a bargain even between man and man that turned out just as we would like to have it; and that the nations of the world should come together and be able to form a covenant that would be entirely in conformity with any one's ideals is unthinkable. It is true that Italy at one stage left the Conference because she could not get her way with regard to the Dalmatian coast, and that Japan seized that opportunity to raise the question of Shantung. It would have been fatal to the League had two great associated powers left it, and in the circumstances a concession was made to Japan that is certainly contrary to the spirit of the League, and that future times, I hope, will correct. This Covenant is but the prospectus of the development we hope to see. We hope that some day the League will be a great success.

With regard to Canada's part, I think that in the past we have been satisfied to be in the position of members of a company. To-day we are asked to go beyond that; we are asked to take the position of one of the directors who shall guarantee the company's liabilities. For my part, I do not think it would be advisable for us to decline. As for the contention that we are but a colony, it is true that we are a dependent province of Great Britain, that we lack many of the rights of sovereignty. We cannot take away or add one foot to the territory which the British North America Act has given us to govern; we have not control over our merchant shipping; we have not treaty-making powers; we let our appeal cases go to the High Court of the Empire, the Privy Council. In many respects our sovereignty is still incomplete, and that is a matter that rests entirely in our hands. I observe also that there is not a complete uniformity about the way this Treaty is made. The Dominion of Newfoundland is not a party thereto. As I understand the situation, treaties are brought before Parliament, in modern times at least, because Parliament holds the purse strings. In the past the Executive signed treaties without reference to Parliament, although when fiscal measures have been necessary Parliament has usually been, and now always is, consulted. The Parliament of the United Kingdom, it is true, has the right to ratify this Treaty, and our approval perhaps is not strictly necessary. But there are fiscal provisions. If you will look at sections 6, 23 and 24 you will see that there are certain measures that call for the expenditure of money, and I have little doubt that the Dominion of Newfoundland has expressed her assent to the Imperial Government, for which reason she is not a party to the Treaty. We as a greater State and a more important section of the British Empire, upon whom these obligations may some day lay claim, are asked here to approve. Holding as I do the view that there is no reason at all for the amendment and that our autonomy is protected—and I think you will see New Zealand particularly taking that position, for Sir Joseph Ward says he will never be a party to the control of the defence forces of New Zealand going into any other hands than those of New Zealand—I think that the proposition would not have been put up to us in any other way than in the light in which the Minister of Justice has propounded it. I purpose, therefore, to vote in favour of approval without the amendment, which in my opinion is entirely unnecessary.

Mr. EMMANUEL B. DEVLIN (Wright): Mr. Speaker, I did intend to say a word to the House, but I find that there is no member of the Cabinet present, and I should like to know if the Cabinet has resigned. There is some information which I desire to ask of some member of the Cabinet if it is at all possible to have one present, and I ask in all seriousness, Sir, who is at present leading the Government?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: The call of the blood is irresistible.

Mr. DEVLIN: Mr. Speaker, my remarks this evening will be very brief. I want to thank the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) for coming into the House and giving to a member of the Opposition the attention that one would naturally expect he would give, as he has done this afternoon in the enlightening speech which he has delivered. I have listened with considerable attention to a debate in this House relating to constitutional law. Men eminent in constitutional law have given us their views, and

the only clear, concise and useful information that has been given to the House in order to guide it upon this momentous question which we are called upon to decide was given this afternoon by a man who is capable of giving and is authorized to give views upon the legal aspects of a case referred to us by the Crown, and that is the Minister of Justice. This question respecting the Peace Treaty is one which may mean absolutely nothing to the Canadian people and the Canadian Parliament, as some have argued to-day, or it may mean a total change in our relations with the Empire, it may mean a total change in the status of Canada. I have carefully weighed the question in order that I might take that action which I believe that, as a representative of the people, I should take, independent of political parties, or of what others may think or say, and wishing only to do towards my country what I consider to be in my country's interest.

At times it must have been amusing to the House to hear some eminent gentlemen argue that the Empire was ours. This proposition has been quite seriously put forward by hon. gentlemen on previous occasions. It has been suggested by the right hon. the leader of the Government (Sir Robert Borden), who, I must say, I regret is not enjoying at present the best of health—and I want to say that although I am speaking upon this question to-night I will not vote upon it, because I am paired with the right hon. gentleman. I felt, Sir, that I could not refuse, when asked, to pair with the Prime Minister, because he is not as well as he generally is, and I was informed that he was confined to his bed. Nevertheless, I shall be constrained at times, in the course of the very few remarks I intend to make, to refer to him. For instance, the right hon. gentleman, speaking in the year 1915, said:

> The events of the past six months mark a new stage in our nationhood; a new chapter in the book of our destiny has been opened. The strength of our Empire—

Mark the words "our Empire."

> —bound by the ties of liberty and autonomous self-government, has been tested and it has held firm and true.

The Prime Minister uses the words "our Empire" and then he further says the autonomous government of this country has been tested and has been found true. A few months before the right hon. gentleman read a communication from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Right Hon. Mr. Harcourt of the British Government, and without wishing to read all the letter I wish to make reference to two clauses in it.

> The splendid contingents from our overseas dominions, from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland, etc.,—in fact from every quarter of the globe—have not yet, with the exception of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, been engaged. The above with the new armies now perfecting their training in England should exercise a preponderating influence on the ultimate decision.

Do you note that Mr. Harcourt there speaks of "our overseas dominions"?—whereas the right hon. gentleman leading the Government speaks of "our Empire". These are simply words. I cite them merely to show how ridiculous they sound at another time. At the time they were uttered they carried the applause of this House but to-day what does it matter to hon. members whether we own the British Empire or whether the British Empire owns us? After all, what does it mean? The status of Canada does not require an exhaustive argument, it seems to me, and I say that with all due deference to the able constitutional authorities who have spoken. It is impossible to call a country a nation—I know the Minister of Justice will agree with me because he taught me in the university—that is subject to the government of another country. If Canada were not subject to the government of another country we might call Canada a nation. The word "nation" may be used as a figure of speech. I believe that at times I have myself been guilty of calling Canada a nation—a growing nation. The Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the greatest statesman the people of this country have ever seen, used the word "nation". I want to say right here, Sir, that if I have a political leader in Canada to-day my political leader is the school of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the policy laid down by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I know that he spoke of Canada as a nation. He spoke of Canada as a nation, using the word "nation" as a figure of speech. He spoke of Canada as growing to the power of a nation, but he never wished to argue constitutionally, as hon. gentlemen in this House have sought to do, that Canada was really a nation. The whole question is determined by the British North America Act; it is in the British North America Act in words. I heard my hon. friend from St. Hyacinthe (Mr. Gauthier) say to-day, speaking in the name of the race to which he belongs, that they wanted to live up to the British North America Act. They ask for nothing more than was contained in that Act and they are satisfied with it.

Section 9 defines the executive power of Canada as follows:

The Executive Government and authority of and over Canada is hereby declared to continue and be vested in the Queen.

The Queen is dead; long live the King. My hon. friends, constitutional lights and eminent preceptors of the law, may argue that Canada is a nation; other hon. gentlemen may argue that Canada is a colony. I love to speak of Canada as a growing nation but the British North America Act tells us that the executive power of this country is vested in the King.

My hon. friend the Minister of Justice has taught me—I know he has taught me; if he has not he should have—that a country whose executive power was in the hands of another country was not a nation, it could not be a nation until it possessed its own executive government.

Mr. DOHERTY: Is the King another country?

Mr. DEVLIN: No.

Mr. DOHERTY: He is he King of Canada.

Mr. DEVLIN: He is the King of Canada, but you cannot divide the personality of the King. The King is one being. The King is the King of Canada, he is the King of the other dominions beyond the seas, he is the King of Great
10 p.m. Britain and he calls himself the Emperor of India. I respect my hon. friend but I cannot follow him in so far as to say that the personality of the King can be divided. But if my hon. friend would like me to apply that, and I am sure he would, I would refer him to the preamble of the British North America Act. It reads as follows:

An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof, and for purposes connected therewith.

Whereas the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united into One Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a Constitution similar in Principle to that of the United Kingdom:

And whereas such a Union would conduce to the Welfare of the Provinces and promote the Interests of the British Empire:

And whereas on the Establishment of the Union by Authority of Parliament it is expedient, not only that the Constitution of the Legislative Authority in the Dominion be provided for, but also that the Nature of the Executive Government therein be declared:

And whereas it is expedient that Provision be made for the eventual Admission into the Union of other Parts of British North America:

Be it therefore enacted and declared by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, as follows:

Mr. Speaker, there came the Lords Spiritual and the Lords Temporal—some have called them the Booze Barons, others have called them the Industrial Barons, and names have been applied to them that made me shudder, Sir; but, nevertheless, they are the Barons who, with the Lords Spiritual and the Commons, too, of England, gave us authority to exist as a Confederation of Provinces.

No doubt my hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) remembers, through reading Lord Carnarvon's and other interesting speeches of some of the Lords Temporal, that the Canadian delegates who went to London did not like the name of "colony," and therefore they said: "We do not want to be called a colony any more." "Well, what name do you want to be called?" they were asked. They replied, "We want to be called a Dominion." "All right," the answer came, "We will call you a Dominion." And a Dominion Canada was called, nothing more nor less. That is how we got the name "Dominion," through the authority of the Queen, the Lords Spiritual, and the Lords Temporal, and the Commons of England. Other colonies of the Empire found that the word "Dominion" sounded rather big, so they wanted to be called Dominions too. They made representations to England, and England said, "Well, to satisfy you all, we will call you Dominions." And hence England refers to us as "of her Dominions overseas"—existing, mark you, by the authority of the King, and the Lords Spiritual, and the Lords Temporal, and the Commons of England.

Now, Sir, I am not citing this to make an argument; to me it would be ridiculous to argue so plain a matter. I do not mind hon. gentlemen calling themselves a "Dominion," I do not mind hon. gentlemen calling themselves a "nation;" but I do take some objection to my hon. friend the member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) wishing us back to the family of colonies. May I be personal for one moment and say that on one of my first trips to England I went to see London, the West End and the East End, and therefore I went to the West End in the afternoon. There I saw the wealth of London displayed. I saw the King in his box looking at a horse show, I also saw our departed and good friend, Lord Roberts, sitting in his box; in fact, I saw a number of the

Lords Temporal, but I did not see any of the Lords Spiritual, and few of the commoners of England.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: At a horse show!

Mr. DEVLIN: At a horse show. And, if I am not mistaken, the delegates from Canada went to horse shows, too, when they were over there. If they did not go to horse shows they should have done so, and they would have seen some good horses. They went to dinners and banquets and theatres—I speak not of my hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) when I say this, because he has been referred to by other authorities as one of the most eminent legal gentlemen before the Commons—but whilst he was enjoying a well rested night, others of his friends were going to banquets and theatres,—and they could have seen good horses if they had followed His Majesty's example or the example of the Lords Temporal.

Whilst the wealth of London was enjoying this horse show—and only the wealth of London could enjoy it—many of the commoners of London at ten o'clock at night were engaged in the pigeon market buying pigeons, and not only pigeons, but pieces of fish so as to have something to eat. I presume that the jarvey who was showing me London must have been more familiar with the pigeon market than he was with the West End. He drove me along Victoria street—I think it was; this is many years ago—where Canada had an office, and he said to me, with his chest well out, "Sir, that is an office of one of our colonies." I said, "One of your colonies?" "Why, yes," he said, "one of our colonies." I said, "What colony?" He replied, "Canada, Sir, Canada."

Mr. BUREAU: A nation!

Mr. DEVLIN: I said, "Do you own Canada?" "Oh, yes," he said, "we own Canada." Well, Sir, I am not quarrelling with the jarvey any more than I am quarrelling with hon. gentlemen who want to own the Empire.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. DEVLIN: There is one word that I want to say in all earnestness, and I hope the hon. President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) will convey it to the Right Honourable the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), if the Right Honourable the Prime Minister is in a condition to have it conveyed to him. If the hon. the President of the Council does not care, for personal reasons, to himself convey it, I would ask him to go to the member for Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt), or to some other member who is not in disagreement just at present with the Right Honourable the Prime Minister, and get him to act as messenger. It is a formula that has been used upon other occasions and that bears repetition at the present moment, the formula of the Kaiser: "There is no will but my will. There is no law but my law, the law which I myself lay down." My hon. friend the leader of the Government has been laying down laws which are not the laws of Canada. My hon. friend the President of the Privy Council—and I have no personal quarrel with him—has also been laying down laws which are not the laws of Canada. They are the laws which those two hon. gentlemen have laid down, in regard to which I want to say right here, speaking in the name of the common people of Canada: Beware of laying down laws for Canada that are not found in the British North America Act.

Sir, I find that there was some fighting over on the other side. It has not been told us in so many words upon the floor of the House, but it has been hinted that some of our delegates had to "fight like blazes"—excuse the expression, Mr. Speaker; I am simply repeating their words.

Hon. Mr. LEMIEUX: An historic expression.

Mr. DEVLIN: It is an historic expression now. They had to fight like blazes to get a "show" in the Conference. I would like to get some of our newspapermen who went over there to tell us the facts; but it is a secret. As the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) put it very well, he would not be quite prepared to say who objected on the part of Great Britain to Canada having a "show" in the Conference. But I find that Hansard says that to give this information might make trouble between one nation and another. If my ears caught the words aright, it was explained that to do so might create war. Having Scotch blood in me, Sir, I at once pricked up my ears when I heard the word "war" and said to myself, "Let us have peace."

This very serious aggregation of men set out to the Conference not with the authority of Parliament. The common people of Canada must not think that Parliament sent them; they were sent out—the Prime Minister amongst them, mark well—by Order in Council. I do not remember when Sir Edward Kemp was sent over as a delegate. I do not believe much of what the

[Mr. Devlin.]

newspapers have been saying during the last few years—and I want to be candid with the press, Mr. Speaker. I would like to see a free press in this country; I have always fought for a free press, but in many things they have reported—well, they are not a free press. But the Associated Press of Canada have a good deal to do with these matters, and they sent out certain messages which may or may not be familiar to the ordinary member of Parliament. I did not get any inside information, so I took what the Associated Press sent, just as you did, Mr. Speaker, who are the First Commoner. The Associated Press told us wonderful things. I know it is against the rules of the House to quote from newspapers —and that is the best rule of the House. I will not, therefore, quote the messages which I have in mind.

Mr. BUREAU: Speak from memory.

Mr. DEVLIN: All right. But let me first say, Mr. Speaker, that I am glad to know that a new Canadian delegate was appointed in the person of Sir Edward Kemp. I am glad to know that he is to sign the Treaty with Austria, although I have not yet learned that Canada ever declared war upon Austria. His signing will do us an awful lot of good, and I feel very grateful to the Government for having been so thoughtful as to have Sir Edward Kemp sign that Treaty. If it does not do anything else it will provide for the removal of a difficulty from our way in case a difficulty should arise.

Speaking from memory, then, on the 29th of November, 1918, the Associated Press informed us that the Prime Minister of Canada was in London—not in Paris, mark my words—and that His Majesty the King was in Paris. In London the Prime Minister of Canada was being banquetted. Now, the Prime Minister is a cool and collected man and generally weighs every word he utters. At a banquet over there he said that there could be only one alliance that would hold the peace of the world, an alliance between Great Britain and the United States. No peace conference, none of your Canadian delegates, could do anything to bring about peace in the world; according to the report of the Associated Press—I have the despatch here if any gentleman doubts my word—only an alliance between the British Empire—(did he say the British Empire? No, I beg the right hon. gentleman's pardon; he said "the Britannic Commonwealth")—and the United States of America could do it. "Commonwealth" is a good word; I specially commend it to the President of the Council when he makes another of his very able speeches. Use the word "Commonwealth"; the people are tired of the word "Dominion."

Now, what was His Majesty the King, who alone has the power to speak constitutionally for this country, saying in France? He was speaking of an alliance between Great Britain, the United States and France. Just think of that; the Prime Minister says that to ensure the peace of the world it is absolutely necessary to have an alliance between the United States of America and the "Britannic Commonwealth," but His Majesty the King differs from the Prime Minister; on that same day he says in France that the alliance must be between France, Great Britain and the United States. In the absence of the Prime Minister, I ask the President of the Council, on behalf of myself and the electors whom I represent in this House, whether at the present moment there is in existence a treaty, secret or otherwise, between the "Britannic Commonwealth" and United States of America, as advocated by the Prime Minister in November, 1918?

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: I have no knowledge of any.

Mr. DEVLIN: Has my hon. friend a certainty that there is no such treaty?

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: I might answer my hon. friend by saying that if it were a secret treaty possibly I would not have a knowledge of it; I do not profess to be familiar with all that takes place in London or Washington. I have never heard of such a treaty; that is all I can say.

Mr. DEVLIN: Then I assume that there is no such treaty; I am glad to know that that is the case. When the Prime Minister urged an alliance between the United States and the "Britannic Commonwealth," I thought that he was giving wrong advice; that the exclusion of France from such a treaty as that would be detrimental to the Empire and to the world.

That statement, however, was made, and I take it now that that is not so.

There is other great proof of the dangers of entering into this Peace Conference without further knowledge of the conditions surrounding the whole treaty, and that this railroading of treaties of peace through the House is not the proper course to follow. Let us cease this railroading through the House. Let us cease all this camouflage—to use the word. This session was

called especially to consider the Treaty, and we were allowed, through your very kind permission, Sir, to take up the discussion of Article 10, although you could have stopped that discussion. What I would have liked to see was the discussion of the Treaty clause by clause, and then to have the opinion of the House whether they would adopt the Treaty or not. But we are asked to consecrate the principle of the Treaty without considering it. This session was called for no other purpose than that of ratifying the Treaty, and we ought to have the time to consider it, but still the Government, at least what is left of it, is in power, and it controls matters.

I believe in Canada, I am not a pessimist; I do not believe in taking the dark view; I believe the time will come when Canada will pick up, under changed conditions; it will never pick up with a Government that is dismembered, with sullen followers behind it, with dissatisfaction in the ranks, with four or five leaders and would-be leaders—and I say it with all due respect to the hon. gentlemen. But how can we go on? We have not even a Minister of Finance in the House, and I want, on behalf of Canada, to make a special appeal to the hon. member who has already so honourably occupied the position of Minister of Finance (Sir Thomas White). I know that his holding of office for years has meant great sacrifices; I know that he acted at a time when he was broken down in health, and had to leave the House. I know that, not through anything he ever said to me, but from a statement that was made by this Government to the soldiers in the trenches. This is the statement contained in the paper called the Canadian Daily Record, of March 23, 1918; and I will ask your special permission, Sir, to read this article, and that you will not consider it a breaking of the rules of the House:

> Finance Minister's health.
>
> Sir Thomas White granted six months' leave of absence.
>
> Post filled by Hon. A. K. Maclean.
>
> (Daily Record Cablegram.)
>
> Ottawa, Friday.

I suppose the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) sent it.

> In the House of Commons last night, the Premier announced that the condition of Sir Thomas White's health necessitated his absence during the session, and that the Department of Finance would be entrusted to the Hon. A. K. Maclean. Sir Robert added that the Finance Minister had intimated that he would not object to being relieved of his duties, but that he had been asked to continue for the present.
>
> The Prime Minister, upon promising a further statement later, said that the health of the Minister of Finance had been so seriously impaired by his enormous responsibilities and unremitting labours since the outbreak of war that his physician had ordered him to take six months' rest.
>
> There is not the slightest doubt, continued the Premier, that Sir Thomas White desires to be relieved of his present responsibilities, but on the other hand he finds himself confronted with the duty of remaining at his post, if it is at all possible, until the conclusion of the war, and his colleagues will gladly undertake to carry on the work of his department in order that he may have the necessary rest.
>
> The Prime Minister added, however, that Sir Thomas might not find it consistent with his idea of duty to remain absent from the House and still continue in office.
>
> The House agreed to the Finance Minister being given six months' leave of absence.

[Mr. Devlin.]

Sir, we have differed at times—not always—before and during the war, with the then Minister of Finance, Sir Thomas White, but I do not think that there is in this House any man who is not big enough to say that, during the war Sir Thomas White as Minister of Finance gave what was best in him towards his country and towards the war. We find him now back to his usual health, and in his seat in the House. We find ourselves in this House without a Minister of Finance. The Hon. Mr. Maclean is not in his seat—I do not know why, perhaps he is not well. We know, however, by the incidents of the last few days that the Government of the day has lost confidence in Mr. Maclean as a Minister of Finance.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. member not to refer to another hon. member by name.

Mr. DEVLIN: Very well, I will not refer to him by name, and I would not say this except it were with your rights. I want, personally and on behalf of the electors I represent, to appeal to the ex-Minister of Finance (Sir Thomas White) to resume his former position, at least until the horizon is clear. There is peace in the air, but there is war in the clouds; we do not know what may happen at any moment; we were told yesterday that if we did not ratify this treaty, or if we wanted too much information, the nations might get warring again. In view of that fact, I ask the ex-Minister of Finance: Will he not make a further sacrifice whilst there is no other Minister of Finance in the House and no one on the opposite side of the House capable of filling the position of the Minister of Finance, and say to the Prime Minister that for the sake of Canada he will undertake a third great loan?

He has made a success of two loans and perhaps he is the only man on the opposite side of the House who could make a success of a third. To save Canada's finances will he not promise the right hon. gentleman to act as Minister of Finance for a very little while longer? In making this appeal I am not authorized by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House; I am speaking on behalf of my electorate.

My last word is this: I sincerely regret, if it is true—I have only the Associated Press report for it—that Great Britain has sold some $400,000,000 of Canadian securities to the United States of America. I regret that, because I think that Canadian securities ought to have been good enough for Great Britain to hold. I do not believe that the people of Canada want to be annexed to the United States, but annexation is the inevitable outcome if the United States possesses our securities, our credit and everything we have. In conclusion, I trust that the ex-Minister of Finance will be prevailed on to give his services to Canada once more, not merely while peace is in the air, but till we have peace upon the earth.

Lt-Col. CYRUS W. PECK, V.C. (Skeena): Mr. Speaker, I rise in this House to-night with a deep feeling of gratitude because I have been spared from the vicissitudes of the war to come back to the Parliament of the country I love so well, and take part in its deliberations on the Treaty of Peace and the Covenant of the League of Nations. If there was one thing that impressed me during the war as we passed from stage to stage and from victory to victory, leaving behind us that long swath of comrades, (the finest men God ever put breath into,) it was the thought that was expressed by every thinking man that it did not matter whether his poor life or the lives of a hundred or a hundred thousand men were spared or not so long as the great rampant power of Germany was crushed and peace was once more restored to the world. I had hoped that this debate would have an elevated tone and that the gentlemen who took part in it—I am not reflecting on any one in particular—would drop parochial politics, realizing that they were dealing with one of the greatest questions that have ever came before this Parliament, and before the world. So you will understand my feelings, Sir, if I speak to this House with some emotion to-night. I shall endeavour in my remarks to eliminate everything in the nature of controversial politics.

I want to say one thing, however, in justice to a great man. I was a follower and a great admirer of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the great leader of the Liberal party. He was one of the statesmen in this country, if ever there was one, who stood for Canada's autonomy.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

COLONEL PECK: I am very much obliged for those cheers, but I want to say that that great statesman is scarcely cold in his grave before his followers come here and scoff at a Government that has put into execution the ideal for which he stood during his whole career. If that revered leader was in his seat here to-night, while he might criticise some of the features of the Treaty, there is one thing he would not criticise, and that is that our plenipotentiaries went to that Conference and insisted that this nation should have full representation as an autonomous power, and take its full share and independent action in the deliberations of the Conference. I do not want to delay the House at this hour, and my only apology for rising is that I have hoped and lived for this very hour.

In my opinion the plenipotentiaries we sent over to Europe did everything they possibly could along the line of the progress of autonomy and independent action. They could have done nothing more unless we were to become an independent state, and if hon. gentlemen think that we should become that they should say so. I do not think so; I think we are very well as we are—not that I partake in any of the Crown colony ideas that have been expressed by hon. gentlemen opposite.

Before I sit down I want to refer for a moment to the speech that was made the other day in the course of this debate by the hon. member for Beauce (Mr. Beland). I always listen to that hon. member with the greatest possible interest and emotion. I say emotion because, if I may trespass upon the tender ground of memory, we all in this House know that that hon. member endured a long and cruel imprisonment during which time he suffered all those bitter and poignant griefs that flesh is heir to, but during it all he bore himself with a courage and dignity and fortitude which not only reflected the greatest credit upon himself but was the admiration of every member of this House. I know that hon. gentlemen of all shades of opinion will feel honoured to have been associated with him on the floor of this House. There was one question, however, he raised in his speech

which seems to haunt the minds of hon. gentlemen opposite. They seem to think there is going to be some mysterious attack upon Canada's autonomy. I would not have mentioned it but there was a certain ambiguous phrase in the speech of the Prime Minister that might have seemed to warrant the suspicion. Why, Sir, as long as men have lived there has been a certain school of thought which has believed in the principle of centralization. They have thought it was possible for empires to be ruled from a common centre—some legislative body whose laws would regulate the whole empire.

There are in Great Britain and throughout the Empire a great many men of that way of thinking. I do not disparage them; they are entitled to their views. They meet over there in England, those British and Dominion statesmen, and they have their good dinners; and if you happen to have any experience in this respect, Mr. Speaker, you will know that there is nothing more inspiring and exhilarating than good English dinners with all their wonderful ramifications. Then they worry very much about increasing the bonds of Empire and say that we are drifting, and generally speaking the old ship is going on the rocks. Now, Sir, I want to say that so far as I am concerned I do not worry at all about the bonds of Empire. The bonds of Empire are strong enough to suit me. They were strong enough in 1914 to make this young nation rise in her strength and chivalry and go forth and challenge the finest troops of Europe upon the great battlefields of Flanders. The bonds of Empire were strong enough on that fateful morning when the great assault was made upon the left of the Yyres salient, and when the enemy made use of that unknown and mysterious weapon of war, gas. The bonds of Empire made our valiant men face that onslaught with nothing to save them, not even the little strip of cloth we used to have a short time afterwards to shield the mouth. The bonds of Empire through this whole war were strong enough, Sir, to make our troops go through all those great actions, a young and untried army meeting —whom? They were meeting the finest troops in Europe under the greatest generals of the age, and the bonds of Empire, I repeat, were strong enough to make them go through and in every case defeat the enemy, driving them as chaff before the wind. The bonds of Empire were strong enough to make the people at home unite to the utmost of their resources in this great war. Therefore, so far as those bonds are concerned, I am very well satisfied with them, as is the hon. gentleman opposite. And if this mysterious attack should be made to deprive us of our autonomy, I should be very proud to fight side by side with the hon. gentleman. But, Sir, the real bonds of Empire are those bonds that exist in the hearts of free men; they are the bonds that bind a free people together. They are the bonds that bind us to that Mother Country as a great free democracy; and so we are bound to fight for and with her in all the great struggles of liberty. There is no statute that can increase these bonds of Empires, and there is no law that can diminish them.

I shall say this in closing—I mean to eliminate certain parts of what I intended to say: I cannot conceive the spirit of a man who can enter into this holy enterprise without a feeling of joyous enthusiasm. I cannot understand how party prejudice can blind a man to the fact that in taking part in this great business he is involved, no matter in how humble a way, in the greatest and most significant event that has occurred in the world since Christ was born. Why, Sir? What does it mean this signing of this Treaty of Peace, and the approval of the League of Nations? It signifies a stupendous degree of goodness that almost staggers the imagination. It means that our own young country seals its great sacrifice on the field by consecrating its future to the preservation of those ideals for which it went forth to war. It means that our great and prosperous and beloved Empire regains its prestige and influence in the affairs of the world and can pursue its destiny as a leader of democracy and of commercial expansion. It means that the freedom and independence of the people of Belgium have been restored and guaranteed. It means that great France, lying for half a century in hourly dread of the iron heel of a ruthless invader, is now free to develop her great national wealth and power and to pursue the destiny which is hers in the arts and sciences by the nature of her country and the temperament of her people. It means that the lost provinces of Italy have been restored and the purposes of Garibaldi have been accomplished. It means that the Balkan nations will be a great independent influence in European affairs. It means that the century-old struggle of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovaks and Hungarians for nationhood has reached its goal. It means that Poland, which much longer than a century ago was cruelly cut

asunder by Prussia, Austria and Russia, is now restored as a nation, proving that there is a spirit of right and justice in this world that will overturn the infamous designs, no matter how carefully arranged, of potentates who will interfere with the holy integrity of a devoted people. It means that ancient Greece is re-established in a greatness far beyond the dreams of those poets and philosophers who have left an influence on the classic world that is not dead and will never die. It means that ruthless Germany, the most designing and ambitious power that ever threatened the liberty of the world, is humbled to her knees and will never again be able to threaten the foundations of the civilized world. I cannot sympathize with the hon. gentleman who has such wonderful sympathy for Germany. If he had suffered as we did, God knows if he had suffered under that tremendous fire of artillery and had endured the treatment which was meted out to our prisoners, he would not have that strange sympathy. It means that the arrogant and malicious house of Hapsburg which has for ages plotted against the peace of Europe and the liberties of its own people is swept from its throne. It means that the shallow ambitions of Bulgarians have been curbed for good and all. It means that Turkey, that malignant and atrocious power, which has for so many ages disgraced civilization, is now banished from the face of Europe, that Gladstone is vindicated, and the throne of Mahomet and Solyman the Magnificent will now languish in the desert sands of Arabia. Sir, if we consider the League of Nations, what a wonderful signifinance it has for us! It means that if we prosecute the designs of those statesmen whose serene and benevolent wisdom has formulated this sublime programme for perpetual peace, the world will be inundated with a sudden flood of happiness and prosperity. It means that the great, powerful and liberty-loving nations of the world are going to throw out the life-line to the weak and the perishing, those people who are now sunk in misery and ignorance and degradation. It means that the vision is to be realized of Him, who, nearly two thousand years ago, on Calvary's brow, in the darkest hour of the world, when all nature revolted in an angry, tumultuous and horrified protest against the infamy of man, pierced the gloom of centuries and sent forth his last message of pity and love. It means that that tremendous mass of humanity, those millions of men in Asia, and Africa and other parts of the world will enjoy that civil and religious freedom which you and I and all of us enjoy. It means that we, sent here by the esteem and affection of our fellow countrymen, are going to put our shoulders together and burst open the doors of arbitrary power, and let in the great flood of God's sunlight that will warm and revive and stimulate the great struggling masses of humanity that do not share in our liberties and prosperity. It means that the rough places of the earth are going to be made smooth; that instead of the thorne there shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle tree; the land will resound to the songs of peace and gladness, the people will come to their Zion with everlasting joy upon their heads, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

Mr. ANDREW ROSS McMASTER (Brome): Mr. Speaker, I wish first to tender to the hon. member who has just taken his seat (Mr. Peck) the congratulations of hon. members on this side of the House for his magnificent speech—magnificent in conception, splendid in delivery and notable above all for the fine and lofty tone in which it was uttered. It must be to him indeed a satisfaction to come and discuss this Peace Treaty before this House when he played such a noble part in the victory which has made the Treaty possible.

I propose to discuss the matter before the House to-night, if I can do so, on the high level which has been assumed by the last speaker. I do not propose to approach this subject in any manner which can be thought of as being tinctured by party feeling or prejudice.

I am glad that the Treaty is before the House, and I will give the reasons for my gladness. First, I believe it is a step towards the democratic control of foreign relations and I believe that the fact that in all the countries of the world, except perhaps the United States and a few of the lesser powers, the shaping of the foreign policies of the different nations has not been under the control of the people but has been confined to small groups, has been one of the fundamental causes of this war which has brought such terrible suffering to the world. I am glad that the Treaty is before the House because it is a step in the direction of open diplomacy. In addition to the arrogant power of Germay, one of the things which led to this war was the fact that international relations between the different countries were not controlled by the people of those countries but were the

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business of small groups of men who often plotted even against each other without the knowledge of the citizens of those countries and, aye, sometimes without even the members of the Parliaments of the countries which they represented knowing anything about the matter. Let me give just one striking example. We learn after this war is over—indeed I think we learned while the war was on—that the action of Great Britain which made it inevitably necessary for her to join France—and I do not say for one moment that Great Britain should not have joined France—was the result of a decision taken by three or four members of the British Cabinet without the other members of the Cabinet knowing anything about it. I think that is wrong and it is one of the things that have led to this awful war.

I am pleased again that this Treaty is submitted to this Parliament because it constitutes an evidence of our nationhood and I for one want my country to be a nation. There have been those who have been at pains to show that we are not a nation. May I be allowed to crave the indulgence of the House even at this late hour to bring some evidence before it as to our status of nationhood? Let me say this, because it should be first said: There are those who say that we have a written constitution, that a written constitution is not capable of being developed by growth and that, being a written document, it can only be changed by another written document I cannot agree. I appeal to the history of my country for confirmation of what I say. As late as 1905 the Canadian Government asked the British Government for permission to negotiate certain treaties either about trade matters or copyright—I forget which. That permission was refused, but a very few years after permission to treat on such subjects was granted. There was a distinct advance along the path of nationhood without any written change in our constitution. As evidence of my pretension, let me first call as a witness Lord Milner who is not renowned as being an autonomist and may be, is rather regarded as belonging to those gentlemen mentioned by the hon. member for Skeena (Mr. Peck) who after fine dinners lament the fact that the bonds of Empire are not closer than they are. Lord Milner says:

> The only possibility of a continuance of the British Empire is on a basis of absolute out-and-out equal partnership between the United Kingdom and the Dominions. I say that without any kind of reservation whatsoever.

[Mr. McMaster.]

I next call Colonel Amery, a Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies:

> We have got to decentralize our conception of Empire—

Oh, how true it was what the hon. member for Skeena said that in all the history of mankind there have been men who liked the idea of power being centralized in one place and then radiating out, I think we might say, like the spokes of a wheel, to different parts of the world. Every Empire founded on that principle has gone down, because it is opposed to the instincts of freemen who, although living far removed perhaps from the original home of their race, wish to enjoy in the outlying marches of the world the same rights, the same privileges, the same powers, the same liberties as their cousins who stayed at home. Colonel Amery says:

> We have got to decentralize our conception of Empire and realize that every member of the British Commonwealth is equal in status to every other, and, from its own point of view, the centre of the whole.

Mr. Lloyd George addressing a South African deputation said:

> Finally, I would point to the status which South Africa now occupies in the world. It is surely no mean one. The South African people control their own national destiny in the fullest sense.

Sir Robert Borden, our own Prime Minister, speaking at Cardiff, on the 25th of July, 1918, said:

> Upon the basis of equality of nationhood the future of the Empire must be worked out. A common spirit, a consciousness of nationhood in the true spirit, had arisen since the war, which would not be satisfied with any status within the Empire except the status of equal nationhood.

Hon. C. J. Doherty, Minister of Justice, said:

> Canada's admission to the League constitutes the most formal recognition of her national status. Through it she takes her place in the international family as one of the group of independent nations which make up that League of Nations which the British Empire has grown to be.

I could quote similar statements from the late General Botha, from General Smuts and from Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia, but it is not necessary. All these men claim for their respective parts of what is called—improperly, I think—"the British Empire", the full rights of nations. Why do I say improperly called the British Empire? Because the word "Empire" connotes one head State surrounded by a group of subordinate States,

and I say, Mr. Speaker, that that does not correctly set forth the relationship between Great Britain, and New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Australia or ourselves. I like much better the word "Commonwealth", and I like better still the word "Commonwealths" because there are five of us: There is the British Empire, which is composed of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, India and the Crown dependencies and colonies, and alongside are the four great self-governing Dominions. To call the relationship which exists between these self-governing Dominions and the Metropolitan an empire is to say something which is not consonant with the facts. It is of paramount importance not only for a correct understanding of our own relationship, but in order that our relationship and our status may properly appear before the world and be understood by all that this use of the term "British Empire" should cease, and that the words "British Commonwealths" should be given to Great Britain, to ourselves, to New Zealand, to Australia and to the Union of South Africa. There has been a beginning; I notice with some pleasure that a little while ago the Prime Minister while he was in England stopped talking about the British Empire and began talking about the Britannic Commonwealth.

But I believe, Mr. Speaker, that I have a better witness than those whom I have summoned—better because I believe his evidence fits in more nearly with the facts. I refer to the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell). He has not in this House always enjoyed my full approval or strong commendation, but I trust that the fog of partisanship will never so becloud my mind that I will be unprepared to give the meed of praise when it is due. I listened with care and with pleasure when, rising in his seat the other day, he declared himself as strongly opposed to the Milnerite plan—to the plan of that young apostle of Imperialism, Lionel Curtis, who has been going around the British Empire for many years preaching his conception of Imperialism, a young man endowed with great ability and sincerity, and backed with ample funds by the Imperialists of the old land. I admire the stand of the President of the Privy Council when he says: "When I spoke in 1912, setting forth what I believed to be the Liberal conception of the true relationship which should exist between the great overseas Dominion and Great Britain—and in order that I may avoid, Mr. Speaker, the imputation of party politics, I say it is the true Conservative view as well, the view of Sir John A. Macdonald"—I am endeavouring to quote more or less roughly the words spoken by the President of the Privy Council—"when I spoke as I did in 1912, I believed I was right, and I believe I am right to-day." I commend him for his words. So that no objection can be taken to my quotation, let me read the note which I have made of the words he used:

He says truly that our status is in a state of transition; we are reaching out to the position of a sister nation of equal status with Great Britain and Ireland.

That is a true statement of our real position. We have not acquired all the sovereign powers of a nation. We are a nation because we have acquired a great many of the powers incident to nationhood, but there are certain other powers which we have not yet acquired, and we are reaching out to the position of a sister nation of equal status with Great Britain and Ireland. In his speech he gave credit to many Canadians—to Macdonald, to Galt, to Blake, to Cartwright, to Mills, and last of all to the great chief of the party to which I belong, that man who was so universally admired throughout Canada, the late Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. And I say, Mr. Speaker, without fear of successful contradiction, that if our representatives at the Peace Conference—and I am glad they were there—were able to take the stand that they did take, they owed it in no small measure to the attitude taken years ago at Imperial Conferences by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, when he withstood Chamberlain face to face and defeated his plan to centralize the British Empire and take away our name from among the nations of the earth.

Now, during the debate the President of the Privy Council asked this question of the member for Kamouraska (Mr. Lapointe): How can our constitutional position be improved? It is not hard to answer that question. The President of the Privy Council has just come in, and I might repeat for his benefit for a moment that I was praising him highly for the attitude he took in insisting upon Canadian nationhood. I am now endeavouring to answer the question he propounded to the member for Kamouraska: How Canada could improve her constitutional position? She can improve her constitutional position by insisting upon all those sovereign rights which she does not now possess, the acquisition of which will make her a sister nation equal with the United Kingdom of Great Britian and Ireland.

What are those rights? Great Britain has complete command of her own ships; we have not. While the war was on the British Admiralty commandeered Canadian ships without, I think, obtaining the consent of this Parliament. Am I wrong in that?

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: I think my hon. friend is mistaken. I think the Government of Canada took the position that the British Government had no right to commandeer our ships, that that action could only be taken by this Government; and I think we co-operated in the action taken.

Mr. McMASTER: The Government has not continued to co-operate. It has asked for the return of those ships. Those ships are being returned subject to certain obligations placed upon them when they were under the control of the British Government.

Mr. ROWELL: I speak subject to correction, because I am not familiar with the details of the matter which my hon. friend is now discussing. But I think that the hon. gentleman is incorrect in that. Certain ships are being returned subject to certain conditions imposed by the British Admiralty, but these are ships that were transferred from British registry to some other registry, the British Admiralty imposing the condition on the transfer that they should be subject to all obligations to which they would have been subject had they not been transferred.

Mr. McMASTER: As I understand it, these ships which are being transferred from British to Canadian registry are Canadian ships, owned by Canadian companies or individuals. I am not criticising the Government for this action. I am merely pointing out that if we are to have a status equal to that of Great Britain, we should absolutely control the fate of our own ships.

Great Britain appoints her own ambassadors; we do not appoint ours. I do not wish to say at this time that ambassadors are necessary or that their appointment would justify the expense which would thereby be entailed. But if we are to reach out for the position of a nation having equal status to that of Great Britain, then we must be given the right to name our own ambassadors.

I imagine that if we are to have this full sovereignty—and I wish it for my country—we should have the right to name our own Governor-General. It would be wise, I think, to bring a Governor General from some other British dominion in order that he should be free from all possibility of party bias in our politics. But it would seem to be a proper development that the Governor General should be named by our own people. In making this suggestion I make no reflection upon the choice which has been made by the British Government in times past or at the present time; Canada has indeed been fortunate in the character and attainments of her Governor Generals.

These are a few of the greater powers of sovereignty which at the present time we do not have and which I believe we should quietly, courteously and insistently aim to attain so that we may come to the stature of a fully sovereign power. We should certainly, Mr. Speaker, decide our own cases at law. The idea that in some provinces if a case involves over $2,000 the litigant should be subject to having his case taken to courts in another country, no matter how able the judges there may be, seems to me to ill comport with the claim of complete nationhood.

Now, why do I want this nationhood for my country? Is it merely because of a feeling of pride? I grant you that pride has its place. I grant you that I, with Scotch blood in my veins, see no reason why, living on the North American continent, I should have any less powers or should belong to any less sovereign State than my own cousins who stayed in Scotland. That is pride, and I think it is proper pride. But there is something more than that. A sentiment of nationality or nationhood will breed a sense of responsibility, not only in the nation's statesmen but also in the individuals of the nation, which will have an ennobling and uplifting effect upon our party politics. Moreover, I believe that in the fierce and ardent fires of a true national sentiment much of the dross of racial, religious and sectional prejudice will be burned away and thus will be left in better shape the pure gold which is found in the character of the Canadian people.

I pass from this question of the status of Canada and I shall take up a few moments in referring to the League of Nations. The League of Nations proposes a new plan of international life. It proposes a plan founded on the principle that we are members one of another; that no nation, no matter how small, no matter how remote from the great centres of population of the world, can be careless or heedless of what goes on in the rest of the world. I support the League. I support it because it pro-

poses a new plan and because the old plan has been such a ghastly failure. I am surprised that any militarist in the world dares to open his mouth against the League of Nations. What is a militarist? Not merely a military man. There are many military men who are not militarists; those military men who are in this House, I know, are not militarists. A militarist has been defined by Bernard Shaw as one who believes that all power is armed power and that God is always with the biggest battalions. That, I think, is a good definition of a militarist. What has been the outcome of the old plan Is it not true, Mr. Speaker, that armaments have entirely failed to protect the taxpayers who were bled white to support them? Before the war was on, what nation had a more wonderful military machine than the Germans, yet what nation suffered worse than the Germans? Great Britain was proud of her navy, and well she might be. But was the navy able to protect adequately and completely the commerce of Great Britain or even the shores of Great Britain during the war? No; over the North Sea, over the English Channel, high above the ocean, over the straits of Dover, came the death-dealing Zeppelins to rain down death and destruction not only upon soldiers, but, alas, upon women and children. By ruthless savagery and by considerable ingenuity the Germans developed an arm which operated under the sea; and if recent statements are correct there was a time when things looked desperately bad for Great Britain and for the Allied cause owing to the submarine campaign. Armaments, therefore, have not protected; not only that, they have been one of the great causes of the war. When one nation built up a great military machine another nation did the same; the thoughts of different nations centred on their respective armies; the thought of mankind was direct in too large a measure to organizing schemes for the killing of man. I grant that when one nation led the way it was almost impossible for other nations not to endeavour to keep step. I know the difficulty, therefore I welcome with all my heart this proposal which looks toward the cessation of war and the substitution of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes. We in America may be very proud of this, because Canada and the United States showed the way in the creation of the International Waterways Boundaries Commission, which was the first international tribunal set up for the settlement of international disputes. I do not minimize the difficulties that are in the way, but these are my grounds for hope. I think mankind is sane, and I say that if mankind goes back to the former competition in armaments, mankind is not sane, mankind is mad. Surely we have had a lesson in this war; surely mankind is going to find some way out; surely the appeal to force is not going to be the ultimate arbiter. I think it was Viscount Bryce who wrote to a great meeting convened for the purpose of furthering this project of the League of Nations: "We must destroy war, or war will destroy us." Surely, that has been driven home to the minds and hearts of mankind. I am not sure whether the present civilization could stand another war like the one that has just closed. There have been wonderful civilizations in the past; Greece had a wonderful civilization; Rome had a wonderful civilization; and they are gone, because they were founded upon force and unless our civilization can be founded upon something other than force, there is a danger that our civilization will go too.

There are certain necessary conditions to the success of the league. It should include, as soon as possible, all nations. I know that is a hard saying for some to accept; I know men who have suffered in their bodies by the infamous tactics of the Germans, may find it hard to accept that view, but is there any other way out? Those who framed the Peace Treaty saw this. At page 5 of the Reply of the Allied and Associated Powers to the German delegation on the conditions of peace, we read:

> The Allied and Associated Powers look forward to the time when the League of Nations established by this treaty shall extend its membership to all peoples; but they cannot abandon any of the essential conditions of an enduring league.

On page 6 they say:

> The Allied and Associated Powers regard the Covenant of the League of Nations as the foundation of the Treaty of Peace. They have given careful consideration to all its terms and they are convinced that it introduces an element of progress into the relations of peoples which the future will develop and strengthen to the advantage of justice and of peace.
>
> The text of the treaty itself makes it clear that it has never been the intention of the Allied and Associated Powers that Germany or any other power should be indefinitely excluded from the League of Nations. Provisions have accordingly been laid down which apply generally to States not members of the League and which determine the conditions of their admission subsequent to its formation.

Further on, they say:

> Provided these necessary conditions are assured, they see no reason why Germany should

not become a member of the League in the early future.

There are those who say that Germany should be immediately included. I do not know sufficient about the matter to say whether that should be done or not; but I say that if Germany and our other enemies are not included in the league, this will inevitably happen: You cannot permanently enslave a nation of 70,000,000 people, and that nation of 70,000,000 people will become a regular cave of Adullam to which all dissatisfied nations will resort. Then what shall we be back to? We shall be back to the League of Nations on the one side and another League headed by Germany on the other, we shall be back to the old balance of power theory which is responsible in Europe for more graves, more widows, more fatherless children than any other principle that we can imagine. In saying what I say, I utter only the words which were uttered years and years ago by Richard Cobden and John Bright. There are those who are pleased to regard the Manchester school as merely concerned with the trade questions, with a favourable balance on the books, but that is not right, they were humanitarians, they were statesmen, and the ideals which they preached three-quarters of a century ago are the ideas which Wilson preaches today, are the ideals which are found in the League of Nations itself.

The next necessary condition is that Germany should, as she is bound to, disarm, and that then all other nations should follow her example. That is an absolute condition of a lasting peace. For us, who have preached that this was a war to end war,—I remember a lad who left my office, one of my law students (and he is dead now); he said to me before he went away: Mr. McMaster, I would not want to go if I did not think I was going to fight a war to end war. Well, we owe it to those generous hearts who went in that spirit to see that our professions are made good, to see that after having made those murderers who started this war, disarm, we disarm ourselves also, retaining only such military and naval power as is necessary for the proper policing of the world.

Mr. BURNHAM: Will the hon. gentleman allow me to interrupt his magnificent speech? The Babylonian Empire was overcome by the Assyrian force, is that not true? Greece was attacked by the Dorian hordes and decimated. We know that it was Xerxes who burned Athens. Is it not true that the Roman power overcame Greece and took possession of Greece? And is it not true that the Roman Empire was overcome by force, because she was not able to defend herself?

Mr. McMASTER: This is a scheme for all nations to disarm, and if all nations disarm then there cannot be, or it is only remotely possible that there can be, such incursions as my hon. friend speaks of.

Last of all, there must be a change in the mind of the world. As Lord Robert Cecil says: "We have to lose the war-mind and we have to acquire the mind of peace." I should hate to be thought a hypocrite, and I say this in all sincerity and honesty, that the events of the last five years have driven it home to me that the only way that mankind can be saved from future wars and disasters is by the application of the principles of the New Testament. It may be a hard thing to forgive our enemies. It, no doubt, is an awfully hard thing for men who have lost sons or even daughters in the war to set aside from their hearts feelings of hatred and distrust. I may be asking too much of them, but I say that that is the way of peace, and I know of no other.

As regards the rest of the Treaty, I have very little to say. I approve the Treaty as a whole. There are many things which I do not like, but I understand that the Government does not pretend that it likes them all itself, but claims that we have to take the Treaty as a whole; that we have to accept it or reject it. I accept it; I approve the principle of self-determination which I believe has been worked out with great care and skill. I do not like the provisions about the Saar valley; I do not like the provisions as regards seizing ships and tugs, and I will tell you why I do not like them. As regards the coal mines of the Saar valley, which belong to the Prussian or the Bavarian state of the German Empire, I have no objection in the least to taking those; that is only a matter of poetic justice for the destruction of the coal mines of northern France. But the Treaty goes further than that; it takes private property and coal mines from private individuals and private companies. Are these private individuals and private companies sinners above all German sinners that their property should be taken and they referred by the Allies to a bankrupt state for reparation? I do not like the principle; I do not think it is consonant with the rest of the Treaty.

The same principle applies as to tugs and vessels. I do not like that, but I am pre-

pared to accept the Treaty because I believe that it offers a workable plan, and I believe that the whole of humanity should rally round its best men, and have faith. We need faith; we cannot do it without faith. If we are all throwing cold water on it, if we are all calling upon titled gentlemen in England to pour tubs of cold water on the project, it cannot be a great success. We must have faith.

Is there any objection to the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding)? I cannot see that there is. I cannot see why it should not be accepted. It merely puts in due and proper words the interpretation which the Government speakers themselves have placed upon Article X. I propose to vote for the amendment, and I trust it will carry. If the amendment fails to carry I shall vote for the Treaty.

Mr. CHARLES G. POWER (South Quebec): Mr. Speaker, the document we are considering really consists of two separate documents which, to my mind, should be absolutely distinct. But, as I understand it, they have to be considered as an entity. The Treaty of Peace itself has this, and perhaps it is the only thing, to recommend it: It has ended the four and a half years of disastrous war. The League of Nations is another matter. It not only binds us, but future generations, and may have a great effect upon the future of our country.

Bearing this in mind, and not wishing to be misunderstood, I want to state to the House that there is no man within it who holds war in more utter abhorrence than I do. I feel, and I have always felt, that the conditions under which modern war is carried on are so brutal, so degrading, so subversive of all the best instincts of humanity and decency, that every conceivable effort should be made to put a stop to it for ever, and that he or they who shall accomplish this laudable object will be justly entitled to be hailed as those sent by Divine Providence to rid the human race of a curse to which it has been subject from remote antiquity. It is in this frame of mind that I have studied the documents before us. I have looked upon the events which are happening throughout the world.

At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 the nations of Europe, after a war second only to this one in its horrors and in the bloodthirstiness with which it was waged, came together and in congress decided that there was to be no more war. The words used at that time by the statesmen of England, of Russia, of Prussia and of Austria bear a remarkable resemblance indeed to those used by our statesman at Versailles in the last few months. We were to have a reign of peace and goodwill throughout the world. We were to have nothing but goodfellowship and happiness and prosperity throughout Europe. The history of the hundred years which followed the Congress at Vienna, scarcely a page of which is not stained by the recital of some lawless agression, scarcely a chapter of which does not disclose some black treachery, shows how bitterly those statesman were disappointed. Nearer to our own time we have the Hague Conference, the originator and founder of which was the first ruler to mobilize his vast armies for the bloody conflict through which we have just passed. Even to-day although we have signed the Treaty of Peace, and thirty-two nations have solemnly entered into a covenant to form a League of Nations, yet when we look about us we are forcibly reminded of a historic occasion at the beginning of this century, when a great French statesman rising in the House of Deputies cried "Peace reigns in Warsovie." And so it did, but at the same time the streets of Warsaw were paved with the mutilated corpses of those whose only fault was to have loved their country and whose only crime was to have fought for liberty. To-day, when the Treaty of Peace is signed half the world is at war. We have a dozen wars in Russia. We have the Poles fighting the Ukrainians. We have the Roumanians at the gates of Budapest defying the League of which they are a member. We have the Slavs and the Italians fighting one another in the streets of Fiume. We have the Serbs attempting to quell a rebellion of our Allies the Montenegrins. We have the Armenians abandoned by their natural protectors and left to the tender mercies of the barbarous Kurd and the unspeakable Turk. We have in China 400,000,000 people who are only prevented from expelling Japan from its stolen territory by the fear of superior force. We have Japanese massacring Christians in Korea because they dare imagine that they might recover their usurped independence. We have English sinking ships in the Baltic, and British officials being murdered and British troops using machine guns in the streets of Cairo. And so on. The world is at peace, and so the world is safe for democracy, with Christians massacring Jews in Poland and white men burning negroes at the stake in free America. Would, for the sake of hu-

manity and the future happiness of the world, that the League of Nations had been brought forth under more favourable auspices. I regret that the League at its very inception was unable to put a stop to these wars and disturbances which are upsetting the peace of the world. The circumstances attending its birth are unfavourable, but they should not in themselves determine its rejection unless there are within the Treaty itself and within the Covenant of the League of Nations vices which emphatically demand its rejection. We are told that the League is of such a nature that we, the Canadian Parliament, the representatives of the Canadian people cannot amend it. We must accept or reject it in toto. To my mind that is an lllogical mode of procedure; but one which doubtless seems perfectly reasonable to our plenipotentiaries who have during their long sojourn in Europe acquired by their close association with the statesmen of the world a different point of view to that of the average Canadian, whose misfortune it has been not to have rubbed elbows and exchange opinions with the world's distinguished statesmen. However, as it is the average Canadian of this and future generations who is being obligated under the Treaty, and who has to accept the responsibility in connection with the League of Nations, I prefer to take his point of view and to attempt, by placing myself in his position, to draw certain conclusions.

We have become confused of late, it is true with regard to our so-called national status. I have neither the constitutional knowledge, the time nor the ability to discuss this matter at great length, but it strikes me that either we are a dependent nation, even though self-governing,—and in that case we have no business to sign the Treaty—or we are an independent, bound to the Mother Country only by ties of common interest, of blood and sentiment, and by a common King. For myself, I have no hesitation in proclaiming and approving of the latter proposition, and I think that this is the saner and truer conception of our status. It is from this point of view that I intend to discuss our present question. Having proceeded thus far towards the goal of our national aspirations and towards the fulfilment of our national destiny, it behooves us not to hesitate in consolidating and strengthening our position. We are an independent nation and proud of the fact, and as such should be jealous of any invasion of our rights; and should this covenant imply any such invasion we should, if it cannot be amended, reject it. Rather than lose one atom of the self-government which we have so far attained, I would cheerfully reject the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the Treaty of Peace if need be. I would do this rather than lose any of the liberty the preservation of which has cost us such untold hardships and sufferings and the loss to our country of 60,000 of its best brain and brawn,—men whose blood, spilt with those of our allies has rendered more holy the sacred soil of France. I submit, Sir, that the Treaty so interferes with our autonomy, in that it takes away from the Parliament and the people of Canada the right to decide on the question of war, a question which hitherto has been exclusively within the province of this Parliament; for no war can be waged without a certain amount of money being appropriated for it, and the moneys of the people of Canada must not be appropriated without the consent of Parliament. This right is ceded to a council foreign to our body politic, a council on which, notwithstanding the assurances of the Minister of Justice, I am convinced we shall have no representative and in which we shall have no voice. The Treaty interferes with our autonomy in matters which are purely domestic. For instance it interferes in matters of immigration and trade. To take one example: Should China feel aggrieved at our immigration laws she could appeal to the League of Nations. In the League, there would be our friend and natural protector, Great Britain; but bound as she is by her ties of alliances and friendship with Japan and bound as she is by fear of ever-uneasy millions in her Asiatic possessions, I am afraid she would not be a very great help to us. Supposing last session we had accepted the amendment of the hon. member for London (Mr. Cronyn) and approved what I might call the Cronyn line of Europe, we would very shortly have been in conflict with a large number of our Allies, our fellow-members in the League of Nations. And the history of the Ashburton Treaty and the Alaskan dispute are still too fresh in our memories for us to fondly imagine that Great Britain would come to our rescue in such a position.

I had intended to criticise the time which is allowed us for withdrawing from the League, and I sincerely hope that when the next Government comes into power it will see to it that we do withdraw from it. I had intended further to criticise the pro-

visions with regard to our withdrawal and the unknown responsibilities and obligations with regard to territorial delimitations which are guaranteed. Can the Minister of Justice or the Minister of Public Works give me, for instance, the territorial delimitations of Hedjaz which we are called upon to guarantee? I doubt it. Yet we are supposed to guarantee the territorial integrity of Hedjaz when we do not know what it is.

Mr. BUREAU: That is why we guarantee it.

Mr. POWER: In my opinion we as a young people just entering upon nationhood should not impetuously endorse something the consequences of which we cannot foresee. I should like to examine the Treaty from another angle. I doubt very much whether those who framed it and signed it have remained true to the high purposes and ideals which should have inspired them. I think not. As I have already pointed out the first accompaniment of the Treaty was a state of war over half the world, and the second result of the Treaty seems to be the aggrandizement of the five principle powers. Great Britain has obtained a large number of the colonial possessions of Germany. She has also obtained the destruction of the German mercantile and naval fleet, and she has been rid for at least half a century of the menace of German trade competition. France obtains Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar Valley and is guaranteed against future German aggression. Italy obtains Leu Irridenta; she obtains the mastery of Tripoli and large concessions in Albania. Japan obtains thirty-three millions of unwilling Chinese and a free hand in the East. The United States has her munition debts paid out at usurious interest, and with the loss of less life than any of the other nations which are parties to the Treaty, she screams imperiously that she won the war in six months. True, a certain number of smaller nations of Europe and Asia have obtained autonomy. But, Mr. Speaker, you will note that not one of these nations was situated within the borders of the entente. It was easy to make autonomous nations out of portions of an enemy empire, but it was very difficult, so difficult as to be impossible, to make autonomous nations——

Mr. BURNHAM: Will the hon. member pardon an interruption? If the League of Nations had been in existence prior to 1914 the United States would have been in the war from the beginning, and the great probability is that there would have been no great war.

Mr. POWER: I am under the impression that the United States would probably have been too proud to fight whether there was a League of Nations or not. I do not know, and I cannot conjecture what the future may have in store. As I was saying, there was autonomy for a certain number of nations belonging to other powers than the Allies. It was easy to give freedom to the Ukranians, the Serbs, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Slovakians and even to the musically sounding Hedjaz; but it was very difficult, it was impossible, it was a domestic question, to give to the Irish freedom from that bondage against which they never ceased to protest for seven hundred years. Under the League of Nations the Home Rule Bill becomes a scrap of paper, and self-determination a myth. As has been said in the House on many occasions, there may be a hidden hand in this country, but in Ireland there is the bloody hand of Ulster steeped in treason and treachery to the country and Empire and responsible for thousands of persecutions, evictions and outrages.

It was impossible to give self determination to Ireland although three-quarters of its population had emphatically expressed themselves in favour of it at the polls. The League dare take a plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein but they dare not take a plebiscite in Ireland. The valour of the Irish troops throughout the war, at the landing at Gallipoli, in the Balkan passes and in the wild charges at Monchy and Guillemont, the glorious onslaught at Messines Hill, the gallantry of Irishmen throughout the war—all were forgotten. Forgotten too were the thousands of Irishmen too, in spite of adverse circumstances, enlisted in England and Scotland in both the army and the navy. Forgotten were the thousands who went from this and other countries of the British Empire, and forgotten were the 800,000 Irish members of the American army and navy. As a result Irishmen the world over reluctantly and sorrowfully are driven to the ranks of those who proclaim that England's extremity is Ireland's opportunity, that the leopard has not changed his spots and that there is no more faith to be placed in the rulers of to-day than there was in those days long gone by when the provisions of the Treaty of Limerick were violated before the ink with which it was written had become dry. Ireland has appealed to the sense of justice

of the peoples of the world and instead of recognition the League of Nations seals its fate and confirms its thraldom. With these thoughts in mind, with the memory of this rank injustice fresh before us, we cannot, we should not, acquiese in the League of Nations.

There is one more reason for rejecting the Covenant which I cannot pass over. Some hon. gentlemen may call me a little Canadian, I may state in advance of this objection that I am proud to be a Canadian whether it be little or whether it be big. We as Canadians have our destiny before us not in continental Europe but here on the free soil of America. Our policy for the next hundred years should be that laid down by George Washington in the United States for the guidance of his countrymen—absolute renunciation of interference in European affairs—and that laid down by the other great father of his country in Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier—"freedom from the vortex of European militarism." I believe this policy to be the true expression of a Greater Canadianism. I believe the people of Canada will approve of this policy, namely, to let Europe be the arbiter of its own destiny while we in Canada, turning our energies to our own affairs, undertake our own peaceful development strong in the faith that we have within our national boundaries and within ourselves the material to become a great and powerful nation.

12 p.m.

I am convinced that our soldiers have returned from overseas more proud than ever before of that "Canada" badge which they bore so proudly on their shoulders; convinced, too, that they are as good men in peace and war as the poilu and Tommy Atkins, their Allies in many a desperate conflict, their comrades on many a blood-sodden field. They have learned nothing from European culture or continental civilization. The eagerness with which they demanded demobilization, their happy faces when they reached their native shores, were proof positive that above all they longed for their loved Canada, their home.

In conclusion, may I quote a paragraph which, I think, sums up the situation and admirably expresses the thoughts which I have had so much difficulty in conveying, and which I think should summarize our national aspirations:

> Nationality is our first great object—the nationality which inflames and purifies our people with the lofty and heroic love of country—the nationality of the spirit as well as of the letter—a nationality which may come to be stamped upon our manners, our character and our deeds—a nationality which will embrace the Protestant, Catholic, Dissenter, French, Canadian, Irish, Scotch, English, the Canadian of twenty generations and the stranger who has arrived within our gates—not a nationality which would prelude civil war, but one which would establish internal union and external independence—a nationality which will be recognized by the world, and sanctified by wisdom, justice and prudence.

Mr. GEORGE PARENT (West Quebec): Mr. Speaker, the debate on this matter has already taken a certain amount of valuable time, but for once I have noticed, the members who have spoken have presented various views in different ways. It is an acknowledgment that the subject is extensive in its nature and could well have afforded a more thorough discussion. It seems therefore regrettable that only three days have been allotted for the study of a question which, as far as I can judge, means a radical change in the status of Canada. This change comes in such a way and appears so extraordinary that after giving some thought to the subject, the whole scheme appears to me a mere evolution towards complete surrender of Canadian autonomy. In other words, Imperialism is coming; imperialism has come!

If this sudden change means imperialism, and I think it does, I do not hesitate to say that I am afraid of its consequences and that for this reason, the Treaty and particularly the Covenant of the League of Nations, as submitted to this Parliament for approval, should not be accepted without reservations.

If Canada were a nation, I would have nothing but words of praise for those who framed this Treaty and who frankly admit that after days and months of strenuous study and work, they have not obtained all that they desired but have secured all they could. But Canada is not a nation. It has many of the elements that constitute a nation, but it has not them all. We are a colony. True, we have been told over and over again that in this country we enjoy such privileges, such independence in various ways that most of ouf statesmen, Cartier, Macdonald, Laurier and the present Prime Minister, have often repeated "Canada is a nation!" But these words are only words, they have been said in a way of appreciation of British institutions, they were good enough for the purposes that these men had in mind but they have no effect on the real "status" of Canada.

If we were a nation we would have in this country no Governor General to represent the King or the authority of another country to which we belong. If we

were a nation we would have consuls or consular agents to represent us in the different countries of the world. Everybody is aware that there are no Canadian consuls. If we were a nation we would not have to communicate with other countries through Downing street, we would be attending to our affairs as we thought best. I therefore say that no doubt can be entertained on this point and that we might as well surrender to the truth and keep on calling ourselves "colonials" and colonists.

If we are colonials—and we are; if we are a colony—and we are; I fail to see why Canadian signatures appear on the treaty and what benefit the Canadian people will derive from entering the "League of Nations."

Far be it from me to criticise those nations who having the status of a nation, have thought it wise to enter this League. Their purposes are worthy: they want to unite their efforts in preventing the renewal of the most terrible disaster that the world has ever witnessed. No one can find fault with that. But it is a League of Nations, not a League of Colonies, and Canada being a colony has no status to take part in it. I may be retorted with this argument: "Why should you not be satisfied if all the other nations, England included, are willing to consider you as a nation and take you as such?" This to my mind is no argument. Such feeling of condescension may be a compliment paid to the valour and heroism of our gallant soldiers. It cannot be anything else. I am, however, more inclined to believe that it is a way by which English diplomacy wants to bring Canada by a pledge of this Parliament to participate in all future wars on the European continent or in other parts where British interests may be involved. If these are the purposes of the Imperialists, it is my earnest belief that we should be very cautious before pledging the people of Canada to such views, or to such policy.

From now on, the Tories say: "Canada is a nation, Canada has the status of a nation"! Who believes them? I do not. Do you want to test their sincerity? Just force them to vote on a resolution that in the opinion of this House Canada should be independent. You will soon come to the conclusion that the whole scheme of the Government is not sincere, does not and cannot stand. These men do not want to see Canada an independent nation, but they want Canada to have such close relations with the British Government that they are ready to sacrifice our undeniable right to participate, or not, in wars which Britain may see fit to declare or enter. In other words, these men favour Imperialism, while I stand for Canadian autonomy—"Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress in my own".

I have said that ratification of the Treaty and of the Covenant of the League of Nations can bring no benefit to this country, more so when we have, constitutionally speaking, nothing to do with it and when, in ratifying, we are affirming the will of Canadian people to enter any war without securing the people's assent. Let me further explain. The signing of peace on behalf of the British Empire is a prerogative of the Crown. The King himself signs, either in person or by others duly appointed by him for the purpose. In the case of the present Treaty, this principle is well recognized:

> His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, by:
> The Right Hon. David Lloyd George. . . . . .
> And for the Dominion of Canada by:
> The Right Hon. Charles Joseph Doherty, etc.

His Majesty, through the gentlemen above mentioned, has signed the peace treaty on behalf of the United Empire, which includes Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Australia and India. Nothing else is required. The sole constitutional authority having given his signature, the contract entered into has been completed, no other signatures on behalf of Canada or for Canada could give more force and effect to the meaning of the Treaty.

Yet there appear other signatures; we find that the various British colonies are represented by men of their own, who have also signed as mandatories of the King, in the manner I have just read. How can this be justified is the question.

So far as the Peace Treaty proper is concerned, I have no fault to find with Canadian names appearing thereon, for in my opinion it means nothing, and I venture to think and to say that were it not for the Covenant of the League of Nations we would not have been called in a special session to ratify the one which includes the other.

Why is approval required if not because our representatives have the feeling that in subscribing to the Covenant of the League of Nations they have exceeded their powers, their jurisdiction in sacrificing Canadian autonomy when they had no authority to do so? Many articles of this

Covenant are of more or less importance to us. The one that causes anxiety is Article X which reads as follows:

> The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression and in case of any threat or danger of aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Have our representatives forgotten that we still have in Canada a constitution, the British North America Act, by which our right or power to participate in wars is limited to the defence of our territory? This constitution has not been altered. How can we then pledge ourselves to such obligations as the one mentioned in Clause X quoted above? "To guarantee the territorial integrity and the existing political independence of"—all these nations, 27 in number if we exclude the five British colonies already mentioned?

This agreement is not, in my opinion, binding upon Canada, and cannot be so, so long as our constitution remains what it is. "The King cannot give and withhold at the same time." He has given Canada a constitution, which is called the "British North America Act". He has entered into a contract with the people of this country and, in my opinion, cannot make any change in this contract without the consent of the Canadian people. If, however, in Parliament assembled, the representatives of the people signify their assent to such obligations, this move of ours will amount to a word of honour, which given by such respectable people as the Canadian people, will have the same effect as a change in the constitution itself.

If such is the effect of approval without reservations we should not for a moment hesitate in making our position clear. We have been, and rightly too, for many years past, very jealous and quite sensitive as to our rights to declare whether we should or should not take part in certain wars. There is no reason why this feeling of the Canadian people should not be respected. If this right of ours were of no value, no one would attempt to take it away from us, but it is valuable and for this reason the Imperialists want to wrest it from our constitution. Imperialists do not like Canada's political freedom, and for the past twenty years or so, have made constant efforts to change our status, so as to be at all times sure that we would join in any war and in any expenses which Britain might enter or incur. These men have, up to the present, met with failure. To attain their purposes they had to resort to means which I cannot express better than in the following words of Mr. John S. Ewart:

> The Scheme—And now it is time to indicate why it is that Canada is asked to "ratify" a treaty to which she is not a party. To those who have closely followed the schemes of the imperialists, the reason is obvious. These men have always grudged Canada her right to refrain from participation in British wars, if, upon any particular occasion, she so desired. They have endeavoured in various ways to make abstention impossible—by Imperial Federation, by an Imperial Council, by agreements for co-operation. They have done their best and failed. Now they see their opportunity. "Ratification" cannot help or hurt the treaty, but by it they would deal a fatal blow at one of the principal features of Canada's political freedom. By means of the most cleverly conceived artifice, they hope to procure from our parliament such action as shall place Canada, for war purposes, in the hands of the British Government. Her present freedom will be gone if Canada "ratifies" the treaty. For by so doing, she will indicate her approval of the position in which she has been placed by "the High Contracting Powers." And thereafter her war-participation will be regulated by a small council sitting at Geneva—a council in which Canada will have no representation, and in which the United Kingdom will dispose of "her dominions," according to British conceptions, from time to time, of British interests.
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> I have said that Canada has already been placed in that position. That is true. But it has not been done with her assent, and the imperialists seek to foreclose that objection. They pretend that "ratification" is necessary. They know that it is not. But they want something which can be pointed to as Canada's approval of the effacement of her war-freedom. Canada would not knowingly make that surrender, and the imperialists are too cunning frankly to propose it. Very few know that from Canada "ratification" means resignation of a right which she has always enjoyed, and which has never been questioned.
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> If it be said that Canada will be in no worse position than any of the other twenty-two smaller nations, the first reply is that every one of the smaller nations (except those of the British Empire) will have a chance of becoming a member of the Geneva Council, whereas Canada will not. And the second reply is that it is extremely doubtful whether any of these other smaller nations will supply troops for a war in which they are not individually interested. Of the twenty-two smaller nations, eleven are Spanish-American. The number of men which they contributed to the last war may be taken as something of a gauge of the number which they would send to the next. Canada will fulfil her obligations. Let her be careful of making foolish promises.

These words, Sir, are to the point; they deserve to be recorded in Hansard so that we may refer to them as occasion presents itself. They are only part of a series of articles which the Ottawa Citizen has asked Mr. Ewart to present on this situation. I would have liked to record them in their

entirety, but they cover the whole situation and I am dealing only with a certain aspect of it. The opinions expressed by Mr. Ewart I commend to the attention of many hon. gentlemen sitting opposite, for they may cause the minds of those hon. gentlemen to be fixed not on imaginary ideals, but on ordinary, simple, even if rigid, realities.

"By means of the most cleverly conceived artifice," says this writer, are the imperialists putting their policy to the front; and he is right in his views as well as in the way he expresses them. Had there been no "artifice," the Government would have put before the people of Canada every paper or letter which has been interchanged between the various parties to the Treaty and themselves. We are called upon to approve of all that has taken place and what have we got before us? The Treaty and the answer to Germany's representations; what are those German representations, it might be very interesting to know. They have been made in no private document; they should be available to the people of this country as they have been available to those who have represented Canada at the Conference. The Prime Minister also says that jointly with his colleagues he has submitted certain views, but they are in the form of a "private document," they cannot be made public. The people of Canada are deprived of the opportunity to know what were the opinions expressed by our representatives and contained in the famous "private document." How many other documents, letters or written representations are hidden? Our own diplomats only know. Let their intimate thoughts remain secret, and let us draw our conclusions that possibly they are part of the "cleverly conceived artifice" which imperialists know how to use.

Sir, a few words more and I have concluded. To sum up: I believe that since the Treaty of Peace has been submitted to us for approval, although it will seem extraordinary for a colony to have anything to do with it, I accept the compliment paid to Canada by other countries that henceforth they recognize Canada as a nation. We say we are not a nation, others contend that we are. We all want to be; therefore there would be nothing to gain in refusing to approve of this Treaty under reserve of rights and privileges guaranteed the Canadian people by the British North America Act.

For these reasons, Sir, I am pleased to vote for the amendment presented by the member for Shelburne and Queen's.

Mr. O. TURGEON (Gloucester): Mr. Speaker, in rising to address the House on this very important question, the most important that has ever come before the Parliament of Canada, I assure you that I do so at this late hour only because I am moved by a sense of duty to my constituents. I shall endeavour to abridge the remarks which I had intended to make on the subject. It is not my intention to deal with this question from the standpoint of politics. The President of the United States, at the beginning of an address which he made to his people, asked them to forget for the moment that they were either Republicans or Democrats. I feel that on this occasion I should forget whether I am a Liberal or a Conservative. I believe that we should deal with this matter purely from the standpoint of a desire to preserve that democracy for which our men so nobly fought and died on the fields of France and Flanders.

I wish to approach this question simply as a Canadian, living, as I do, under a constitution which is dear and sacred to my heart—a constitution permanent in its character, but which carries within it the ways and means of making any change which in the development of our country may be necessary in connection with the relations existing between Canada and the rest of the British Empire or, indeed, between Canada and any of the other nations of the world.

For over fifty years we have been living under a constitution which has made Canada an integral part of the great British Empire. The privileges which we have enjoyed under that constitution have instilled into us feelings of loyalty and affection for the Motherland and for the Empire—feelings which have been exemplified in the voluntary sacrifices which we have been willing to make in time of stress. The same feeling of loyalty and affection prevails among all the component parts of the Empire. Inspired not by a desire for power and supremacy, but by a feeling of fellowship and love for our people across the seas, we are numbered among those million of subjects who, under a common flag and in a common allegiance, live under the smile of Providence.

The nations of the world, which, since the creation, had been admiring with amazement the movements of the heavenly bodies

around the central sun, have of late experienced a further amazement in contemplation of the simultaneous movement of immense bodies of British subjects from all parts of the world to a common destination, ready to do their part in the cause of freedom and liberty. In this desire to uphold a common cause is found the basis of the strength of the British Empire. I for one wish that this Empire shall be maintained in order that the happiness of those who belong to it—and, indeed, of the whole world—may be perpetuated.

The war has given incontrovertible evidence of the futility of immense armaments, and has demonstrated that nations should follow the principles of fraternity, right and justice. The victory of the Allies has brought forth a Treaty which is now before this Parliament for consideration, a Treaty in which is embodied a League of Nations. Before considering the Treaty and the League of Nations as it affects Canada, I wish to discuss the Treaty in a general way.

The League of Nations is an outcome of the terrible war through which we have passed, and if the world wishes to have peace in the future it can only have it through such a body as the League of Nations. But a League of a few nations only will be no guarantee of peace; let us hope that other nations will come within the League in a short time and thus enable it to carry out its purpose effectively.

The Treaty of Peace and the League of Nations may not be altogether what they were expected to be. The people that dreamed of a universal peace are somewhat disappointed at the constitution of the League of Nations such as it is to-day. We may say, however, that while it is not altogether symbolic or expressive of that dream or aspiration of universal peace that is as old as the world, it contains the fundamental point that the brutal material force of nations must make way for the moral force of right, under a certain adequate, reciprocal distribution of arms according to rule and guarantees necessary for the keeping of public order in every State, and the effacement of large armies, there being substituted for these the institution of arbitration. It claims, after all, the application, the exercise amongst the nations of the virtues of fraternity which have bound together the many Dominions of the British Empire. More is left to be done by the League of Nations than what has already been included in the Treaty. I do not say this in an offensive spirit, realizing the difficult position in which the representatives of the many allied nations were, in their strenuous endeavours to bring into harmony the needs, aspirations and expectations of a large number of nations, for the first time brought together in a spirit of conciliation for the betterment of the world. Many things have to be done yet. Disarmament is not complete. We are speaking of peace, and in the meanwhile many nations in Europe are still at war together, while to-day even one of the Allies, Roumania, is fighting and refusing to come into the League of Nations.

In the early days of this debate the hon. member for Edmonton West (Brigadier-General Griesbach) brought to the attention of the House and of the people of the country the sufferings of our Canadian soldiers at the front and the cruelties and barbarities of the Germans during the war. Certainly, while he was there, he added lustre to his name, and we listened with attention and respect to his words, as well as to the words of another brave soldier who addressed this House this evening, the hon. member for Skeena (Lieut.-Col. Peck, V.C.). I join heartily in the praises extended to him by an orator who preceded me, the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster). They are well deserved. Meanwhile, to-day, when we are endeavouring to frame a treaty of peace for the world, we must not look merely at the cruelties of the past, we must not be guided merely by a sentiment of revenge, and the reparation that is to be demanded from the conquered nations must be decided upon by the sentiment, if not of charity, of justice and right for which we have fought and which we are proclaiming to the world to-day. For the consummation of the future peace of the world, we must endeavour to educate the nations which, in the past, through its militaristic education, has corrupted the minds of its own people by making them militaristic, by inducing them to believe that their own nation was the only one that deserved to have the heavens, and which has thrown its innocent fellow-nations into other sins through the education which has been given to their youth and for which to-day, innocent as they were, many of those Germans, Austrians and Hungarians with their families are suffering. All this was due to the false education given to them through Bismarck, who at that time used his influence for the captivation of the men at the head of the University of Vienna and other great universities in those districts, their influence giving weight to

that false education which has brought the calamity of the war during the last four or five years.

A soldier will, no doubt, say that the German people cannot be civilized. I say that they must be civilized. They can be civilized only by the example of the League of Nations to-day, and it is our duty—to use the eloquent words expressing the same thought, uttered by the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) a few moment ago,—to see to it that Germany must be brought into the League of Nations at the earliest possible date. We have seen the effect of the good-will extended by the members of the League of Nations, more particularly by Mr. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, towards enemy nations. We saw that only the day before yesterday when the Austrian Chancellor went before Premier Clemenceau and signed the Treaty of Peace with a smile of peace and harmony for the future, bringing China in the same way to sign a treaty and China will trust to the good-will of the Empire of Japan for the administration of Shantung in the years to come.

But many things have yet to be done if we want to have peace within the world, if we want to have peace within the League of Nations. Ireland, a nation in the League of Nations, must be given relief, home rule of some kind, if the nations of the League wish, and more particularly, if Great Britain wishes to maintain the happiness of her subjects throughout the world. One need not be an Irishman to sympathize with the people of Ireland. Any man with human feelings, who wants minorities to be recognized and smaller nations to grow independent, will certainly feel for Ireland as others have felt for the small nations that were under the yoke of German and Austrian peoples. Ireland must be recognized and must be pacified and brought into the League of Nations in some way acceptable to the people of that country. Much has been said of Ireland's position during the war, but the world at large will recollect that when one day the generous smile of Albion fell on Green Erin, in the enactment of a Home Rule programme which is awaiting the sanction of the King, under the beneficent influence of the smile and the promise which it gave to Ireland, on the 4th of August on the proclamation of war, thousands of Irish soldiers hurriedly crossed the channel, went across Belgium into the fighting line in the first days of the war and mingled their boldness and valour with the heroism of the Belgian soldiers. If a change took place, it was certainly merely due to the change which had taken place in the direction of the administration by the British Government of the cause of Erin.

I am sure that every British subject who is proud of the generosity of Great Britain to the Dominions of the Empire must feel that Ireland remains the one dark cloud in the bright heavens of the Empire, and the cloud must be dissipated by the British Government and the League of Nations at the earliest possible moment. Let me say for the edification of the House and the people of Canada that this question to-day is troubling the mind of no less a man than General Smuts who has succeeded General Botha as the head of the Government of South Africa. On many occasions during the war his words in England have arrested the attention of the world, more particularly when he has been speaking of the status of the Empire and the aspirations which she should nurse for the future. On the 17th of July last when he was bidding farewell to Great Britain he addressed a large delegation, and the Associated Press gives an account of his speech from which I will quote a few words:

> Dealing with questions concerning the Empire and the Dominions General Smuts says the most pressing of all is the Irish question. "It has become a chronic wound whose septic effects are spreading to our whole system, and through its influence on America is beginning to poison our most vital foreign relations," says General Smuts. "Unless it is settled on the great principles which form the basis of this Empire this Empire must cease to exist."

These are serious words given to the world at large, and more particularly to the nations that had signed the Treaty and entered the League of Nations. Much has to be done yet, and I trust that the members of the Government of Canada whenever they come in contact with the ministers of the Crown of Great Britain will do everything they can to bring about a settlement of the Irish question.

As I said before, we are living under a written constitution, with the means provided for any amendment or alteration or betterment which occasion may dictate. Did the representatives of Canada in the position which they assumed at the Conference which resulted in the League of Nations seriously consider that their power was limited by the letter of the constitution of Canada? It is true that evolution has given to Canada and the other Dominions in the last twenty years a greater measure of autonomy than

it had enjoyed for many years before that, and I do not hesitate to say that a great deal of the credit, in fact most of the credit is due to the advocacy and influence and eloquence and great vision of the late lamented Sir Wilfrid Laurier, which attracted the attention of the diplomats of Great Britain. But he was always careful to keep within the constitution of Canada, and every one of his efforts resulted in an advancement rather than a retrograde movement in Canada's autonomy. I claim that the result of the efforts of the Canadian representatives at the Peace Conference at Versailles is a retrograde movement rather than an advance, and furthermore, it is against the constitution. Truely the wise and learned Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) has said that the people have to be consulted before any change is made in the constitution. He says, however, that when the change is for the better it is not necessary to consult the people, but only when the change is for the worse. I am not disposed to accuse the Minister of Public Works of intending to impose upon Canada a worse condition than it enjoyed before, but I say that the change is for the worse, and that whether a change is for the better or worse it can only be made with the consent of the people of Canada. I repeat, I do not think the change in our constitution has been for the better. Up to to-day we were not a nation in the full sense of the word. Sentimentally we have made great progress as a nation or as one of the nations of the Commonwealth, if you prefer that phrase, but we have not come to the point of being a distinct and separate nation of the British Empire. If we were a separate and distinct nation we would have our own King or president. If we are a separate nation, I ask you who is our king or president? You may say that we belong to the British Empire and that we are just as independent as if we were a separate nation. No Canadian from the Atlantic to the Pacific wishes more to remain under the protection of the British flag than the modest member for Gloucester (Mr. Turgeon), but in the meantime we are not a nation. Those who are so anxious to call us a nation ought to take advantage of the presence of the Prince of Wales in this country and ask him if he will not be crowned king of Canada.

We have not the power to declare war or make peace, and no people is an independent nation unless it has this power. When we were at war we no doubt eagerly wished for peace, but Canada was powerless to declare peace even if she considered it in her best interests to do so. If ever there was an obligation to consult the people on any question it certainly was in connection with this very important matter, and in view of the sacrifices which the people of the country generally have borne, and particularly the noble part which has been played by a section of the community amounting to twenty-five or thirty per cent of the population, I think it would be only constitutional and right to ascertain the views of the people of Canada on this subject. Some 300,000 of our men, after making every possible sacrifice, are to-day returning, and together with their families and dependents they form probably one-third of the population of the country, and they should have some right to be consulted in regard to a radical change in the constitution of Canada by which its voluntary efforts, through love and admiration of the British Crown, will give place to a dictation by a council of nine representing different nations of the world. This movement is altogether unconstitutional, and I repeat that if ever there was a time when the people should have been consulted it is at this very moment; for by the change which is proposed the soldiers themselves may be called upon to fight without an opportunity of expressing their willingness or otherwise, simply at the dictation of a council and not at the request of Great Britain. In the past we have served voluntarily and have not even waited for Britain to seek our participation. As soon as the war was declared in 1914 the Prime Minister volunteered the services of Canada to the Empire, and the leader of the Opposition of that day immediately joined in tendering his hearty co-operation and that of his followers in order to help the Mother Country as much as possible to maintain the welfare of humanity, liberty and democracy. By this Treaty, however, it may happen that we may have to fight even against Great Britain herself. The Article distinctly lays it down, and the possibility has been demonstrated by previous speakers. The council of nine may call other nations to arms against Britain, should Britain find it expedient to declare war on some other country, and our soldiers might be summoned to respond not to an invitation of the Mother Country, as in days gone by, but to the dictation of a council of nine administering the affairs of the world.

With these few remarks I shall conclude, hoping that the League of Nations may succeed in bringing about a condition that has

hitherto not existed, and that every member of the League will realize the necessity of bringing Germany as quickly as possible into such a position as to make her eligible for inclusion in its membership. I trust that the League of Nations will soon become an effective organization, and I will gladly support it because it is the beginning of a combination of civilized peoples which we hope will grow in influence from day to day, and which it is the universal desire will make war in the future a thing of remote possibility. Let us not make light of the inclusion of Germany and Russia; for we must realize that with a discontented Germany and Russia and other nations around them we shall have not a League of Nations, but another balance of power which will keep the League busy manufacturing munitions in the future as in the past. An amendment has been introduced by the member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding). It is merely an assertion of the independence of Canada and our love for the constitution of our country, and I will vote for it because it maintains intact that constitution. Before I resume my seat, Mr. Speaker, I beg to repeat my hope that before very long the League of Nations will be the means of establishing the peace of the world on a lasting foundation.

Mr. JEAN J. DENIS (Joliette): It is not without great concern and a sense of deep responsibility that I would have risen to-night if the opportunity had been offered me to express myself upon the motion now before the House for approval by Parliament of the Treaty of Peace. I say, if I had been given the opportunity, because I fully realize that the opportunity is not being given to me any more than to many other hon. members at this late hour. However, let me assure you at once that I will not inflict upon the House a speech of any length; I will take the few minutes at my disposal to enter a protest against the manner in which this debate has been conducted and against the impropriety of having a discussion of this importance closed in the way in which it is going to be closed to-night. This session of Parliament has been convened for the sole purpose of ratifying the Peace Treaty. The speech from the Throne says that we are called together for that purpose. It says that we are to ratify the Treaty of Peace, which implies, of course, that we shall not be given much latitude upon the point of deciding whether or not we should ratify. We are simply called upon to ratify the Treaty, and the Prime Minister has conducted the procedure of the House in such a manner as to give every hon. member distinctly to understand that we are here for the purpose of ratification and nothing else.

The speech from the Throne was delivered on the first day of the month. When we were convened here to ratify this Treaty we expected at least to be able to read the Treaty before giving it our ratification. The Government should have been in a position to place the Treaty in the hands of the members upon the first day of the session. This was not done. It seems that there was some misunderstanding, but at all events it was not done. On the following day, Tuesday, the Prime Minister moved the resolution that we are now discussing, made a speech, sat down and waited. What was he waiting for? He was waiting for the House to begin this debate. In the forenoon of Tuesday, the 2nd of September, I went to the distribution office and could not get a copy of this Treaty; yet the Prime Minister stood up at three o'clock in the afternoon, made a speech and asked the House to adjudge upon and discuss this Treaty of Peace of which we had had so far no opportunity of taking communication. This is a challenge to this House, it is a deliberate challenge not only to the House but to every well-disposed man in this country who wants the country to be administered by men who know what they are doing. We are called here to examine, ratify, approve or disapprove of the most important measure that has ever been submitted to the Canadian Parliament since Confederation, and here is the Prime Minister pressing a resolution for the approval of a Peace Treaty the drafting of which took seven months of the time of the best men in Europe. Yet, we were called upon to discuss this Treaty on the very same day that the Treaty was distributed.

My leader (Mr. McKenzie) was lucky enough to be able to have the debate on this measure postponed, for how long? Forty-eight hours. The Prime Minister in his kindness granted us forty-eight hours to read the Treaty; that is to say, from Tuesday till Thursday, and on that day we had to begin the discussion of the Treaty itself. What happened on Thursday? It appeared that some correspondence was exchanged between the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition. The measure was postponed until Monday of this week, but we have to vote to-night. I dare to say, even although I am the most humble member of this House, that I have something to

say about it. I dare to say that other members in the House have something to say about it. But we cannot speak any more. It is one o'clock, we have to vote and neither I nor anybody else, I believe, on our side, will dare to impose a speech on hon. members on the other side of the House. This afternoon I heard the Minister of Justice say that the fullest opportunity would be given to discuss the matter. The minister was surely not serious when he said that. If he was serious we would not be called upon here to-night to discuss this matter until the vote is taken. The minister knows very well that the House cannot freely express itself and that hon. members cannot discuss a matter of this importance at one o'clock in the morning and when everyone is waiting for the vote. The minister explained the policy of the Government. I heard him for two hours, and I was very glad to hear him, because I learned something from what he said. The fact that the minister took two hours to make his speech is sufficient proof that the matter is one of importance and that every opportunity should be given to hon. members to discuss it freely. The matter which is now before the House raises any number of questions—the question of the right of Canada to make treaties; the question whether or not our status has been changed since 1914; the question of the extent to which our ratification will be binding upon Canada in the future; the question of the part which has been taken by the Imperialists in providing for this ratification with which we have nothing to do; whether this ratification is a political game or not; whether our ratification is necessary, whether we are not by this ratification surrendering the prerogative of Parliament. There are many other very important and solemn questions arising from this ratification, and yet we are debarred from carefully studying and discussing this matter. I shall take my seat now but not without protesting very strongly against the manner in which Parliament is being treated. It will be for the people themselves to judge of the conduct of the Prime Minister under these circumstances. I probably should go a little farther and say that in the way in which he has been acting the Prime Minister has only followed the line of conduct which he has unfortunately pursued on several previous occasions when he has attempted to restrain the liberty of Parliament.

1 a.m.

[Mr. Denis.]

Mr. E. d'ANJOU (Rimouski) (Translation): Mr. Speaker, the question which is now before the House has been discussed under all its various angles and at this late hour and at this stage of the debate I do not intend to prolong the proceedings. That my hon. friends opposite are anxious to vote on this question and to bind the country to militarism, I am well aware, but I submit that every member, whether on the Government side or on the Opposition side has a right to obtain a hearing in this House and I am going to exercise my right but I desire to make my remarks as brief as possible.

I merely wish to protest, as the hon. member who spoke before me, did, against the mode of procedure adopted by the Government under the circumstances. No wonder, when one remembers that it was this Government who introduced the rule of the gag. They do not resort to the closure rule to-night, because the hon. members on this side are courteous enough to agree that the vote should be taken now.

The hon. gentlemen opposite who have committed so many abuses of power, as you are aware, Mr. Speaker, could not hesitate, even when matters of the utmost importance were under discussion, attempting to curtail the debate that they might the sooner obtain a ratification.

I wish to protest against Clause X in the Covenant of the League of Nations which binds Canada for the future and involves her in every war, without Parliament being previously consulted.

The hon. Minister of Justice, in his speech, tried to explain that we could hope for any possible guarantee and that, were it not stipulated that the Canadian Parliament is to be consulted before our entering the war, we should naturally trust the present Government which, he hopes, will long remain in power.

For my part, I must say that I do not trust this Government, that I never trusted it and now less than ever; that we should behave cautiously and that an amendment like that moved by the hon. member for Queen's and Shelburne (Mr. Fielding) should carry, so as to have guarantees for the future. But, as I said, after witnessing so many abuses of power that have been perpetrated, as the sending of our soldiers to Siberia, without Parliament having been consulted, I have misgivings for the future, and it would be wise to insert a proviso in the Treaty so as to make sure that such abuses of power will not recur.

Besides, Sir, I see in that article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations a step taken towards militarism and I submit that the hon. gentlemen opposite who pride themselves on being the only ones who induced the country to participate in the last war in order to destroy German militarism, should side with us to-day, and try by every possible means, whether through amendments or otherwise, to strike militarism a knockout blow, instead of endeavouring to implant it in Canada.

Mr. Speaker, should that Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations remain as it is now, it means permanent conscription in our country. When the Council sitting at Geneva decides that Canada is to participate in a war and orders us to send over soldiers, do you honestly believe that those soldiers will really be volunteers?

We have made so many sacrifices during four years, we have bled the country in so many ways in order to destroy imperialism in Europe, that it does not behoove us to try implanting it in Canada.

In rising in my place to-night, I wished to protest, on behalf of my electors, and in the name of the country, against such a clause, and I shall vote with the greatest pleasure in favour of the amendment moved by the hon. member for Queens and Shelburne.

The House divided on the amendment of Mr. Fielding, which was negatived on the following division:

YEAS.

Messieurs

Archambault,	Leduc,
Béland,	Leger,
Boivin,	Lemieux,
Boyer,	Lesage,
Brouillard,	McCoig,
Cahill,	McCrea,
Cannon,	McGibbon (Argenteuil),
Cardin,	McKenzie,
Casgrain,	McMaster,
Copp,	Marcile (Bagot),
d'Anjou,	Mayrand,
Déchêne,	Michaud,
Delisle,	Molloy,
Demers,	Pacaud,
Denis,	Papineau,
Desaulniers,	Pardee,
Deslauriers,	Parent,
Ethier,	Pedlow,
Euler,	Pelletier,
Fafard,	Prévost,
Fiedling,	Proulx,
Fontaine,	Robb,
Fortier,	Ross,
Fournier,	Savard,
Gauthier,	Seguin,
Gauvreau,	Sinclair (Antigonish & Guysborough),
Gervais,	Sinclair (Queens, P.E.I.),
Hunt,	Tobin,
Jacobs,	Trahan,
Kay,	Truax,
Kennedy,	Turgeon,
Lafortune,	Verville,
Lanctôt,	Vien,
Lapointe (Kamouraska),	White (Victoria).—70.
Lapointe (St. James),	
Lavigueur,	

NAYS.

Messieurs

Allan,	Lang,
Anderson,	Loggie,
Andrews,	Long,
Argue,	Mackie (Renfrew),
Armstrong (Lambton).	MacNutt,
Arthurs,	McGibbon (Muskoka),
Ball,	McGregor,
Best,	McIntosh,
Blair,	McIsaac,
Bolton,	McLean (Royal),
Bonnell,	McLeod,
Bowman,	McQuarrie,
Boyce,	Manion,
Brien,	Martin,
Buchanan,	Meighen,
Burnham,	Mewburn,
Butts,	Middlebro,
Calder,	Morphy,
Campbell,	Mowat,
Casselman,	Munson,
Chaplin,	Myers,
Charlton,	Nesbitt,
Charters,	Nicholson (Queens, P.E.I.),
Clark (Bruce),	Paul,
Clarke (Wellington),	Porter,
Cockshutt,	Redman,
Cooper,	Richardson,
Cowan,	Rowell,
Cronyn,	Sexsmith,
Crothers,	Shaw,
Crowe,	Sheard,
Cruise,	Sifton,
Davidson,	Simpson,
Davis,	Spinney,
Douglas (Strathcona),	Stacey,
Edwards,	Stevens,
Finley,	Stewart (Hamilton),
Foster (York),	Stewart (Lanark),
Fripp,	Sutherland,
Fulton,	Thompson (Weyburn),
Glass,	Thompson (Hastings),
Green,	Thomson (Qu'Appelle),
Griesbach,	Tremaine,
Guthrie,	Tweedie,
Halladay,	Whidden,
Harold,	White (Sir Thomas),
Harrison,	Wigmore,
Hartt,	Wilson (Wentworth),
Hay,	Wilson (Saskatoon),
Henders,	Wright.—102.
Knox,	
Lalor,	

PAIRS.

(The list of pairs is furnished by the Chief Whips.)

Messieurs

Reid (McKenzie),	Baldwin,
Burrell,	Chisholm,
Doherty,	Marcil (Bonaventure),
Blake,	Duff,
Maclean, W. F.,	Gladu,
Hughes, Sir Sam,	Du Tremblay,
Borden, Sir Robert,	Devlin,
Reid, Hon. Dr.,	Bureau,
Keefer,	Murphy,
Scott,	Power.

Mr. F. S. SCOTT (South Waterloo): I was paired with the hon. member for Quebec South (Mr. Power). Had I voted I would have voted against the amendment.

Motion, Sir Robert Borden for approval of the Treaty, agreed to.

On the Order being called for the House to go into Committee on certain resolutions of the Prime Minister:

Mr. DOHERTY: These resolutions refer to appendices to the Treaty itself, the first of them dealing with the agreement made for the administration of the occupied territory on the Rhine during the period of occupation, and the second one dealing with the Treaty with Poland, which has already been the subject of some discussion. I understood that these two resolutions as appendices to the Treaty were to be passed with the Treaty itself. I would suggest that it is by error that the division was made. There was no occasion to take them in Committee, but as they are on the Order Paper in that way, if there is no objection, I would suggest that we might put them through this morning so the matter may be completed.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton N. and Victoria): There is nothing in the agreement I had with the Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker, but the resolution with which we have just dealt, and I cannot consent to any other resolution to which I have given no thought.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: There must have been some misunderstanding, because we gathered from the Prime Minister that what he did understand was that these two resolutions which I have mentioned deal with mere appendices to the Treaty were to be taken with the resolution dealing with the Treaty itself. Of course, if that was not so understood by the hon. gentleman, I would not desire to insist to their being disposed of in the face of any objection from him. I think it may safely be said that, having regard to the first resolution, it is a matter that does not present any question affecting us—it is the agreement simply determining how the administration of the occupied territory on the Rhine shall be carried on during the occupation; and the second resolution, as I have said, covers the Treaty which, in substance, practically imposes upon Poland the obligation of respecting the various minorities in that country.

Mr. McKENZIE: When the Prime Minister made his speech, Mr. Speaker, he moved one resolution only, and I certainly did not understand that I was consenting to anything but the disposal of the resolution which he then moved. For that reason, while I do not want to show any unnecessary opposition, I cannot agree to a thing to which I have given no consideration at all.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: As it was not so understood, I do not want to insist on the disposal of these resolutions in face of my hon. friend's objection.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 1.30 a.m. (Friday).

Friday, September 12, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

REPORTS AND PAPERS.

Copy of Order in Council dated 12th September, 1919, advising that His Majesty do approve, accept, confirm and ratify the Treaty of Peace for and in respect of the Dominion of Canada.—Hon. Mr. Rowell.

RAILWAY ACT, 1919, AMENDMENT.

Mr. J. E. ARMSTRONG (Lambton) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 8, to amend the Railway Act, 1919.

Mr. McKENZIE: Explain.

Mr. J. E. ARMSTRONG: This Bill is for the purpose of bringing under the control of the Railway Commission vessels plying on our inland waters and engaged in coastwise trade. At present only a few boats connected with the railways are under the control of that commission. The intention is to make such boats as I have mentioned subject to that control as regards tariffs, tolls, trade agreements, time of call, duration of stay, and many things of public importance connected with transportation on our waters. There are 4,500 boats on the Canadian register, and they employ 45,000 people.

Mr. BUREAU: Is this the same Bill that the hon. gentleman presented last year?

Mr. J. E. ARMSTRONG: Pretty nearly the same Bill. Last year I asked that the board should have control as regards maximum freight rates. That is embodied in this Bill. But there is another clause which

exempts sailing vessels and small boats; otherwise the Bill is practically the same as the one that I introduced last year.

Motion agreed to and the Bill read the first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS ACT.

AMENDMENT AS TO DELAY FOR BY-ELECTIONS AND DECLARING POLLING DAYS PUBLIC HOLIDAYS.

Mr. S. W. JACOBS (George Etienne Cartier) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 9, to amend the House of Commons Act and to provide that polling days at elections shall be public holidays.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Explain.

Mr. JACOBS: This Bill is similar to one which I had the honour of bringing before the House at the last session, but as Government measures were given precedence early in the session, the Bill was not permitted to go through the necessary stages. It proposes to amend the House of Commons Act and it declares that within sixty days after the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery receives a warrant for the issue of a new writ for the election of a member, the writ in question shall issue. In other words, it provides that the election shall take place automatically within a fixed period after the electoral seat has been declared vacant.

The second provision of the Bill is that persons elected for two or more seats must declare within a specified time for which seat they will serve. A penalty of $200 is provided for each day that then elapses during which the member has not declared for which seat he intends to serve.

Mr. BELAND: What is the time specified?

Mr. JACOBS: Thirty days. Finally, there is a provision which declares that polling day shall be a public holiday, both at general elections and at by-elections.

I may say that about ten years ago the present Prime Minister, who was at that time leading the then Opposition, brought in a Bill similar to the one which I have the honour of introducing to-day. For various reasons the Bill was not proceeded with, but as the Prime Minister was in favour of the Bill at that time, and I have no reason to believe that he has changed his views on the subject, I confidently look forward to having support for this measure from the Government benches. I am sure that it will receive support from this side of the House.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

CANADIAN TRADE MISSION IN LONDON.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JACOBS: I should like to ask the Government whether the Canadian Trade Mission in London is about to be abolished. I base my question on a report which appeared in the newspapers last evening to the effect that Mr. Lloyd Harris, chairman of the Trade Mission, has stated that Canadian trade, if properly handled, can continue to increase independently of Government control; and the report goes on to say that this creates the assumption that the Mission is about to be abolished. Has the Government any information to convey to the House on the subject?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: There has been no decision to abolish the Canadian Trade Mission.

CANADIAN CREDIT TO ROUMANIA.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: I should like to put a question to the financial authority of the Government, whoever that may be at present, concerning our advance to Roumania. I read in the press recently that the $25,000,000 which we voted as a credit to Roumania has been exhausted and that we have no security or anything in the shape of security for the payment of that amount. Is it true that we have expended the $25,000,000, and if so, what security in the way of bonds or negotiable instruments of any kind have we in respect of that amount?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: I shall communicate the hon. gentleman's question to the Minister of Finance with a view to giving him the information that he asks for.

GREAT WAR VETERANS' GRATUITY. CLAIM.

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER AND COMPARATIVE TABLES OF ALLOWANCES TO VETERANS SUBMITTED BY HON. MR. ROWELL.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Council): Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Prime Minister I desire to make the following statement with reference to the position of the Government in the matter of a further bonus or war service gratuity to returned soldiers.

The position of the Government is set forth in a statement prepared by the Prime Minister on Saturday last for submission to the House in answer to a question placed upon the Order Paper by the hon. member for West Edmonton (Mr. Griesbach). The Prime Minister intended to make this statement in the House on Monday but owing to his indisposition he was not able to do so. The statement, including the correspondence which has passed between the Prime Minister and the Great War Veterans' Association is as follows:

The Great War Veterans' Association,
Citizen Building,
Ottawa, August 23rd, 1919.

The Right Honourable Sir Robert L. Borden,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Ont.,

Sir,—I am instructed to request the early consideration by your Government of the resolution advanced by the Annual Convention of this Association, advocating the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission to determine the possibilities of a bonus re-establishment scheme.

The decision of the Government in this matter is being awaited with keen interest by returned soldiers.

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
(Sgd.) C. G. MacNeil,
Dominion Secretary-Treasurer,
G.W.V.A. of Canada.

The resolution inclosed is as follows:

The Great War Veterans' Association of Canada, Inc.
Dominion Convention, Vancouver, B.C.,
June 30th to July 5th, 1919.

Resolution No. 3.

Whereas it is due to the members of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces, and imperative in the national interest that effective means should be promptly found for the re-establishment of the soldier and his assimilation into the civil life of the country;

And whereas it is essential that such re-establishment should be accomplished in such a

[Mr. Doherty.]

manner as to place the soldier as nearly as possible on an equal footing with those whose business or professional career or other earning power has not been interrupted by Military Service, and so that he may be adequately rehabilitated in civil life and the better enabled to bear his share of the immense burden of taxation which the War has placed upon the country;

And whereas it is desirable that such re-establishment should be accomplished with a minimum of administrative cost, so that the soldier may receive the maximum of benefit from the money expended and the burden to the country may not be unduly increased;

And whereas, in view of the serious unemployment problem that faces the country in the immediate future, to accomplish these objects in a manner equitable to every individual citizen under the varying conditions of this vast Dominion the most satisfactory system is one of gratuity payments:

Be it therefore resolved that the Great War Veterans' Association of Canada in annual convention assembled this second day of July, 1919, urge upon the Government of Canada the necessity of the immediate adoption of a system of bonus payments as the most satisfactory and effective means of re-establishing the soldiers;

And be it further resolved: that after careful thought and full consideration, we are of opinion that the granting of such bonus upon an equality basis be limited only by the Country's ability to pay, so as to enable the beneficiary to become efficient-re-established with security and happiness. The classification of beneficiaries, the method of distribution and administration to be agreed and decided upon by a joint Parliamentary and G.W.V.A. Commission.

And that this bonus should be in addition to any gratuity or pension for disability resulting from service; And that in the case of members of the Expeditionary Forces whose death occurred whilst in the service or after their discharge therefrom, such bonus shall be paid to their dependents;

All of the benefits contained in this resolution shall apply to those resident in Canada prior to 4th August, 1914, who served in the Imperial Forces, and are now, or may be at any future date domiciled in Canada.

The reply of the Prime Minister reads:

Prime Minister's Office.
Ottawa, Ont., August 27, 1919.

Dear Mr. MacNeil:—

Your letter of the 23rd instant is before me. The Government has given very careful and attentive consideration to the resolution of the Great War Veterans' Association, passed on the 2nd day of July last, which urges upon the Government the immediate adoption of a system of bonus payments as the most satisfactory and effective means of re-establishing the soldiers.

The gratuity which was provided by the Order in Council of December last is more liberal, I believe, than that granted in any other country. Its purpose as disclosed by the provisions

respecting payment was to give generous assistance during the period in which soldiers were re-establishing themselves in civil life.

The announcement then made on behalf of the Great War Veterans' Association expressed the greatest satisfaction with the gratuity and went so far as to say that the allowance was even more generous than had been anticipated.

Apart from all this, however, the financial situation of the country is such as to preclude the Government from entertaining any proposal for a larger or further gratuity or bonus. The payments under the Order in Council of December last will run into at least $130,000,000. In addition the expenditure under the provisions of the Land Settlement Act will probably amount to at least $125,000,000, or $130,000,000. Besides this there will be a heavy annual expenditure for some years by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment in hospital treatment, vocational training, etc.

In the Budget speech delivered by Sir Thomas White on 5th June last, copy of which is sent for your information, it was pointed out that the interest on the national debt for the coming fiscal year will amount to $115,000,000, and that for a generation or more we must look forward to providing annually from 35 to 40 million dollars for pensions. In addition to this there is the ordinary expenditure required for the administration of public affairs, which usually amounts to $125,000,000, or more.

In addition, inevitable deficits in the operation of our railways and capital expenditure for the most modest extension of railway facilities will run into many millions every year. The country is face to face with a very serious financial situation which will call for rigid economy and careful retrenchment.

I hope that the officers and members of your association will realize that my colleagues and I much regret that the financial condition of the country has obliged us to reach the conclusion which I have indicated. You may be assured that it does not result from any lack of appreciation of the notable and glorious services which the soldiers of Canada have given in the war now victoriously concluded.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) R. L. Borden.

C. G. MacNeill, Esq.,
Dominion Secretary Treasurer,
G.W.V.A. of Canada,
P.O. Box 384, Ottawa.

To this the Great War Veterans' Association replied:

The Great War Veterans' Association,
Citizen Building,
Ottawa, September 3, 1919.

The Right Honourable Sir Robert L. Borden,
Premier of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Sir,—After full consideration of your remarks of recent date, the Dominion Executive Committee of this Association would respectfully request the appointment of a Royal Commission, three members of which shall be appointed by the Governor General in Council upon the recommendation of the Great War Veterans' Association, to inquire into the whole question of the re-establishment of former members of the forces and advise as to the steps that are still necessary for their efficient and economical reinstatement into civil life.

I would add that the three representatives, named by this association have been summoned to Ottawa and are now available should this request of the association be granted by your Government.

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
(Sgd). C. G. MacNeil,
Dominion Secretary-Treasurer G.W.V.A. of Canada.

The Prime Minister replied as follows:

Ottawa, Ont., September 5, 1919.

Dear Mr. MacNeil,—

I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 3rd instant.

After my interview with the Executive of the Great War Veterans' Association on Saturday last, I discussed the whole subject with my colleagues with the result that we still feel ourselves bound to adhere to the conclusions expressed in my letter of the 27th August last.

The facts which in the opinion of the Government control our action in the matter are available and can be verified without the appointment of either a Committee of the House of Commons or of a Royal Commission. You will realize, I hope, that it would be undesirable to establish a Commission or appoint a Committee to inquire into facts which are within the knowledge of members of the Government. We are quite ready, however, to place all available information on the subject at the disposal of a committee to be named by your association. If such a committee is designated to me I will see that it is put in touch with accredited representatives of the Department of Finance, the Department of Militia and Defence, the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment and the Department of the Interior, which are those chiefly concerned with the matters in question.

I trust that this suggestion may commend itself to the judgment of the Executive Committee.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd.) R. L. BORDEN.

C. G. MacNeil, Esq.,
Secretary Treasurer G.W.V.A.,
Ottawa.

Then follow a number of statements, tables, etc., which have been compiled by and furnished me by the departments concerned. The first is a comparative statement of War Service Gratuity in equivalent of Canadian currency paid by different countries based on three years' service for rank

of private, compiled from information at present available:

—	—	Service Overseas.	Service at home.
Great Britain...	.....	$82.73	$53.53
Australia.....	Married, $114.15 Single, 98.62		
New Zealand...	Married, $54.55 plus $7.00 for each child under 16. Single, 34.09		
United States...	$60 and some additional states are giving additional grant of $10.00 per month for twelve months.		
Canada.....	Married.....	$600.00	$300.09
	Single.....	420.00	210.00

Then we have a more detailed comparative statement, giving the amount of the gratuities awarded, depending upon the years of service. It would save the time of the House if, with the consent of the House, this statement might be extended on Hansard. If there is any objection I shall be glad to read it.

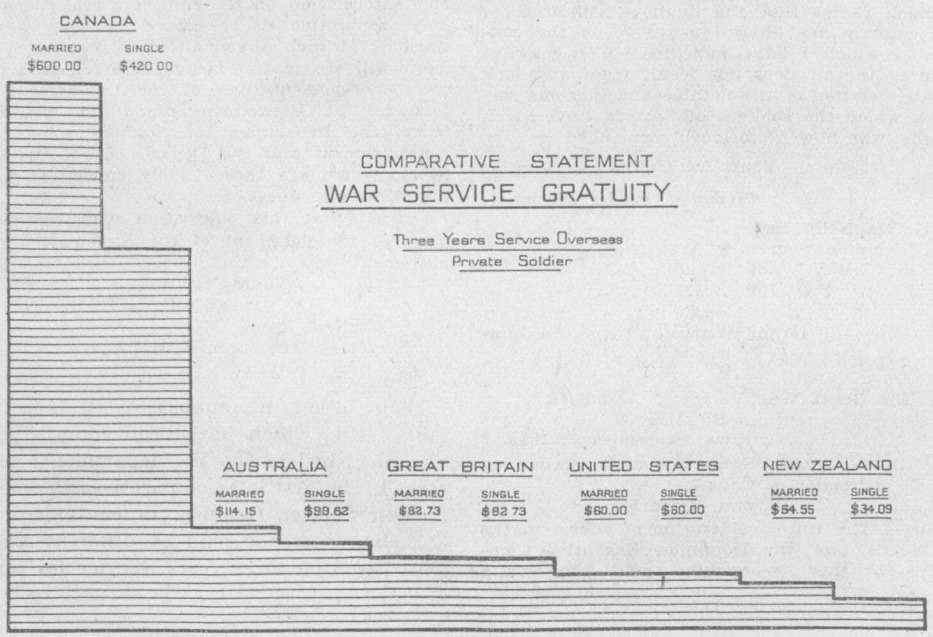
Mr. SPEAKER: It is most unusual that documents should go upon Hansard without having been read, but as I take it that this is of the utmost importance, with the unanimous consent of the House the rule might be waived in this instance.

The House gave unanimous consent.

Mr. ROWELL: This is the statement:

Comparative Statement from Canadian Currency of War Service Gratuities payable by Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada compiled from all information which is at present available.

—	Private.	Overseas.	Home.
Great Britain...	1 year.....	$ 24.33	$24.33
	2 years.....	53.53	38.93
	3 "	82.73	53.53
	4 "	111.93	68.13
	5 "	141.13	82.73
Australia.....	7½ days for each six months' service outside Australia together with subsistence allowance at 3s. per day for period of leave where service abroad exceeds 12 months.		
		Married.	Single.
	1 year.....	$ 38.05	$32.87
	2 years.....	76.10	65.74
	3 "	114.15	98.62
	4 "	152.20	131.48
New Zealand...	28 days' Pay and Allowances and Separation Allowance regardless of length of service = Married soldiers, $54.55 plus $7.00 for each child under 16 years. Single soldiers, $34.09		
United States...	$60.00 to each soldier on discharge irrespective of rank in addition to which some of the individual States are giving a Grant of $10.00 per month for 12 months.		
Canadian.....	3 years, any part of which service was Overseas.....	Single.....	$420.00
		Married....	600.00
	2 years, and under 3 years, any part of which service was Overseas	Single.....	350.00
		Married....	500.00
	1 year, and under 2 years, any part of which service was Overseas	Single.....	280.00
		Married....	400.00
	Less than 1 year, any part of which service was Overseas	Single.....	210.00
		Married....	300.00
	Service in Canada only— 3 years or over.....	Single.....	210.00
		Married....	300.00
	2 years and under 3 years—	Single.....	140.00
		Married....	200.00
	1 year and under 2 years—	Single.....	70.00
		Married....	100.00



[Mr. Rowell.]

Next is a statement by the Dominion Secretary of the Great War Veterans' Association, as published in the Ottawa Citizen of December 30, 1918. The extract follows:

Generous usage returning men receives praise.

The Dominion Secretary of G.W.V.A. says Gratuity Order will give every soldier a splendid chance.

Mr. R. M. Stewart, Dominion Secretary-Treasurer of the Great War Veterans' Association of Canada, when asked for his opinion of the War Service Gratuity authorized by Order in Council P.C. 3165, made the following statement:

"I consider the Government is to be congratulated upon having taken such generous action, which means that the men of the returning army will be placed in an independent position for a sufficient length of time after their discharge to enable them to find the employment for which they are most suited, and which is most suitable to them.

"A married man, or a man with dependents, will be in receipt of an income of not less than $100 per month for a period of six, five, four or three months after his discharge according to the length of his service.

"A single man will be in receipt of an income of not less than $70 per month for a period of six, five, four or three months after his discharge according to the length of his service.

"Men already discharged, who have seen service in an actual theatre of war, also benefit fully by the provisions of the Order in Council.

"Therefore, without taking into account the considerable balance of deferred pay which a majority of the returning men have to their credit, it can safely be said that no returned soldier, who is willing and able to work, will suffer any hardship whatever upon his return to Canada. He will not be a suppliant for labour, forced to accept unsuitable employment at low wages in order to ward off privation. He will be able to choose employment where the remuneration will be commensurate with his ability and the services he performs.

"In this matter Canada has treated her soldiers and sailors more generously than any other nation, and no one can complain of unfairness.

"The allowance is in fact much more generous than we ever anticipated it would be."

May I now draw attention to the further steps Canada has taken to reestablish the returned soldier in civil life.

1. In addition to the grants which the Government has made by way of War Service Gratuity to assist returned soldiers the Government has already accepted full responsibility for:—

(a) Providing pensions for the widows and dependents of the gallant men who have given their lives for their country.

(b) Providing pensions, according to the degree of their disability, for the men who have been wholly or partially disabled in the service of their country.

(c) The retraining of those who have been wholly or partially disabled from engaging in their former occupation, so as to fit them for useful employment in some new occupation.

(d) Assisting the returned soldier, when demobilized, to secure suitable and useful employment.

(e) Appropriate and adequate provision to enable returned soldiers who desire to do so, and who possess the necessary qualifications, to settle upon the land.

2. Legislation was passed last session dealing with the matters enumerated in paragraphs (a), (b) and (e) namely, pensions and soldiers' land settlement, and a Bill dealing with the work of the re-establishment of our soldiers in civil life and covering the matters enumerated in paragraphs (c) and (d) has already been introduced into the Senate. As, however, the Senate has adjourned till the 22nd of September, and as it is hoped that this session will be a short one, the Government has decided to introduce this Bill into the House of Commons at once, so that there may be ample opportunity to give full consideration to the matters covered by the Bill, and notice of its introduction appears on the Votes and Proceedings of yesterday. When the Bill reaches the committee stage it is the intention of the Government to move a reference of the Bill to a special committee of the House for consideration, as was done last session with the Pension Bill.

3. I now beg to submit to the House certain comparative statements showing the provision made by Canada, other portions of the Empire, and certain allied and other Governments, for pensions, the re-establishment of the soldier into civil life, and Land Settlement.

BOARD OF PENSION COMMISSIONERS FOR CANADA.
COMPARATIVE SCALE OF PENSIONS
ANNUAL RATE AWARDED TO WIDOWS OF PRIVATES.

Country.	Widow only.	Widow and 1 Child.	Widow and 2 Children.	Widow and 3 Children.	Add for each Subsequent Child.
	$ cts.	$ cts.	$ cts.	$ cts.	$ cts.
*Canada	576 00	756 00	876 00	972 00	96 00
United Kingdom	253 06	464 01	558 91	634 74	75 92
New Zealand	379 60	632 66	759 19	885 72	126 53
Australia	253 06	379 60	474 50	537 75	63 26
South Africa	253 06	347 96	432 31	506 12	63 26
**United States	300 00	420 00	510 00	570 00	
France	160 00	220 00	280 00	340 00	60 00
Italy	121 66	121 66	121 66	131 39	9 73
Germany	96 35	136 74	177 13	217 52	40 39

* The rates for Canada include a bonus for one year to take effect September 1st, 1919.
** No account has been taken of benefits accrued from voluntary insurance.
A.B. 3-25. 11-9-19.

It will be observed that the figures for the United States in the above statement do not include insurance provision.

Mr. McMASTER: In order to make a fair comparison, can the minister tell us just what would be the annual value of the insurance provision which the United States makes for its soldiers?

Mr. ROWELL: It is difficult to do that. We had that matter before the Pension Committee at the last session of the House, and my hon. friend will find reference to it in the evidence given before that committee. The insurance was paid for by the soldiers themselves, the cost being deducted from their pay; but they got the insurance at actual cost, that is, there was no loading for other purposes.

Mr. McMASTER: I think the minister has failed to grasp the meaning of my question. The minister is giving us a comparison of the benefits accruing to widows with and without children as between Canada and the United States, and he stated a moment ago that in addition to the pension benefits given directly by the United States Government, there was an insurance provision. Now, can he tell us what would be the annual value of that insurance provision, because without it we cannot make a correct comparison?

Mr. ROWELL: One cannot make an absolute comparison, and therefore I have stated with respect to the United States that there is an insurance provision, but that all the insurance that the soldiers get in the United States is paid for out of their own income.

The next statement is a comparative scale of pensions awarded to privates totally disabled:

BOARD OF PENSION COMMISSIONERS FOR CANADA.
COMPARATIVE SCALE OF PENSIONS.
ANNUAL RATE AWARDED TO PRIVATES TOTALLY DISABLED BY WAR SERVICES.

Country.	Pensioner only.	Pensioner and Wife.	Pensioner Wife and 1 Child.	Pensioner Wife and 2 Children.	Pensioner Wife and 3 Children	Add for each subsequent Child.	Allowance for Helplessness.
	$ cts.	$ cts.	$ cts.	$ cts.	$ cts.	$ cts.	$ cts.
*Canada	720 00	900 00	1,044 00	1,164 00	1,260 00	96 00	450 00
United Kingdom	506 13	632 66	727 56	803 48	879 42	75 92	253 06
New Zealand	506 13	759 20	885 73	1,012 26	1,138 80	126 53	253 06
Australia	379 60	569 40	695 93	790 74	854 01	63 26	126 53
South Africa	379 60	506 13	601 12	685 36	759 20	63 26	442 86
**United States	365 00	547 50	669 16	790 82	912 48	Nil.	
France	480 00	480 00	540 00	600 00	660 00	60 00	
Italy	243 33	291 99	318 75	345 51	372 27	26 76	
Germany	From $175.20 to $316.33, according to nature of disablement. From January 1st, 1919, the pension has been increased from 50% to 100%, according to nature of disablement.						

* The rates for Canada include a bonus for one year to take effect September 1, 1919.
** No account has been taken of benefits accrued from voluntary insurance.

I also have a comparative statement giving the details of the disability scale, and with the consent of the House I think it might be placed upon Hansard in view of the importance of the information to the members of the House.

[Mr. Rowell.]

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the House concede its unanimous consent to this document being incorporated in Hansard?

The House gave unanimous consent.

BOARD OF PENSION COMMISSIONERS FOR CANADA.

COMPARATIVE SCALE.

DISABILITY PENSION RATES PAID BY GREAT BRITAIN AND THE OVERSEAS DOMINIONS PER ANNUM.

Per cent of Disability.	Country.	Pensioner	Pensioner and Wife.	Pensioner wife and 1 child.	Pensioner wife and 2 children.	Pensioner wife and 3 children.	Add for each subs. child.	Allowance for helplessness.	Allowance for other Dependents.
100%	Canada	$ 720 00	$ 900 00	$ 1,044 00	$ 1,164 00	$ 1,260 00	$ 96 00	$ 450 00	Unmarried men may be allowed up to $576.00 to support a dependent parent.
	United Kingdom	506 13	632 66	727 56	803 48	879 42	75 92	253 06	
	New Zealand	506 13	759 20	885 73	1,012 26	1,138 80	126 53	253 06	The amount of pre-enlistment dependency.
	Australia	379 60	569 40	695 93	790 74	854 01	63 26	126 53	A pension or pensions at such rate as may be assessed in any one case not exceeding $253.06.
	South Africa	379 60	506 13	601 12	685 36	759 20	63 26	442 86	
80%	Canada	576 00	720 00	840 00	936 00	1,020 00	84 00		
	United Kingdom	404 89	506 13	582 05	642 78	703 52	60 74		
	New Zealand	404 91	607 35	708 58	809 80	911 02	101 22		
	Australia	*	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		*Partial Disability rates are determined by the Pensions Board having regard to the nature and probable duration of the incapacity.
	South Africa	**	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
60%	Canada	432 00	540 00	636 00	708 00	780 00	72 00		**Partial Disability awards and allowances are calculated on the Imperial Basis, the maximum disablement pension being $397.08 and the maximum children's allowances being as above instead of Imperial rates.
	United Kingdom	303 67	379 60	436 54	482 09	527 64	45 55		
	New Zealand	303 68	455 51	531 43	607 35	683 27	75 92		
	Australia	*	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
	South Africa	**	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
50%	Canada	360 00	450 00	534 00	594 00	654 00	60 00		
	United Kingdom	253 06	316 33	363 78	401 74	439 70	37 96		
	New Zealand	253 06	379 59	442 86	506 13	569 39	63 26		
	Australia	*	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
	South Africa	**	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
40%	Canada	288 00	360 00	432 00	480 00	528 00	48 00		
	United Kingdom	202 45	253 06	291 02	321 39	351 76	30 37		
	New Zealand	202 45	303 68	354 29	404 90	455 51	50 61		
	Australia	*	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
	South Africa	**	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
20%	Canada***	144 00	180 00	216 00	240 00	264 00	24 00		***Disability cases are divided into 20 classes, the percentage of disability increasing by 5% with the next highest class.
	United Kingdom	101 22	126 53	145 51	160 70	175 88	15 18		
	New Zealand	101 22	151 84	177 14	202 45	227 76	25 31		
	Australia	*	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
	South Africa	**	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
									Example:— Class 20— 5% to 9% Class 19—10% to 14% Class 18—15% to 19% Class 17—20% to 24%

MINOR DISABILITY CASES.

CANADA — For a permanent disability of less than 5 per cent of total disability a gratuity not exceeding $100.00.

UNITED KINGDOM — For disablement less than 20 per cent of total, a gratuity not to exceed $973.32.

NEW ZEALAND — These cases are dealt with specially.

AUSTRALIA — These cases are dealt with specially.

SOUTH AFRICA — On Imperial basis.

ALTERNATIVE PENSIONS FOR TOTAL DISABILITY CASES.

CANADA — No alternative pensions.

UNITED KINGDOM — A pension based on his pre-war earnings and present earning capacity but not to exceed $1,265.33. The rate of such pension to be determined yearly from the Board of Trade figures of the cost of living.

NEW ZEALAND — No alternative pension but to maintain a man and his dependents in accordance with their pre-war standard of comfort, his pension may be increased by $252.72 but total payable in respect of man not to exceed $1,265.33.

AUSTRALIA — No alternative pensions.

SOUTH AFRICA — A pension on same principle as Royal Warrant, which would allow a maximum of $252.72. If man is permanently bedridden, or incapable of earning—an additional $189.80 may be granted.

Note:—The rates for Canada include a bonus for one year to take effect September 1st, 1919.

BOARD OF PENSION COMMISSIONERS FOR CANADA.

COMPARATIVE TABLE.

DEPENDENT PENSION RATES PAID BY GREAT BRITAIN AND THE OVERSEAS DOMINIONS PER ANNUM.

Pensioner.	United Kingdom.	Canada.	New Zealand.	South Africa.	Australia.
Widow	$253 06	$ 576 00	$ 379 60	$ 253 06	$ 253 06
Widow and 1 child	464 01	756 00	632 66	347 96	379 60
Widow and 2 children	558 91	876 00	759 19	432 31	474 50
Widow and 3 children	634 74	972 00	885 72	506 13	537 76
Each subsequent child	75 92	96 00	126 53	63 26	63 26
Orphans.					
1 orphan	151 83	360 00	189 80	Imperial Basis.	126.53 for 1 orphan up to 10 years.
2 orphans	290 68	600 00	379 60	" "	158.18 for 1 orphan from 10 to 14 years.
3 orphans	43) 20	792 00	569 40	" "	189.80 for 1 orphan from 14 to 16 years.
Each additional orphan	139 18	192 00	189 80	" "	

PARENTS.

UNITED KINGDOM — Dependency Pension up to $227.76 which may amount to $455.00 when dependence was on two or more sons who have fallen, or, need pension up to $227.76, or, flat rate pension of $62.92 which may amount to $189.80 where three sons have fallen.

CANADA — A pension graded according to degree of dependency or need and which may amount up to $576.00 if there are no other dependents.

AUSTRALIA — Widowed mother of unmarried son $253.06. To other parents such rates as may be assessed by the Pension Board, not exceeding in any one case $253.06.

NEW ZEALAND — Widowed mother $189.80 to $379.60 according to dependence. To other dependent parents the amount of pre-enlistment dependency. To parents in need, such pension as the Board thinks fit.

SOUTH AFRICA — Generally on the Imperial Basis, but may be granted up to $347.96 under the Defence Act.

DEPENDENTS OTHER THAN LISTED ABOVE.

UNITED KINGDOM — (1) Incapable of self support and in need up to $174.02 and bonus.
(2) Not otherwise entitled, a gratuity not exceeding a year's pay of deceased soldier.
Unmarried wife—$126.36 per annum with children's allowance as per table.

CANADA — Unmarried wife—In certain circumstances to be granted a widow's pension and allowances.
Dependent Brothers and Sisters—If no widow or children up to the same rates as children.

AUSTRALIA — Unmarried wife—In certain circumstances to be granted a widow's pension.
Others—Such rates as may be assessed by the Pensions Board, not exceeding in any one case $253.06.

NEW ZEALAND — Unmarried wife—No special provision, but may receive $253.06 whilst caring for man's children, with children's allowances. If dependent and in need she might also be granted a pension.
Others—The amount of pre-enlistment dependency.

SOUTH AFRICA — Unmarried wife—On the Imperial basis.
Others—On the Imperial basis.

Note:—The pensions to widows, motherless children, and dependents may be substantially increased under the Union of South Africa Defence Act, 1919.

Note:—The rates for Canada include a bonus for one year to take effect September 1st, 1919.

Mr. ROWELL: The next comparative statement I have relates to training allowances paid by the different countries to returned discharged soldiers being trained for civilian occupation. It is a rather lengthy statement and I should be glad if the House would consent to have it incorporated in Hansard.

Mr. SPEAKER: I take it that the House will grant its unanimous consent in this case also.

The House gave unanimous consent.

Training Allowances paid by different countries to returned discharged soldiers being trained by them for occupations.

CANADIAN.

	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a government institution.
Single man—no dependents	60 00	0 00	30 00
Single man—dependent parent	85 00	101 00	71 00
Single man—dependent parent and 1 brother or sister	95 00	111 00	81 00
Single man—dependent parent and 2 brothers or sisters	103 00	119 00	89 00
Single man—dependent parent and 3 brothers or sisters	110 00	126 00	96 00
Single man—dependent parent and 4 brothers or sisters	116 00	132 00	102 00
Single man—dependent parent and 5 brothers or sisters	122 00	138 00	108 00
Single man—dependent parent and 6 brothers or sisters	128 00	144 00	114 00

$6 per child, each child in excess of six.

BRITISH.

——	By Ministry of Labour.			By Royal Pensions Warrant.		
	When living at home	When living away from home	When living in a Gov't institution.	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a gov't institution.
Single Man—No dependents	34 41	34 41	No	41 71	41 71	23 46
Dependent parent	34 41	41 70 to 52 66	provisions.	41 71	54 22	35 97
" and 1 brother or sister.			"			
and 2 brothers or sisters.			"			
3 "			"			
4 "			"			
5 "			"			
6 "			"			
	1. Regulations do not provide for the payment of allowances inrespect of children of a dependent parent. 2. The above allowances are paid in addition to pension.			1. Regulations do not provide for the payment of allowances in respect of children of a dependent parent. 2. The above allowances include pension. A bonus payment of 5/ ($1.21) per week is payable at end of course.		

AUSTRALIA.

——	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a gov't institution.
Single Man—No dependents	43 80	No	No
Dependent parent	62 56	provisions.	provisions.
" and 1 brother or sister	66 21	"	"
2 brothers or sisters	69 86	"	"
3 " "	73 51	"	"
4 " "	77 16	"	"
5 " "	80 81	"	"
6 " "		"	"

1. The allowance of $80.81 is the maximum and is payable in cases where there are five or more brothers or sisters.
2. The above amounts are inclusive of pension.
3. Men undergoing training in Industries, except apprentices, are not paid the above rates, but are given allowances by the Government which will bring up the amount earned by the trainee to the minimum journeyman's rate for the District, exclusive of pension.
4. Apprentices who have resumed their indentures are not paid above rates but receive allowances which, with pension and amount earned, will equal the wage they would have earned had apprenticeship not been interrupted.

NEW ZEALAND.

	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a government institution.
Single man—No dependents	$43.80 to $62.66	$	
Dependent parent			
" and 1 brother or sister			
2 brothers or sisters			
3 " "		No provisions.	No provisions.
4 " "			
5 " "			
6 " "			

1. No special allowances for dependent parents and brothers or sisters appear in regulations, but it is expected that each case is treated on its merits.
2. Men receiving training in Technical schools and students receiving training in Professional or Commercial occupations, receive the lower rate inclusive of pension. Apprentices who have resumed their indentures receive the higher rate inclusive of pension. Approved trainees in private workshops receive the higher rate but exclusive of pension. In all cases payments by employers are deducted.

UNITED STATES.

	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in government institution.
Single man—no dependents	$65.00	$65.00	.....
Single man—dependent parent	75.00	75.00	.....
Single man—dependent parent and 1 brother or sister	No provision yet made for paying allowances in respect to brothers and sisters or orphan brothers and sisters.		
Single man—dependent parent and 2 brothers or sisters			
Single man—dependent parent and 3 brothers or sisters			
Single man—dependent parent and 4 brothers or sisters			
Single man—dependent parent and 5 brothers or sisters			
Single man—dependent parent and 6 brothers or sisters			

CANADIAN.

	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in institution.
Single man—1 orphan brother or sister	$80 00	$88 00	$58 00
2 " "	88 00	96 00	66 00
3 " "	95 00	103 00	73 00
4 " "	101 00	109 00	79 00
5 " "	107 00	115 00	85 00
6 " "	113 00	121 00	91 00
Married Man and Wife	85 00	101 00	71 00
Married Man and Wife—1 child	95 00	111 00	81 00
2 children	103 00	119 00	89 00
3 "	110 00	126 00	96 00
4 "	116 00	132 00	102 00
5 "	122 00	138 00	108 00
6 "	128 00	144 00	114 00
7 "	134 00	150 00	120 00
8 "	140 00	156 00	126 00

$6.00 per month each child in excess of these numbers.

BRITISH.

	By Ministry of Labour.			By Royal Pensions Warrant.		
	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a Government Institution.	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a Government Institution.
Single Man—1 orphan brother or sister	No special provisions for payments in respect of orphan brothers or sisters appear in the new British regulations, but it is expected that, although it is stated a single man shall not be paid allowances for more than one dependent, payments will be made either as in the case of a single man with a dependent parent or as in the case of a married man according to the merits of individual cases.					
2 orphan brothers or sisters						
3						
4						
5						
6						
Man and Wife	34.41	52.66	No provision.	52.14	64.65	46.40
and 1 child	40.67	58.92		59.95	72.46	54.21
2 children	43.80	62.05		66.20	78.71	60.46
3 "	46.93	65.18		72.47	84.98	66.73
4 "	50.06	68.31		78.72	91.23	72.98
5 "	53.19	71.44		84.97	97.48	79.23
6 "	56.32	74.57		91.22	103.73	85.48
7 "	59.45	77.70		97.47	109.98	91.73
8 "	62.58	80.83		103.72	116.23	97.98
	The above allowances are paid in addition to pension.			The above allowances include pension. A bonus payment of 5- ($1.21) per week is payable at end of course.		

[The Speaker.]

AUSTRALIA.

	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a Government Institution.
Single man—1 orphan brother or sister	Special provisions made by the Commission according to the circumstances of individual cases.		
2 " brothers or sisters			
3 " "			
4 " "			
5 " "			
6 " "			
Married man and wife	$62 56	No provisions.	No provisions.
and 1 child	66 21		
2 children	69 86		
3 "	73 51		
4 "	77 16		
5 "	80 81		
6 "	.....		
7 "	.....		
8 "	.....		

1. The allowance of $80.81 is the maximam and is payable in all cases where there are five or more children.
2. The above amounts are inclusive of pension.
3. Men undergoing training in industries, except apprentices, are not paid the above rates, but are given allowances by the government which will bring the amount earned by the trainee to the minimum journeyman's rate for the District, exclusive of pension.
4. Apprentices who have resumed their indentures are not paid above rates but receive allowances which, with pension and amount earned, will equal the wage they would have earned had apprenticeship not been interrupted.

NEW ZEALAND.

	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a government institution.
Single man—1 orphan brother or sister	No special allowances appear in the regulations, but it is expected that each case will be dealt with on its merits.		
2 " brothers or sisters			
3 " "			
4 " "			
5 " "			
6 " "			
Man and wife	$54 22 to $62 56	No provisions.	No provisions.
and 1 child	57 87 to 62 56		
2 children	61 52 to 62 56		
3 "	65 17		
4 "	68 82		
5 "	.....		
6 "	.....		
7 "	.....		
8 "	.....		

1. The allowance of $68.82 is the maximum and is paid in cases where there are four or more children.
2. Men receiving training in Technical Schools, and students receiving training in Professional or Commerical occupations receive the lower rate inclusive of pension. Apprentices who have resumed their indentures receive the higher rate inclusive of pension. Approved trainees in private workshops receive the higher rate exclusive of pension. In all cases payments by employers are deducted.

UNITED STATES.

	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a Gov't institution.
No provision yet made for paying allowances in respect of brothers and sisters or orphan brothers and sisters.			
Man and Wife	$75 00	$95 00	.....
Man and Wife—1 child	80 00	105 00	.....
2 children	97 50	112 50	.....
3 "	112 50	117 50	.....
4 "	117 50	122 50	.....
5 "	122 50	127 50	.....
6 "	125 00	130 00	.....

No allowances for more than six children.

CANADIAN.

	When living with dependents.	When living away from dependents.	When living in an institution.
Widower with 1 child	$ 80 00	$ 88 00	$ 58 00
2 children	88 00	96 00	66 00
3 "	95 00	103 00	73 00
4 "	101 00	109 00	79 00
5 "	107 00	115 00	85 00
6 "	113 00	121 00	91 00
7 "	119 00	127 00	97 00
8 "	125 00	133 00	103 00

BRITISH.

	By Ministry of Labour.			By Royal Pensions Warrant.		
	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a Government Institution.	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a Government Institution.
Widower—1 child	No provisions for paying special allowances to widowers appear in the new British regulations, but it is expected that the allowances paid to a man with a dependent parent, or to a married man, will be paid according to the merits of individual cases.					
2 children						
3 "						
4 "						
5 "						
6 "						

AUSTRALIA.

	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a Government Institution.
Widower—1 child	$66.21	No Provisions	No provisions.
2 children	69.86	"	"
3 "	73.51	"	"
4 "	77.16	"	"
5 "	80.81	"	"
6 "		"	"

1. The allowance of $80.81 is the maximum and is payable in cases where there are five or more children.
2. The above amounts are inclusive of pension.
3. Men undergoing training in industries, except apprentices, are not paid the above rates, but are given allowances by the Government which will braing up the amount earned by the trainee to the minimum journeyman's rate for the district, exclusive of pension.
4. Apprentices who have resumed their indentures are not paid above rates, but receive allowances which, with pension and amount earned, will equal the wage they would have earned had apprenticeship not been interrupted.

NEW ZEALAND.

	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in a Government Institution.
Widower—1 child	$57 87 to 62 56	No provisions...	No provisions.
2 children	61 52 to 62 56	" ..	"
3 "	65 17	" ..	"
4 "	68 82	" ..	"
5 "	.....	" ..	"
6 "	.....	" ..	"

1. The allowance of $68.82 is the maximum and is payable in cases where there are four or more children.
2. Men receiving training in Technical schools, and students, receiving training in Professional or Commercial occupations receive the lower rate inclusive of pension. Apprentices who have resumed their indentures receive the higher rate inclusive of pension. Approved trainees in private workshops receive the higher rate exclusive of pension. In all cases payments by employers are deducted.

UNITED STATES.

	When living at home.	When living away from home.	When living in an institution.
Widower with 1 child	$ 75 00	$ 85 00	No provisions.
2 children	75 00	92 50	"
3 "	80 00	100 00	"
4 "	90 00	110 00	"
5 "	95 00	115 00	"
6 "	100 00	120 00	"
7 "	105 00	125 00	"
8 "	110 00	130 00	"

The next statement is a comparative table of the provisions made by the different governments for the re-settlement of soldiers upon the land. I think that hon. members will be better able to follow it if it is placed upon Hansard.

[Mr. Rowell.]

FROM THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION, THE SOLDIER SETTLEMENT BOARD, OTTAWA.

Soldier Land Legislation in English Speaking Countries.

The salient features in connection with the Soldier Land Settlement Legislation in English speaking countries are outlined below.

Great Britain.

The Mother Country proposes to make available certain tracts of farm land and the Board of Agriculture has been empowered to spend $100,000,000 in settling returned soldiers. The board has authority to purchase 60,000 acres in England and 20,000 acres in Scotland. Four small colonies totalling 6,000 acres have been established. The settlement is following largely the plan of colonies divided into small farms with a central demonstration farm which will supply instructors for the settlers in the colony and where implements for working the land will be available.

An educational qualification is exacted. The British scheme is designed to settle all ranks providing they are of suitable educational promise.

A limited number of scholarships and allowances, varying up to $875 a year are provided for agricultural training. A man who has been a life-long agriculturist is required to put in at least one season on probation before the board will settle him in a colony. A longer period for less experienced settlers is provided.

The plan does not contemplate extensive credit to the occupiers of land in soldier colonies. A co-operative credit bank is to be established in partnership with the state and will extend credit for the purchase of stock and equipment.

It may be remarked that the difficulty over subdivision of estates in the United Kingdom will make this colony plan difficult to put into operation extensively.

Australia.

The Commonwealth of Australia grants no free land. It leases its Crown Lands and as well acquires privately owned lands and leases them to soldier settlers at a small annual rental.

Advances up to a maximum of $2,500 are made to settlers. There is some discussion now as to the adequacy of this amount, and it is likely to be raised to $3,750. Loans for permanent improvements extend over twenty-five years; loans for stock and equipment from three to six years. The general line of policy adopted by the Commonwealth may be summarized in the following terms: "The land will not be given away but will be made available on easy terms. Every acre of land will eventually have to be bought and every sum advanced to effect improvements or to be used as working capital will have to be repaid. The idea is not to start off as land proprietors but to provide the means of earning a comfortable living and ultimately owning a farm." It should be stated that the states furnish the land and the Commonwealth loans the money to the states to be in turn loaned to the soldiers.

As in Canada, each applicant is required to demonstrate his fitness and aptitude for farm life and those who require further training will be given this at Training Farms established in the different states, and allowances will be paid for sustenance during the period of training.

It is estimated that the sum of $200,000,000 will be required for the establishment of soldier settlers in Australia.

There are several forms of land tenure. In New South Wales, South Australia and Queensland, no free-hold title is given. The settler pays a rental of about one and one-half per cent of the value of the land and receives a perpetual lease which is inheritable. At periods varying from 19 to 35 years the land is revalued. The Soldier Settlement policy of the Commonwealth and of the states is a modification of the general settlement policy which has been in active operation there for many years.

Union of South Africa.

There is no special provision by Government authority in South Africa for soldier settlers as distinct from civilian settlers. Under the Land Settlement Act of 1912, amended by the Act of 1917, Crown Land is made available for settlers in South Africa and leased usually for five years with an option of purchasing at the price fixed when the lease is made. No rent is payable during the first year; 2 per cent of the value of the land for the second and third years; 3½ per cent the fourth and fifth years. If the lease is renewed at the end of five years, 4 per cent per annum is charged as a rent. The purchase price of the holding may be paid at any time providing that all conditions of the lease have been complied with; but, notwithstanding such payment, the settler is not entitled to obtain transfer of his holding into his name until after a period of ten years from the commencement of the lease.

Settlers holding leases may obtain assistance in the way of an advance of $1,250

for stock, implements and other equipment. These advances are repayable within five years, interest being at the rate of 4½ per cent. To successful applicants, without capital, monthly advances not exceeding $25 for purchasing foodstuffs and other necessaries pending the reaping of a crop are provided by the Government.

Provision is made for the purchase of private land selected by the settler up to $7,500, the settler paying one-fifth of the purchase price. The cost of the transfer is borne by the settler and interest at the rate of 4 per cent is charged. Repayments are spread over 18 years in equal half-yearly payments, the first payment being due at the commencement of the third year.

In Southern Rhodesia the British South Africa Company offers 500,000 acres free to returned soldiers and sailors. The holdings, depending on the fertility of the soil and local conditions, average between 1,500 and 2,000 acres. It is necessary that the settler should be equipped with capital of not less than $5,000 in addition to sufficient money to maintain his family, until his land is producing. Leading farmers have expressed a willingness to take soldier settlers as pupils on payment by the applicant of $25 a month for board and lodging. No wages are paid.

It is provided that the applicants must be British subjects of European descent from overseas, men who were not at the outbreak of war domiciled in South Africa. This policy is with a view to bringing in settlers from Britain and not to settle the soldiers of the colony.

United States.

The American Republic is making provision for the reclamation of large areas of swamp lands. Returned soldiers will be given employment on these reclamation schemes and will be allowed to select farms on which they desire to settle.

The Government proposes with the aid of the soldier labourer to create farms, build houses, barns and fences, and get the land under cultivation. Up to date, however, only preliminary survey work has been done and before she can develop adequate schemes, it will be necessary for Congress to pass enabling legislation. The soldier settler will be charged 4 per cent interest on the actual cost of the farm and for stock and equipment the payments will be spread over a long term.

New Zealand.

Land for discharged soldiers is divided into two classes:

(a) For general farming and sheep runs.

(b) Small holdings near cities and towns for disabled soldiers.

The Discharged Soldier Settlement Act, 1915, empowered the Governor in Council to set apart areas of Crown land for the purposes of the Act, and in the new Act of 1916 the Government is empowered to compulsorily purchase land required for soldier settlers.

Financial assistance to the soldier settler may take the form of clearing, fencing, draining, erecting buildings, purchase of implements, stock, seeds, plants, trees, and other farm equipment. The new settlers get the land at cost and financial assistance to equip is given to those requiring it up to $2,500, in most cases, but in special cases $3,750.

Lands leased or sold to discharged soldiers are not transferable until ten years after lease or sale.

Five per cent interest is charged. Advances for improvements are made up to seventy-five per cent of the value of the work done.

Canada.

The Canadian Soldier Settlement enlarged scheme has been in operation for several months. The Soldier Settlement Board has been operating under Orders in Council which have been consolidated by the new Act just passed by Parliament. The main feature of the legislation is the power granted to the Soldier Settlement Board to loan soldier settlers up to $7,500 for the purchase of land in any province, for the equipment of farms and for permanent improvements. The board may purchase a farm up to the value of $5,000 and resell it to a veteran of the war possessing the necessary qualifications on his paying 10 per cent cash down. The balance of $4,500 is repayable in twenty-five years. The loan for $2,000 for equipment is repayable in four equal annual instalments, beginning the third year, and no interest is charged the first two years. The $1,000 loan for improvements is repayable in twenty-five years. All these loans bear an interest rate of 5 per cent and the payments are on the amortization plan. The board may also loan to soldier settlers occupying Dominion lands up to $3,000 for equipment and improvements, and to settlers who already own land up to $3,500 for the removal of any incumbrances; also $2,000 for live stock and equipment and $1,000 for improvements, but the total loan to such settler may not exceed $5,000.

On the purchase of land a cash down payment of 10 per cent is required except in special cases to be determined by the board. In regard to Imperial forces and those of the Dominions, except Canada, the board will require a cash down payment of twenty-five per cent of the cost of the land. The interest and other financial terms are the same to all.

A discharged soldier who does not purchase land from the board is entitled to 160 acres of Crown land in addition to 160 acres which he may obtain as a civilian provided he has not already exhausted his homestead rights.

The board has power to provide agricultural training for inexperienced, but otherwise qualified men, and will pay allowances up to $55 a month for the sustenance of himself and his dependents, the amount to be dependent upon the number of children.

The board has secured specially favourable prices on farm requirements, and purchases live stock of good quality for resale to soldier settlers at cost price.

This is briefly what the Land Settlement Scheme means to the returned soldier. These privileges are extended to all Canadian, Imperial and colonial forces who served outside the country in which they enlisted, and to residents of Canada before the war who served in Allied forces. The widows of all such persons who died on active service are also included, as well as members of the Royal Flying Corps, who may have been detained in England, but on account of the nature of their work were considered to be in an actual theatre of war. A member of the C.E.F., who, on account of injury sustained while on service for which he is receiving a pension, is also eligible to participate.

General Observations.

It is well to note that Great Britain had experience in the subdivision of estates in Ireland and settling thereon the tenants as owners. Australia and New Zealand had land settlement schemes which had been in operation for years. They grappled with a question which was not new. They had but to draw from their experience in modifying their settlement schemes to meet the situation occasioned by the return of thousands of men from the war.

Centuries ago Great Britain exhausted her Crown lands which were available for settlement without considerable development work. The beginning of this century found South Africa, Australia and New Zealand in the position of having very few tracts of Crown lands upon which settlement could be made without the necessity of clearing, irrigating, draining or costly railway extensions. Canada was in a different position.

At the beginning of the century the need of Government purchase and subdivision of land to attract settlers was not as evident in Canada as in the countries mentioned.

To-day, however, available lands which can readily be settled have largely passed from the Crown and it has been necessary, therefore, to inaugurate an entirely new policy which has for its object the making of lands available for settlement.

Soldier Settlement Board Operations (Canada).

(These figures to August 23, 1919.)

Number of returned soldiers who have applied to Soldier Settlement Board for Qualification Certificates, 30,903; number of applications approved by Soldier Settlement Board, 23,087; amount of loans approved, $29,038,901; number of loans, 9,691; average loan, $2,996.

Loans were granted for the following purposes:

On Purchased Lands.—For Land Purchase, $15,627,579; for Improvements, $2,027,139; for stock and Equipment, $5,387,339. On Dominion Lands, $3,101,666. On Mortgages, $2,895,178.

Loans for one week ending August 23, $2,271,591.

This was the largest amount approved in one week since operations began.

Number of applicants recommended for Agricultural training, 2,761. Number of applicants taking training, 646.

Statement of Soldier Grant Entries on Dominion Lands.

Number of soldier entries, 3,967. Of these approximately two-thirds have exercised their right to take up Homestead Entry as well.

Summary of Soldier Land Settlement Legislation.

The first Act to assist returned soldiers in settling on the land was passed in 1917 by Parliament. It provided for:

1. The appointment of a Soldier Settlement Board.
2. The reservation of Dominion Lands for soldier settlement.
3. Loans not exceeding $2,500 for agricultural purposes, with interest at 5 per cent.
4. Agricultural instruction of soldier settlers.

Enlarging the Scope.

It was found that there was not available sufficient suitable Dominion land close

to the railways to settle any great number of returned soldiers, and on February 11, 1919, an Order in Council was passed empowering the board to purchase land in any province, and re-sell to soldier settlers. This Order in Council was ratified by Act of Parliament in June. The new Soldier Settlement Act provides as follows:

Financial Assistance.

The board may grant loans up to $7,500 to qualified settlers purchasing land through the board, as follows:

(a) Up to $4,500 on land purchase.

(b) Up to $2,000 on stock and equipment.

(c) Up to $1,000 on buildings and other permanent improvements.

On the purchase of land the soldier, except in special cases, is required to pay 10 per cent cash down. 5 per cent per annum is the interest charged, and the advances for the purchase of land and permanent improvements are repayable in not more than twenty-five years on the amortization plan. The loans for stock and equipment are re-paid in not more than four instalments, beginning the third year, and no interest is charged for the first two years.

To settlers on Dominion lands the board may loan up to $3,000 for livestock, equipment and permanent improvements.

To settlers who already own agricultural land the board may loan up to $3,500 for the removal of encumbrances, but the amount advanced shall not exceed fifty per cent of the appraised value of the land, repayable in not more than twenty-five equal annual instalments at five per cent amortized. The board may also loan up to $2,000 for livestock, implements and other equipment, and up to $1,000 for permanent improvements, but the total loan to such settler may not be more than $5,000.

Compulsory Purchase.

The new Act also provides for the acquirement of land for soldier settlers by compulsory purchase. The board may declare a "settlement area" where lands are being retarded from cultivation, and enter upon such lands for the purposes of the board. The owners are required to furnish the board, within thirty days, a statement naming the price at which they are willing to sell, and such other information as may be required. If the price is satisfactory, the board may purchase, otherwise the matter may be referred to the Exchequer Court to be dealt with.

[Mr. Rowell.]

Qualifying the Settler.

A returned soldier who is eligible, from a military standpoint, to secure the privileges of the Act is required to make application to the board for a qualification certificate. Agricultural Qualification Committees in every district investigate the qualifications of each applicant with regard to his general fitness, his physical fitness and his previous occupation and experience. If the applicant is sincere in his desire to engage in farm work and possesses the necessary experience and aptitude for the work, the committee may grant him a certificate to farm forthwith. If he lacks sufficient agricultural experience, but is judged to be a suitable person, the committee may recommend him for agricultural training. This training may be gained at a training centre, specially equipped by the board, or on the farm of an experienced and successful farmer in the district in which the applicant proposes to locate.

Passing the Loan.

In every district also there is a Loan Committee, composed of men who understand farm values, and each application for a loan is investigated by this committee. The board secures an appraisal of the farm on which a loan is asked and, if the land is found to be suitable and the price satisfactory, the application is granted.

The board will purchase the farm required, paying cash for same. Farmers and owners of vacant land are asked to list these farms in the district offices of the board. The board enlists the co-operation of reeves and other officers of municipalities and officers of the G. W. V. A., in listing these properties and ascertaining and collating whatever information can be obtained regarding them.

Cheap Equipment for Soldier Farms.

The board has made arrangements with manufacturers of implements, harness, wagons, etc., to give soldier settlers special prices on their requirements. Very substantial reductions have been secured, amounting, as for instance, in the case of harness to thirty per cent.

The board also purchases horses and other live stock of good quality, and soldier settlers are given a wide choice of animals at the very best prices, with guarantees as to the suitability of the animals purchased.

The Canadian Lumbermen's Association has also given soldier settlers favourable rates on lumber.

The reductions from the ordinary retail prices of all the commodities are in all cases quite substantial and a considerable saving is effected.

The board also supplies, free of charge, to soldier settlers plans of houses and other farm buildings, suitable for soldier settlers, and gives free the services of experts in providing for the erection of these buildings.

Training the Soldier Settler.

Those soldier settlers recommended for further agricultural training are given the opportunity of a short course at a training farm where nothing but practical agriculture is taught, and after that the soldier, to complete his farm education, is placed with a reliable farmer for a year. In the case of Imperial soldiers, who have not had farming experience in the Old Land, it is required that they spend two years in training in practical farming in Canada, under the supervision of the board. Those who have had some experience will spend a sufficient time to become familiar with Canadian methods. Such settlers are required, on the purchase of land, to pay 20 per cent cash down.

While soldiers are in training the board pays allowances amounting, in some cases, to $55 a month for the subsistence of each soldier and his dependents.

Training in Home Economics.

A home branch has been established in connection with the board. This branch, which is in charge of Mrs. Muldrew, proposes to assist and encourage the settler's wife, in any way that seems desirable, in the management of the household, in order to overcome the difficulties incident to pioneer life. Mrs Muldrew has a staff of capable women who understand the needs of the farmer's wife.

I should have added, in connection with pensions, that in addition to the allowance I have mentioned Canada provides a special allowance for an attendant to totally disabled man. The totally disabled man may have a nurse or an attendant, who may be his wife, and a sum not exceeding $450 may be allowed by the Pension Board for this purpose in addition to the regular pension.

There is only one further observation I have to make. The statement has appeared in the press that the Prime Minister has refused to see the executive or a deputation of the War Veterans' Association. This statement is without any foundation whatever. The Prime Minister has been most glad to receive and confer with the executive and members of the Great War Veterans' Association in the past, and he will be glad to do so in the future, and I am sure that the executive will be the first to say that of the Prime Minister.

Mr. MANION: I was informed a few minutes ago by some members of the Great War Veterans' Association of Ottawa that they would like to hear from the minister whether they will have the right to appear before this Parliamentary Committee which I understood him to say would be appointed to investigate these matters. Such an assurance, I think, would complete the statement to the satisfaction of the Great War Veterans.

Mr. ROWELL: What I stated was that the Bill would be referred to a Committee of the House just as the Pensions Bill was referred last session, and I would anticipate that the committee thus appointed would give the same full facilities for any representation that might be made in reference to matters referred to it as the Pensions Committee gave last year. They will be empowered, of course, to hear all parties as the committee was then.

Mr. McLEOD: Does the Bill go into the entire question of soldiers' re-establishment?

Mr. ROWELL: The provisions for the re-establishment of soldiers in civil life are now embodied in certain Orders in Council passed under the War Measures Act. With the coming of peace it is necessary to have legislative provision so that the work of the department may be carried on, and the Bill contains the necessary provision. When the Bill is referred, it was my intention to suggest that there should be referred to the committee dealing with it the existing Orders in Council setting out the provisions that are now being made. Everything embodied in those Orders in Council as well as the Bill itself will be a proper matter for the committee's consideration.

Mr. McKENZIE: Does the minister intend that this Bill shall go to one of the standing committees of the House or to a special committee?

Mr. ROWELLL: It will go to a special committee of the House, just as in the case of the Pensions Bill last year.

Mr. HOCKEN: I would suggest that in addition to this information being placed

upon Hansard it be printed in the form of a document and that members should be given supplies for their constituents. I am sure that a free distribution of that information would be welcome.

Mr. ROWELL: The suggestion made by the hon. member will be considered by the Government.

Mr. REDMAN: Will there be any reason why the representatives who have been down here advocating the bonus scheme should not have an opportunity to appear before the committee, the same as others who may have representations to make?

Mr. ROWELL: When the committee is appointed it will have jurisdiction to determine its own procedure, and as to the parties who may appear before it and be heard. I think we can trust a committee of the House to deal fairly in the matter.

Mr. BURNHAM: May I ask who will pay the expenses of those who appear before the committee?

Mr. ROWELL: I understand that the usual procedure is that the committee pays the expenses of any persons who are called before it to give testimony.

Mr. NESBITT: That is if they are called by the committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: These are matters of detail regulated by rules of the House and should not be discussed on the Orders of the Day.

THE TREATY OF PEACE—SESSIONAL PAPERS.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved:

That the documents laid before the House on the 2nd instant relating to the Treaty of Peace and being Sessional Papers Nos. 41, 41a, 41b, 41c, 41d, 41e be printed forthwith for Sessional Papers, and 1,500 copies in English for distribution, and that Rule 74 be suspended in relation thereto.

Mr. SPEAKER: This motion can be entertained only by the unanimous consent of the House.

Motion agreed to.

PEACE TREATY.

OCCUPATION OF TERRITORIES OF THE RHINE.

House in Committee on the following proposed resolution of Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

That it is expedient that Parliament do approve of the agreement between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire and France, and Germany, with respect to the military occupation of the Territories of the Rhine, signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth day of June, nineteen hundred and nineteen, a copy of which has been laid before Parliament, and which was signed on behalf of His Majesty, acting for Canada, by the plenipotentiaries therein named, and that this House do approve of the same.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Mr. Chairman, the agreement which the resolution proposes to approve might be described as an appendix to the Treaty that has already been approved by this House. It is an agreement between the Powers mentioned in regard to the method of administration of the German territories which are, under the main Treaty, to be occupied. The principal purpose, I think, of entering into the agreement, is to provide for the creation of a civil commission which will have the control in these territories side by side with, and subject, of course, from every military point of view to the control of the military authorities. This is a Treaty in which, I think I can safely say, Canada has no special interest, but we were called upon to join in the signature of it and we were called upon to join in the ratification because it is a Treaty signed by the British Empire and the system adopted is that the signature of the British Empire should consist of the signatures of all the component parts of the Empire.

Mr. McKENZIE: I notice there is a difference between the method of giving assent to the agreement made between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire and France, and Germany, and the way in which the parties give their assent to the Treaty that is mentioned in the second resolution that appears on the Order Paper to-day. As far as I can gather from the copy I have of the agreement dealt with in the first resolution, there is no mention made of Canada at all, and it would appear rather superfluous that we should be signing it. I find that the names of our plenipotentiaries do appear in the Treaty which has been made between the United States of America the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and Poland, but in so far as I can see they do not appear to be in this Treaty with Germany.

Mr. DOHERTY: It is only a difference in form. Unfortunately the signatures have not been printed as affixed to the Treaty and therefore they do not appear in the printed copy. If the signatures were there

the hon. gentleman (Mr. McKenzie) would see that the signatures are exactly as provided for in the Treaty. In the Treaty, instead of enumerating in the preamble those through whom the contracting parties act, the form has been adopted of saying "the undersigned, acting under the powers conferred upon them by their respective Governments, have come to the following agreement." It is unfortunate that the signatures of the plenipotentiaries do not appear in the copy as printed. As far as the British Empire is concerned, just as in the other Treaty, the same signatures are of the same plenipotentiaries, acting in the same capacities and acting for the same component parts of the different nations of the Empire, appear.

Mr. McKENZIE: I am perhaps led astray by the heading of the document, which says:

> Agreement between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, and France, of the one part, and Germany, of the other part.

An ordinary man with nothing but ordinary foresight would expect that that document would be signed by the parties mentioned on one side or the other side, the great powers mentioned, and Germany. There being no reference at all either by inference or otherwise to Australia, New Zealand or ourselves as dominions, I naturally thought it would be unnecessary for us to give our assent.

Mr. DOHERTY: It is the British Empire that is making the contract. Therefore, all of the nations that compose the British Empire sign it. That is the simple explanation. The British Empire is not one thing and Canada and Australia other things. The United Kingdom, the Crown Colonies, Canada, Australia, etc., make up the British Empire and we, in order to have the signature of the British Empire, must have the signature of each one of the distinct self-governing nations which compose it. That is the reason why we sign.

Mr. McKENZIE: Without desiring to enter into any new discussion, I do wish to put myself on record in the most emphatic way as saying that I do not agree with the argument of the learned Minister of Justice that the consent of the British Empire to an international treaty cannot be effectually obtained without the dominions signing separately. With that proposition as a prinicple of international law I do not agree. It is a practice that seems to have arisen at a very recent date. For many years the British Empire, or Great Britain, has been making treaties, and it was not the custom to make any difference between the British Empire as a party and any of its dependencies or dominions, or any of its parts by whatever name they might be called.

The practice seems to be growing now that each division of the Empire is to sign by itself; but as a member of this House and a lawyer of some practice and experience, I contend that the moment the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain are authorized by the King to sign the Treaty for Great Britain, or for the British Empire, and do sign, that is binding on all of us. Perhaps it is no harm for the other plenipotentiaries to sign, but I view the matter exactly in this way: If I undertake to buy a piece of property from John Brown and his wife, the property being vested in John Brown, the moment that John Brown and his wife sign that deed and deliver it to me I have all the title in that property that they own. It would be a matter of sentiment for me to ask the children to sign, so that possibly after John Brown and his wife died they would be estopped from saying that their parents had not signed the deed, but I do not think it would in the slightest degree affect the validity of the title which I have obtained from John Brown and his wife. That is the way that I regard the present situation. We are a component part of the British Empire, we enjoy the protection of the great Empire to which we belong, we are subject to its laws, and we take advantage of every privilege that that great combination of nations or dominions brings to us as citizens of that great Empire; and if the King and those representing him sign this document, I submit, Mr. Chairman, it is binding on the whole Empire. Perhaps, as a matter of practice, the other procedure is better; but I submit that according to international law and practice, which has been handed down through the ages, when one plenipotentiary does sign on behalf of the Empire we all fall in and it is binding on us.

I wish to make perfectly clear at this point, and it may be my only opportunity of doing so, my own attitude in connection with this matter. The President of the Council (Mr. Rowell), who is a temperance man and a Godly man beyond most of us, and who thanks God that he is not like other men, should bear in mind that one of the duties of such a highly-favoured citizen of this country is not to bear false wit-

ness against his neighbour. He made a very profound speech here the other day, in which he said that I stated—and he never took it back, although he had an opportunity of seeing in Hansard what I did say—that I did not want Canadians represented upon this Council at all, that I wanted everything to be done absolutely and exclusively by British representatives and not by colonials or Dominion representatives at all. That statement has been used for the purpose of doing injury to myself and to my party. I notice that the press representing the President of the Council took up that idea and said: "McKenzie wants Canadians to have nothing to do with those agreements—everything should be left to the British plenipotentiaries." I said nothing of the kind, and I think, Sir, with your permission, I should quote what I really did say, dealing with this question. As reported at page 81 of Hansard, I said:

> We are part of a great Empire, of which we are proud, and we are nothing else. I fully agree with the representatives of Canada who took every possible part in the deliberations, as far as the Empire was concerned, that the Canadian plenipotentiaries should sit in the Council as the plenipotentiaries of the Empire, and that whatever conclusions should be reached should be conclusions on behalf of the whole Empire.

I said that I wanted Canadian plenipotentiaries there in one body and in one Council:

> I am not to be understood, Mr. Speaker, as saying that I do not attach any importance to Canada being represented on those councils—I do say that we cannot be too strongly represented on those bodies—but at the same time I maintain that it is not a strength but a weakness for us to put ourselves to one side, to separate ourselves from the rest of the Empire, and attempt to become a separate nation, or a separate part of the Empire, as far as those obligations are concerned.

Nothing could be clearer, Mr. Chairman, than the attitude which I took in that regard; and I do not think the President of the Council did me justice in attempting to represent my views in any other way. It does not make very much difference except that while I occupy the position I do on the floor of the House anything I say may be reflected upon other gentlemen of the party to which I belong. For that reason I wish to make it perfectly clear that I was always in favour of Canada being fully represented upon the councils of the Empire; but there should be one united body, one united council for the whole of the Empire, with Canada fully represented; there should be one conclusion, one treaty, one signature. That is my position. If that is a weakness, I am altogether astray;

but I do think, Sir, that the more united we are and the better we understand one another in connection with Empire matters and Dominion matters, particularly when we are facing a foreign foe or foreign complications, and the closer we keep to the statesmen of Great Britain in responsibilities for the whole of the Empire, the better it will be. It is not an advantage for Canada that British statesmen should begin to say: "Well, we have no responsibility in this matter; Canadians are looking after themselves, they have their own representatives; it is no longer necessary for us to concern ourselves about it." I do not think that attitude or state of mind would be an advantage to Canada or any other part of the Empire. Those are the reasons why I expressed the views which I did the other day, and which cannot by any possibility be misunderstood where there exists any desire to properly understand.

As far as this agreement is concerned, from the opportunity that I have had of giving it any thought, I do not think it is necessary to prolong discussion upon it. I do feel, however, that I was perfectly justified in not agreeing to this resolution at two o'clock this morning when we knew nothing about it and had nad no opportunity of reading the Treaty.

Mr. BELAND: I rise simply for the purpose of getting some further information. Is it contemplated that Canadian troops should share in the occupation of that territory?

Mr. DOHERTY: No, there is no such contemplation.

Mr. BELAND: Further, is there any special reason why Italy and Japan should not be parties to this Treaty?

Mr. DOHERTY: I think the reason why those countries are not parties to the Treaty, if I understand it rightly, is that the occupation is to be carried out by the countries who are parties. The occupation of the territory in question is, I understand, to be by the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, and France, and they therefore make this agreement. This is not a separate Treaty; it is an agreement merely to regulate the carrying out of certain provisions of the main Treaty. If the hon. gentleman will look at the first article he will find that it refers back to Article 428 and the following articles of the Treaty. It says "the armed forces," etc., "will continue in occupation of German territory"

and then it goes on to make the regulations as to how the territories are to be administered.

Mr. BELAND: I quite understand that. But the minister has said that only the powers which were to supply troops for the occupation should be parties to this Treaty, and in reply to my inquiry a moment ago he said that Canada would not be called upon to supply any troops there, meaning undoubtedly that Canada would not be a party to the occupation of the territory of the Rhine. The only conclusion we can come to, in view of this explanation by the minister, is that Canada cannot act as a separate member at the Conference.

Mr. DOHERTY: At the present time we are dealing with a Treaty that the British Empire is making, and as I have said, the British Empire, apart from the Crown colonies and so forth, consists of some five self-governing nations. The United Kingdom is not in itself the British Empire; it takes all these nations to make up the Empire. And when the British Empire makes a treaty it is fitting that the whole of the Empire should join in making it. It is proper, it seems to me—at all events that is the view entertained by the authorities of all the component parts of the Empire—that Canada should join with her signature in this Treaty that the British Empire is making so that there may be evidence of the consent of all the nations which, taken together, make up the British Empire. As to whose troops should perform the occupation on behalf of the British Empire, that is purely a matter for arrangement between the different nations of the Empire. In this case the United Kingdom has undertaken to provide for that occupation.

Mr. BELAND: The position of Canada, then, is somewhat different when one comes to consider Canada as a member of the League of Nations.

Mr. DOHERTY: When you come to consider Canada as a member of the League of Nations she is there as one distinct member. The nations generally have recognized that, though there be but one British Empire, there are a number of nations within that Empire, and each of those nations is entitled to be a member of the League of Nations. The fact that a nation also forms part of an Empire does not exclude it from membership in an organization which has nations as its members

Mr. BELAND: The distinction is mighty fine.

Mr. DOHERTY: The whole Treaty is exceedingly fine.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: I understand that Canada is a party to this agreement because of the fact that the First and Second Divisions of the Canadian troops did occupy parts of the territories of the Rhine for about two months during the early part of this year. I see that Article 6 says:

The German Government shall continue to be responsible for the cost of maintenance of troops of occupation under the conditions fixed by the Treaty.

I understand that the first charge upon the German indemnity is to pay the expenses of maintaining the troops of occupation. As Canada had two divisions in occupation, a certain amount of money must have accrued to Canada as a result. There may be further occupation lasting for some months. When the German Government undertakes to pay the cost of maintenance, does that include the pay of the officers and men composing the divisions, or does it simply cover food and other necessaries? The word "maintenance" there may be entirely inclusive or it may be somewhat exclusive.

Mr. DOHERTY: I understand that that provision covers the entire cost of the occupation. Of course, part of the cost of the occupation is involved in providing the soldiers to do the occupying.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: And that is to be paid out of the first moneys received by way of indemnity, is it not?

Mr. DOHERTY: I understand that to be the provision under the Treaty.

Mr. McKENZIE: Are there any Canadian soldiers in the Rhine territory now? If so, how long are they likely to remain there?

Mr. DOHERTY: I think I am quite correct in saying that we have no soldiers in the territory of the Rhine at the present time.

Resolution reported and concurred in.

TREATY WITH POLAND.

On motion of Hon. C. J. Doherty (Minister of Justice), the House went into Committee to consider the following proposed resolution, Mr. Boivin in the Chair:

Resolved, That it is expedient that Parliament do approve of the Treaty of Peace between the United States of America, the British Empire,

France, Italy and Japan, and Poland, which was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth day of June, nineteen hundred and nineteen, a copy of which has been laid before Parliament, and which was signed on behalf of His Majesty, acting for Canada, by the plenipotentiaries therein named, and that this House do approve of the same.

Mr. McKENZIE: What obligations, if any, do we assume under this Treaty, or what obligations have we already assumed through the action of our plenipotentiaries in attaching their signatures to it?

Mr. DOHERTY: No obligations are assumed by Canada under this Treaty. The purpose of the Treaty is to impose obligations upon Poland. As a result of the Treaty entered into by the Allied and Associated Powers, Poland has been reconstituted and revived as a living nation. It was thought proper that in consideration of that fact Poland should be called upon—and she readily acquiesced in it—to undertake certain obligations; in substance, to respect the rights of minorities. It is a unilateral Treaty, one might say, so far as obligations are concerned.

Mr. JACOBS: One of the articles of this Treaty provides as follows:

Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath, nor shall they be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath.

Further it goes on:

Poland declares her intention to refrain from ordering or permitting elections, whether general or local, to be held on a Saturday, nor will registration for electoral or other purposes be compelled to be performed on a Saturday.

And throughout this article equality is declared to exist amongst all Polish nationals. I suppose it is within the knowledge of the Government, and especially of the Minister of Justice, that since the armistice has been signed, outrages of an unparalleled character have been perpetrated upon Jewish citizens in Poland. The latest figures, which have been carefully compiled by a commission which visited that country from the United States are that about 100,000 people were massacred in cold blood by this "free and independent" nation which has, within the last few months, received its charter from the Allied powers. It is declared in one of the sections of the Treaty that:

Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

[Mr. Doherty.]

Mr. ROWELL: What section is that?

Mr. JACOBS: Article 12. In the second paragraph of this Article it is further stated that:

Poland agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

The minister is probably aware that representations have already been made to the Polish Government and that a reply has been received from M. Paderewski, the head of that Government. This has been considered so unsatisfactory that, speaking in the House of Commons a few days ago, Sir Hamar Greenwood, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, declared that the British Government intended to have a special commission appointed to investigate into the serious charges made against this new Government. I should like to know if our Government or the Minister of Justice has anything to convey to the House regarding these matters.

Mr. DOHERTY: We are not in receipt of any official information bearing upon the matters to which the hon. member has referred. The Government are not in receipt of any other information than that at the disposal of the hon. gentleman and of the public generally. It may be observed that it is under the League of Nations that Poland is put; it is towards the League of Nations that the responsibility on the part of Poland for the fulfilment of these obligations is imposed, and the sooner we get through with these different treaties and the sooner the League of Nations gets into operation, the sooner shall we have an effective method of enforcing compliance with these obligations.

Mr. JACOBS: In the meantime, until the League of Nations is constituted, does the minister purpose that the whole of the Jewish race in this "independent" country of Poland shall be annihilated?

Mr. DOHERTY: I do not quite understand the suggestion.

Mr. JACOBS: Sometimes one cannot wait.

Mr. DOHERTY: I am not opposing any such action, but I am pointing out that that is the thing that was stipulated for, namely, that the control should be in the hands of the League of Nations. The hon. gentle-

man has informed me that the Government of the United Kingdom has taken steps to inquire into the alleged conditions.

Mr. JACOBS: Likewise the United States.

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, and I have no doubt that if the result of those inquiries should be such as to call for effective action or intervention, if it should be a question of general intervention, the Government of the United Kingdom would communicate the result to us with any suggestion they have to make with regard to action, and I am sure that throughout Canada any action looking to the enforcement of provisions for protection against outrages upon any minority such as, it is alleged, have taken place, would meet with the most sympathetic consideration.

Mr. JACOBS: The Government is probably aware that within the last two or three months there have been held throughout Canada meetings of protest against these outrages, and that the results of these meetings of protest were delivered to the present Government, through the Prime Minister who, I understand, undertook to see that these protests were forwarded to the proper places. The Government must be fully cognizant of what has transpired, and what Canada's obligations as a member of the League of Nations would be under the circumstances.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I should like to say that the Prime Minister of Poland, M. Paderewski, who congratulated Canada the other day on her Parliamentary institutions, will not have the confidence of the Canadian people, as he in all probability ought to have, if these outrages should continue, and the mere fact of the outrages alleged to have taken place being brought to our attention here to-day will, I hope, be brought to his attention in some way. M. Paderewski has appealed to the democracy of America as one of the main reasons for the establishment of the new state of Poland. Therefore, he must know that if he wishes to enjoy the good opinion of the people of America, including both the United States and Canada, he must live up to the professions that have been made, and there must be the fairest and most just treatment to all races within the State.

Mr. JACOBS: I trust the Prime Minister of Poland, M. Paderewski will find that if he runs up against the League of Nations as a result of this, he will be playing with fire and not with a piano.

Mr. ROWELL: Yesterday the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) raised a question whether any of the Dominions had summoned their Parliaments in special session just for the purpose of approving these treaties. I was not able yesterday to give definite information. Perhaps while we are in committee on this Treaty, it would be fitting that I should inform the Committee that the information I have just acquired is that one of the last acts of that great soldier and statesman, General Louis Botha, was to summon a special session of the South African Parliament for the purpose of considering these Treaties, as he shared the same views as the Prime Minister of Canada does with reference to the status of the Dominions in their relation to the Mother Country as well as in their relation to the other nations of the world. As regards Australia and New Zealand, in each case the Parliament has been summoned and the Treaties have been submitted for consideration, but I have not definite information whether those were special sessions or regular sessions called at this time.

Mr. McKENZIE With regard to the points raised by the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs), this is a most serious situation and one which this great Parliament of ours should very seriously consider. There is no part of the civilized world in which every form of peace and liberty is more appreciated and enjoyed than in this country of Canada. That being the case, our people are highly sensitive to any encroachment upon any of our rights, whether they be civil, social or otherwise. Therefore, I am sure that this Parliament and the Canadian people feel very keenly the encroachment upon the rights of the Jewish people in this newly-revived Kingdom, or Republic if you please, of Poland. It is only a short time ago, on the 28th of June last, that the new Republic of Poland undertook to comply with the terms of this solemn Treaty into which it entered with the other great powers, including ourselves as part of the Great Empire to which we belong. As I read the Treaty, Poland undertook to give to every person within its bounds full civil rights and liberty, as amply and fully as they could be granted by any civilized nation in the world. I am sure that the Canadian delegates to the Conference expect Poland to adhere strictly to the spirit and letter of its obligations, and that every man, woman and child within the borders of that newly constituted republic shall have the freedom and protection set forth in this document. Now I do not think it is a mere matter of rumour that these obligations have been ruthlessly

violated. I think it is a clear question of fact of which this House can take cognizance, that violations of the most flagrant character have been perpetrated by Poland against citizens of that country whom it undertook to protect, and I submit to the plenipotentiaries who signed this Treaty on our behalf that it would be quite consistent with the dignity of this Parliament, and I think effective, for us to say, in view of the fact that the people whom we trusted to the extent of creating them into a nation have not fulfilled the obligations they took upon themselves but have fallen short in the very shocking manner of which we have learned: "True, our plenipotentiaries were pleased to be a party to the creation of this new republic and to the granting of freedom, long withheld, to the people of Poland, whether they be Jews or Gentiles. We recognize no such distinctions here at home, and we do not wish to recognize them abroad, and until we are satisfied that Poland is not merely shamming but is living up to the obligations she undertook, we refuse to give any further recognition to this document."

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): I would point out that this document does not give Poland anything at all; this is the document that imposes obligations on Poland. The hon. gentleman's suggestion is that until Poland does fulfil those obligations we should, as a punishment of Poland, refuse to ratify the Treaty that imposes the obligations. So far as the establishment of Poland as an independent nation is concerned, that was done in the terms of the general Peace Treaty. This contract is merely to impose obligations on Poland. I think the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) would hardly agree with the suggestion of his leader that Canada should now vote that those obligations shall not be imposed upon Poland—because that would be the only effect of refusing to ratify this Treaty. This Treaty is absolutely unilateral so far as obligations are concerned. This is a measure to hold down Poland, to make it quite clear that she is obliged to do these things, and to provide a method by which, if necessary, she may be compelled to do these things through the instrumentality of the League of Nations. Therefore, the more we are anxious that Poland should comply with these obligations the more ready we should be to ratify this Treaty, and the greater the evidence may be that she is not presently complying with those obligations the greater should be our haste to get the Treaty into such a shape that there may be an effective means of compelling her compliance.

As to the position in which we find ourselves as to the evidence of the facts, while, of course, there is much material available to the public, still I think it can hardly be suggested that this Government is in possession of such information as would justify it proposing to this House at the present moment that we should proceed to take active measures by physical force against Poland. As the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) pointed out, the Governments of Great Britain and France have instituted inquiry into these facts. They are very grave. What we have before us seems to indicate that the affirmations made upon the subject are probably true. But it is the part of wisdom, I think, for us to await these official inquiries before we begin to consider what steps, if any, we can and ought to take with regard to the matter. So far as this Treaty is concerned, everything that has been said with regard to the evils referred to as existing in Poland is the strongest possible argument in support of our ratifying this Treaty so that it may come into effective operation at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: I do not quite appreciate the legal argument of the Minister of Justice that we should hasten to confirm this Treaty. What is the everyday experience in matters of this kind? If we start dealings with a man whom we recognize as a gentleman of his word, and upon whose ability to carry out his contracts we rely, we are willing to go to the end of the road with him and finish the contract, but if in the middle of the negotiations we should find we are dealing with a fakir—

Mr. JACOBS: A murderer.

Mr. McKENZIE:—a murderer, a thief, a scoundrel, who is absolutely incapable of fulfilling the obligations he has undertaken, and who does not wish to fulfil those obligations, we stop dealings with him. We say that we thought we were dealing with an honest and reliable individual, but have discovered that he is not an individual of that sort.

We are told by the Minister of Justice that this Treaty with Poland is a mere supplement to the Treaty with which we dealt yesterday. If that is the case, if since the signing of the Peace Treaty we have discovered facts that should put us on our guard with respect to the status of

this new country, I would ask the Minister of Justice, who thinks we should do nothing except ratify this Treaty with Poland, what steps he thinks this Parliament and the British Empire should take to find out just how matters stand.

The Minister of Justice is trying to blow hot and cold simultaneously. He says it remains for the United States and the United Kingdom to find out whether there is anything wrong in Poland. If any one on this side suggested yesterday that we should stand aloof in connection with the obligations that fell to any nation we would have been told that we were belittling our country. Now we are faced with that proposition to-day. We say we are a nation and are signing this Treaty as a separate nation. We are told that there is something wrong with this nation of Poland that we have created, but that it is not for us to investigate the matter, which rests with the United States and Great Britain. That does not seem to be consistent with the theory which hon. gentlemen have advanced, that we are to all intents and purposes a nation. We were one of the powers that created Poland and gave it a status, and is it not for us to see to it, as far as we can, that it lives up to its obligation, entered into when it was resuscitated, to protect its citizens? If we cannot do our duty in that respect by protesting when we are dealing with a question of this kind, I should like the Minister of Justice or any of the plenipotentiaries to inform us when the opportunity will arise to call this country to account and insist upon its fulfilling its obligations under the Treaty we passed yesterday and the supplement we are passing to-day.

Mr. MORPHY: It is well that this discussion has arisen, and I may say that it supports my view, which I have not heretofore expressed, and gives me comfort to know that although the argument has been laboured in this House by certain gentlemen that Canada was not interested in questions that did not directly affect its welfare, there is nevertheless a prevalent feeling here that we have an interest in matters that are not altogether relevant to our own advancement.

Mr. JACOBS: Explain.

Mr. MORPHY: I do not think my words require any particular explanation.

Mr. JACOBS: Absolutely.

Mr. MORPHY: My words need no explanation because this Chamber has rung with cheers from men who adopted the principle against which I mildly inveigh. I think we should read this Treaty with some care. Article 2 says:

> Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.
>
> All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or morals.

"Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty."

Mr. JACOBS: There were no murders until she undertook to do that.

Mr. MORPHY: The hon. member has very properly brought up a subject that will appeal to all the people of Canada, and one that is well worthy of the consideration of this Parliament. My view is that we are interested in all the conditions that prevail throughout the world that lead to the betterment of those classes that are persecuted, and to the betterment of the world at large. That is the broad plane upon which I think a subject of this kind should be placed. It is a far higher question, I think, than the question whether we have a right of access to some canal or some territory, or freedom to do this or that. I should like this subject to be elevated to the highest possible moral plane. What was the war fought for if it was not to give liberty to the peoples that were oppressed? When that question is raised in connection with Poland the assertion is made that ruthless conduct prevails there to-day, and that Poland apparently is not observing what we understand to be her obligations. That is the charge which is couched in very strong language. But I would ask the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) to bear in mind that in these countries of war-stricken Europe standardized government does not obtain to-day. I have no doubt that M. Paderewski, the Prime Minister of Poland, has a bleeding heart by reason of these very outrages of which we complain. The point I wish to make about the Treaty is that Poland undertakes to remedy these grievances, and as we are asked to approve of that clause, the sooner it is put through and made, as the rest of the Treaty, a solemn and binding obligation upon Poland, the sooner that country's good faith will be tested. The League of Nations will put her to the test. But we are apparently asked to adopt the policy of the leader of the Opposition, that because some ruthless

bodies in Poland, free from restriction of law, at a time when chaos reigned supreme, have committed atrocities which are the subject of complaint, we should pass in this Parliament some resolutions telling them to be good or we will not let them enjoy the benefits of the Treaty.

Mr. JACOBS: Some country should take a mandate for Poland just as for German East Africa.

Mr. MORPHY: Poland's protection, her national rights and standardized power will all come when this Treaty is ratified by the great powers of the world, because she will have the assistance of those powers to give her a stable and constitutional government, and force, if necessary, to put down lawlessness. She will have the support of the world, and in my opinion it is futile to suggest, as the leader of the Opposition does, that this Treaty should not pass because of some lawless acts that have occurred. Approval of the Treaty in this House shows that Canada is interested, and it might do no harm if this discussion, through the channels of Government and through the seat of the Empire, reached Poland. I do not know that it would acomplish much good, but at the same time it would do no harm. This however, I suppose, is no time for resolutions to that effect. If a resolution were moved at the proper time by the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier I should be glad to support it, because I believe in the principle that lawlessness wherever found to exist against the crown and dignity of any kingdom or nationality should be repressed by all the force which the world can summon together for effectively combating it.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I do not wish to be misconstrued in my view, but there is one thing that has struck me since the debate began on this particular motion, and that is that the sessional duties of Parliament and of legislators hereafter are to be largely added to by discussions of this kind; and it shows what our entering into this League of Nations may involve. Hereafter, if there is any community in our country which happens to have the idea that their former compatriots in other countries have been unfairly treated, no doubt these questions will be brought into the Parliament of Canada and into other legislatures and will have to be discussed. We must prepare ourselves now for this. Having assumed these new obligations and duties in connection with the League of Nations, we shall have to deal with these questions hereafter, and probably we shall have more of these questions coming to us than they will have in any other legislature, or at least as many. We will have to be prepared to discuss them and to let countries like Poland, now established, and similar countries, know that they will be liable to have their conduct reviewed in legislatures like this, or the Congress of the United States, and to have stern resolutions passed calling their attention to any injustice that may be done by them.

Mr. McKENZIE: I wish to remind the Government that, as has been pointed out by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. W. F. Maclean)—they have assumed a new role. I am not surprised that they are not just exactly finding themselves fitting in to the new position all at once. If this had been last session, or some time before we signed the Treaty, and if I had said anything at all on this line, it would have been to ask the Government to bring this matter to the notice of the Colonial Office, or through some proper channel, to the notice of the Home Government whose more particular duty would be to deal with outside nations. But, if the theory put forward by the Government is correct, we have passed that stage now, we are a nation ourselves, and instead of asking the Home Government to deal with this question, or the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain to do so, we have the full and absolute responsibility ourselves of seeing that we take our part as a nation of the world and of seeing to it further that anything we have obligated ourselves to will be carried out. The first thing that our plenipotentiaries, or those at the Peace Conference, should have assured themselves of was that any body of men who were forming a new nation were in a position to carry out the obligations of a nation. One of the first duties of a sovereign power is to protect its subjects. That is why we appoint policemen, that is why we are enabled to maintain standing armies, that is why nations are permitted to have navies. When a nation becomes a sovereign power it attains to the right and responsibility of protecting its citizens. If Poland was not in a position to protect its citizens, to protect its boundaries, to see that civil rights were maintained and that life and property within its boundaries were safe, our plenipotentiaries and the Peace Conference should not have given them the powers of a nation. There

has been looseness somewhere. It is all very well to say now that they can go on and murder until the League of Nations is formed. Having created them a republic, having given them the status of a nation, and they having accepted certain obligations and duties, they go on murdering and slashing at each other just as they like, and it is made a laughing matter if any member in any parliament should happen to find fault. It is made the subject of a small quibble worthy of a police court—that is all it is and an attempt is made to provoke a laugh to sidetrack the question and in that way get out of a difficulty. That is not the way I view it. We have a right to suppose that our plenipotentiaries, and the other plenipotentiaries who were in that conference, would not give the status of a nation to any body of men, or form any party into a republic, unless they were absolutely assured of that party undertaking the duty of looking after their territory, and were in a position to guarantee that the ordinary amenities and securities of life in civilized nations would be safeguarded. There should have been some supervision, some proper care taken and some mandatory power put over this territory until the people there could satisfy the League of Nations, if you please, that they might be given the reins of government and the control over their territory and that the lives and property of their citizens would be safe. Without that having been done, this territory has been created into a republic, the power of government being given to them, and if they cannot protect the lives or guard the property of their citizens I think it is perfectly justifiable for the members of this House, or of any other parliament, to call to account those who are responsible for the creation of this republic under these circumstances because they are responsible indirectly for the massacres that have taken place in that country. Whatever the remedy is—whether it may be by way of protest or otherwise—we should bring home to these people the fact that we are not satisfied with the way that they are carrying out their obligation to protect the lives and property of the people. Because we are protesting we are met with a laugh. We are expected to go along serenely and happily and to recognize this country as being on the same level as our own when we have the most positive evidence of the carnage and murders which are going on and of the evident lack of power or ability on the part of the Government to restore order and to provide protection for its citizens. I do not know what this Government can do. Perhaps they are just in the same position as the President of Poland. They are new to their position and they do not know what they should do. If they do not, of course, they should try to find out and try to live up to this big position into which they have forced themselves.

Mr. JACOBS: Might I ask the minister a question as to what was done with those resolutions which were sent to the Government some months ago in connection with these Polish outrages?

Mr. DOHERTY: The resolutions were forwarded to the Government of the United Kingdom, and as the hon. member himself pointed out, that Government has taken upon itself to make an inquiry. The hon. gentleman also told us that France was making an inquiry.

Mr. JACOBS: The United States.

Mr. DOHERTY: The United States. Whether a third inquiry would be helpful, I leave to the judgment of the Committee.

Mr. JACOBS: Before we close this discussion I wish to refer the House to an article on the Jewish question which appears in the New York Nation of August 30 1919. It is from a correspondent of the New York Nation in Warsaw. I would like to cite a paragraph or two to show the extent and nature of these outrages which I brought before the House this afternoon.

> The Poles are conducting two regular and old-fashioned wars for imperialistic conquest while the Peace Conference is engaged in its work. I have been near the two fronts of both these wars. I was in Lwow and saw what was happening and had happened there. I was in Vilna and know what is happening there. In Vilna I had the extraordinary pleasure of being surrounded by a crowd of weeping and wailing Jewish women whose husbands had been murdered as soon as Vilna was occupied by the Poles. I know now what the Greeks felt like when they occupied Troy. In one house where dwelt the family Philipson and others, the soldiers came and carried off all the men folk, beat them up with the jeering crowd following, took them out of the city, and shot them. Then, in true antique fashion, young Philipson, the son, was made to dig a grave for his father and brother and the other men in this particular house. This procedure of taking harmless people out and shooting them was practised extensively by the Poles in Vilna when they entered in triumph after having driven out the handful of Bolsheviki who held the town against them. The killed seem to have numbered about one hundred. The people beaten up and maltreated numbered many hundreds. Respectable citizens, among them the most respected Jews in the city, were taken out and stood against a wall and threatened

with death. Twelve hundred Jews have been jailed and are said to be starving to death and dying of typhus. Their friends and relatives are not allowed to bring them food or medical help. Hundreds have been deported to Bialystock and Cracow and elsewhere, and are being held on the vague charge of Bolshevism. On the north front the way to get rid of your minority is by accusing it of Bolshevism. Yet many of the Poles themselves who are now holding jobs in the Vilna Government were fighting with the Bolsheviki.

But I find I am writing with a certain amount of bile. There is no reason why I should, since I can have my whipped cream and butter and white bread and roast beef and hors d'oeuvres, and everything else I want every day, served with the piquant sauce of the knowledge that a few blocks away children are starving for want of a little milk, that hundreds of children in Warsaw, over seven years of age, are unable to stand on their feet—have never walked because they have not had proper nourishment. The imperialistic Polish bourgeoisie is not interested in the misery of its poor and only makes feeble motions towards establishing relief agencies under pressure of the Americans. Perhaps I am violating a trade secret when I inform your Polish readers, who so trustingly paid for the half of the Westward Ho cargo of food which was to go to the starving population of Poland, that most of this cargo went to the Polish army. I may be violating a similar secret when I inform your Jewish readers that their half of this cargo could not be given to the starving Jews, because, in most centres, the authorities pointed out the very interesting fact that pogroms would result if Jews got food and Christians did not.

This is only a sample of what is happening daily in that country, and I would point out that these incidents have taken place since the 24th of June, when this Treaty was signed. To any one who is interested in the question, I would commend these articles which are appearing in the New York Nation, the one from which I have quoted being No. 2. I think that the standing of the New York Nation is sufficient to make it certain that they would not publish any such statements unless a special investigation had been made on the spot, and that was done by their own correspondent.

Resolution reported and concurred in.

On the Order for the resumption of the adjourned debate on the motion of Mr. Whidden, for an address to His Excellency the Governor General, in reply to his speech at the opening of the session:

Mr. McKENZIE: Is it worth while resuming the debate when there is an understanding to adjourn at six o'clock?

Mr. DOHERTY: If any gentleman desires to speak now the opportunity is open to him, but if it is thought desirable to adjourn I am quite willing to acquiesce in the suggestion.

Mr. McKENZIE: I think it will suit us better if we adjourn now and resume the debate on Monday.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 5 p.m.

Monday, September 15, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

REPORTS AND PAPERS.

Diagram prepared by the Department of Militia and Defence illustrating the statement made in the House of Commons on the 12th September, 1919, with reference to a comparative statement of War Service Gratuity in equivalent of Canadian currency paid by different countries, based on three years' service for the rank of private, compiled from information at present available.—Hon. Mr. Rowell.

GREAT WAR VETERANS' GRATUITY CLAIM.

500,000 COPIES OF STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY HON. MR. ROWELL ORDERED PRINTED.

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Council): Mr. Speaker, on Friday last, the hon. member for Toronto West (Mr. Hocken), suggested that the statement made in the House on that date with reference to War Service Gratuities, with the comparative statements showing the amounts being paid in Canada and other countries, as well as the comparative statements relating to pensions, soldiers' civil re-establishment and land settlement, should be printed for distribution. The matter has been considered, and I would ask the consent of the House to move:

That 500,000 copies of the statement of the President of the Council on the matter of a further bonus or War Service Gratuity to returned soldiers be printed forthwith, in pamphlet form, from the Revised Edition of Hansard of Friday, September 12, 1919, including tables, statements, etc., and the diagram illustrating the War Service Gratuity tabled this day, and that rule 74 relating thereto be suspended.

This is to provide sufficient copies for general distribution throughout the country.

Mr. McKENZIE: Will the President of the Council give us some idea as to the system of distribution which the Government purpose adopting in this connection? I can readily understand how members of

Parliament can get copies of this statement; but if they are to be of service, there should be some systematic method of general distribution, amongst the public, as far as the copies will go.

Mr. ROWELL: The view of the Government is in the first place to make as many copies available to members of the House as they desire to send out to their constituents, then to place large numbers at the disposal of the War Veterans' Association for the purpose of distribution amongst all the War Veterans' Associations throughout Canada. There are some 400,000 returned soldiers in Canada, and it was thought that the copies which the members would desire to send out, plus the quantity the War Veterans would desire to have, would probably absorb the greater number, but the Government would be glad to have any other suggestions as to distribution. I may say, so as to prevent any misunderstanding, that on checking over one of the statements, it was found that an increase of 20 per cent had been made recently in one of the countries referred to, and the revised figures will therefore be given in Revised Hansard, and in the copies printed for distribution.

This will make the comparative statement more easily understood than by adding a note at the bottom of the statement.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Are French copies being printed ?

Mr. ROWELL: Some will be printed in French, and I shall be glad to consult with my hon. friend as to the number.

Mr. CANNON: Has there been a demand for such a large number of copies, and if so, from whom?

Mr. ROWELL: There has been a demand for a large number, and it was considered that 500,000 would probably be required.

Mr. VIEN: A demand from the Great War veterans?

Mr. ROWELL: The War Veterans and members of the House have asked for copies.

Motion agreed to.

THE PEACE TREATY.

DOCUMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE ORDERED PRINTED.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved:

That 1,000 copies of the documents laid before the House on the 2nd instant relating to the Treaty of Peace and being Sessional Papers Nos. 41, 41a, 41b, 41c, 41d, 41e be printed forthwith in French for Sessional Papers and for distribution, and that Rule 74 be suspended in relation thereto.

He said: These are the papers I moved to print the other day. The French copies had already been printed, but authorization for their printing was not included in that motion. It is necessary that this motion should be passed in order to constitute the authorization for that printing which was done in advance.

Motion agreed to.

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. WITH OFFICIAL COMMENTARY.

Hon. N. W. ROWELL: I beg to lay on the Table the Covenant of the League of Nations with the official commentary issued thereon by way of explanation by the British Empire Parliamentary Delegation following the Peace Conference. The Commentary was drafted, I believe, by General Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil. It also contains the interpretation of Article IV which the Minister of Public Works read to the House on the 8th September, signed by M. Clemenceau, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, and Mr. Lloyd George. A number of communications have been received by the Government asking for copies of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and particularly for copies of the explanatory statement which had been issued. The Government considers it desirable that a quantity should be printed and be available for distribution to all who desire them, because it is important that the Covenant of the League of Nations should be understood by all the people. I was going to ask the House to consent to the printing of, say, 10,000 copies. I should be glad to have any suggestion from my hon. friend as to the number which should be printed in English and French respectively; perhaps 8,000 and 2,000 respectively would be satisfactory.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: I do not quite understand what the minister means by the explanatory statements. Does he mean the speeches which were made in this House?

Mr. ROWELL: No. When the British Government issued as a Parliamentary Paper the Covenant of the League of Nations it was accompanied by an explanatory statement referring to the various articles of the Covenant. The explanatory statement contains very interesting and informing comments by the men largely

responsible for the drafting of the Covenant; the Government considered it desirable that this explanatory statement should accompany the Covenant. If my hon. friend has not seen the statement I am quite prepared to let the motion stand over until to-morrow.

Mr. McKENZIE: I shall be glad to see the statement.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I did not catch the minister's explanation of the explanatory note which he laid on the Table a moment ago. Was it an essay issued by somebody, or what was it?

Mr. ROWELL: The document I laid on the Table was the Covenant of the League of Nations, accompanied by an explanatory statement prepared by the British Empire Parliamentary Delegation at the Peace Conference, and laid on the Table of the British House of Commons and printed as a Parliamentary Paper there. I am sure that this explanatory statement would aid in the understanding and interpretation of the Covenant by those who wish to get at its real meaning, particularly the laymen who are not so accustomed to studying a legal document as the lawyers are.

LABOUR CLAUSES OF PEACE TREATY, WITH EXPLANATORY STATEMENT.

Mr. ROWELL: I desire to lay on the table of the House the Labour clauses of the Peace Treaty, with an explanatory statement prepared at the Peace Conference and published in Great Britain. It appears to the Government to be desirable that this explanatory statement with reference to the Labour clauses should also accompany the document as a printed Parliamentary Paper. If my hon. friend has not seen the explanatory statement I shall be glad to leave the motion for printing over until to-morrow.

Mr. CANNON: I am very much surprised that these documents are produced after the debate is over. Why were they not produced before the debate started?

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk).

KITCHENER POSTMASTERSHIP.

Mr. EULER:

1. Is the Government aware that the Postmaster at Kitchener resigned five months ago and that the office is still vacant?
2. Why has no appointment been made?
3. Will an early appointment be made?

[Mr. Rowell.]

Hon. Mr. ROWELL:

1. Yes.
2. Careful investigation had to be made as to the qualifications of the applicants.
3. A recommendation is now being made to the Civil Service Commission.

PAYMENTS TO H. P. DUCHEMIN.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Antigonish and Guysborough):

How much has been paid by the Government to H. P. Duchemin, barrister of Sydney, N.S., during the year ending August 31, 1919, for his services in prosecuting offences against Inland Revenue regulations?

Hon. Mr. REID: Nil.

GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Mr. TOBIN:

1. Is the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway still being operated by Honourable J. D. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, in his capacity of receiver?
2. If so, in virtue of what authority was he so appointed?
3. If by Order in Council, is it the intention of the Government to introduce legislation during the present session to confirm the said Order in Council?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. Yes.
2. Order in Council No. 517, dated March 7, 1919, as amended by Order in Council No. 547 dated March 13, 1919, and ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament passed on the 6th day of June, 1919, Chapter 22, Statutes of Canada, 1919.
3. Already confirmed by above mentioned Act.

GREAT WAR VETERANS' GRATUITY CLAIM.

Mr. GRIESBACH:

1. Has there been any correspondence between the Great War Veterans' Association and the Government respecting the provision of a further bonus or gratuity to returned soldiers?
2. If so, what is the nature of such correspondence?
3. Will the Government lay copies of the correspondence upon the table of the House?

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: This question was answered in substance by the statement made on Friday last. The correspondence will be laid on the table of the House.

INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS COMMISSION.

Mr. CASGRAIN:

1. Is there a vacancy on the Board of the International Waterways Commission (Canadian Section)?
2. If so, when is it to be filled, and by whom?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. There is a vacancy on the Board of the International Waterways Commission (Canadian section).

2. It is expected to be filled shortly. An announcement will be made.

QUESTIONS PASSED AS ORDERS FOR RETURNS.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:

1. What members of the Government went to Europe at Canada's expense during that period of time commencing with the beginning of the Great War up to the 1st September, 1919?

2. How many trips were made by each of such members?

3. What was the total cost of the various trips made by each member?

4. What was the total cost of each trip?

Mr. GLASS:

1. Since the year 1910, what sums of money have been appropriated or voted by Parliament for improvements to harbour at Port Stanley?

2. What years (if any) were votes for such work passed, and what were the respective amounts?

3. What amounts (if any) of such appropriations have been expended, and what has been the purpose and character of the works performed?

4. Since the year 1910 has the Government, in view of repeated representations made to them by various deputations who have waited on them, to petitions of boards of trade, municipalities and others, urging the need of definite, permanent harbour improvements to efficiently serve the requirements of transportation offered at Port Stanley, instructed their engineers to examine and report as to the needs of the situation?

5. If so, what improvements have been recommended, and what was the estimated cost thereof?

6. Has the Government's attention been drawn to the serious inconvenience to international transportaion at Port Stanley during the months of July and August, 1919, by the blocking of the channel, so that the steamer Roosevelt, running from Cleveland, Ohio, suffered damage and was seriously inconvenienced in delivering her passengers and freight at the port?

7. What steps, if any, have been taken by the Government to correct the grievances and what action is contemplated to make the harbour safe to receive the traffic by steamboat and otherwise that seeks entrance and exit at this port?

Mr. ETHIER:

1. What is the total number of defaulters under the Military Service Act, in the Dominion of Canada?

2. How many of such defaulters have been placed under arrest in each province of the Dominion, since the signing of the armistice?

3. What are the names, surnames and age of the said defaulters?

4. How many of such defaulters have been sentenced; what penalty was imposed in each case; and, to whom were the fines paid?

5. What are the names of the officers in each military district of the various provinces, who arrested, or were ordered to arrest the said defaulters; what salary or fee did they receive for each arrest?

CANADIAN LITERATURE ON ROYAL CAR.

*Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:

1. Did the Government, in any way, select or order the selection of the volumes on Canadian literature which were placed in the special car for the use of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales?

2. If so, were volumes of French-Canadian literature placed in the library of the special car for the use of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who very well reads and speaks the French language?

3. If not, why were such volumes not placed in the said library?

Mr. ROWELL: The works of reference placed on the Royal train by Government officials at Ottawa consisted largely of maps and statistical information. The selection of general literature was left to the officers of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and there is no information in Ottawa as to what books were placed on board, or in what languages they were written.

UNOPPOSED MOTIONS FOR PAPERS.

Mr. LEMIEUX:

For a copy of all letters, telegrams, documents and all other papers exchanged between the Department of Marine and Fisheries and the Harbour Commission of Montreal, relating to the new by-law No. 92 increasing the wharfage rates.

Mr. LEGER:

For a copy of all letters, documents, reports and all other papers exchanged between the Post Office Department at Ottawa and the Post Office Inspector of St. John, N.B., relating to the location of the Ste. Anne de Kent Post Office, in the county of Kent, New Brunswick.

Mr. GAUVREAU:

For a copy of the pay-lists in connection with the construction of the wharf at Cacouna-East, county of Temiscouata, for the years 1914-15, 1915-16, 1916-17 and 1917-18 respecting (a) construction work; (b) timber and other materials for said wharf; and (c) the construction work and materials in connection with the erection of a certain fence upon the site above-mentioned.

NOTICES OF MOTION.

On Notices of Motion being called:

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Before proceeding to take up Motions, on which there may be some discussion, I beg to call attention to the fact that the other day, as I gather, it was understood that we should now proceed with the debate on the Address. On Friday afternoon, as I recollect, it was decided at the request of different members that we should go on with the debate this afternoon, and I therefore move that we proceed to that Order.

Mr. J. A. CURRIE: Mr. Speaker, on Thursday last—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I must point out to the hon. member that this motion is not debatable and that he cannot proceed with any statement unless the motion be first withdrawn.

Motion (Hon. Mr. Doherty) agreed to.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Orders of the Day have to be called first.

Mr. SPEAKER: Government Orders.

On Government Orders being called, Mr. Proulx rose to speak on the Address in reply to the speech of the Governor General.

Mr. CURRIE: Before proceeding with Government Orders—

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member for Prescott has the floor.

Mr. DOHERTY: Mr. Speaker, perhaps I might offer an explanation.

Mr. SPEAKER: Only with the unanimous consent of the House is it competent for the minister to intervene. Under Government Orders we have arrived at the debate upon the Address and the member for Prescott has the floor. Is it the unanimous consent of the House that the Minister of Justice should have an opportunity to make his explanation?

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: Mr. Speaker, may I call your attention to the fact that you have not called Orders of the Day?

Mr. SPEAKER: The motion which was made by the Minister of Justice automatically superseded the Orders of the Day, and we have now arrived at the debate on the Address. Has the minister the unanimous consent of the House to make the explanation which he desires to give?

The House gave unanimous consent.

Mr. DOHERTY: I only desire to mention especially for the information of the hon. member (Mr. Currie) that the Minister of Militia is unfortunately not here to-day, he desiring to attend the funeral of a relative, and that the hon. member will realize that through courtesy his matter might have stood in any event.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH.

ADDRESS IN REPLY.

Consideration of the motion of Mr. Howard Primrose Whidden for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General in reply to his speech at the opening of the session, resumed from Friday, September 5.

Mr. EDMOND PROULX (Prescott): When the debate was adjourned the other day, Mr. Speaker, I had finished discussing the matters mentioned in the Address. One of those the Treaty of Peace and was about to deal with domestic matters, although they are not mentioned in the Address but they are matters which I consider of supreme importance such as the cost of living. Last session the Government tried to solve this problem by creating a Board of Commerce, and since the session they have appointed the members of this board. There has been much delay on the part of the Government, however, so far as any effective action is concerned, and far from prices having decreased since last session they have increased. The board has not begun to work seriously. One of its first experiences was the discovery that prices of foodstuffs in this country were far too high, higher than the cost of materials warranted. The board was in session the other day at Winnipeg, and the chairman discovered that at that place American bacon was selling at 4½ cents cheaper than the Canadian product, after duty and freight had been paid from Duluth to Winnipeg. I have a despatch from Winnipeg dated September 12 to the Ottawa Citizen which reads:

"I do not see the justification in bacon at 65 and 70 cents a pound," declared Judge H. A. Robson, chief commissioner of the board of commerce, under the Combines and Fair Prices Act, at to-day's session. Evidence had been adduced showing that the cost price of bacon sold at those prices was 54 cents a pound, the 70 cent price being for sliced bacon.

Figures showing that bacon bought from Armour's in Duluth was four and a half cents cheaper laid down in Winnipeg, despite necessity of paying duty, freight, exchange and all incidental expenses, than the product from the local packers, in a lower grade, and one and five-eighths cents cheaper in a higher grade were produced by John Guest, manager of a large departmental store, meat market. The shipment from Duluth was made recently and was an experiment. The statement was filed as an exhibit.

We can see therefore that in the past the Canadian packers have charged the people of this country excessive prices for meat, and I think that this is a matter which the Government should have remedied. If in the last budget they had removed the duty from foodstuffs, and especially from meat, this would have been an efficacious step in the direction of reducing the cost of living. We requested them to do so. My hon. friend from Brome (Mr. McMaster) had a motion asking the Government to remove the duty on foodstuffs but no heed was paid to this urgent appeal, because my hon. friends opposite had no desire to hurt their friends the packers, and the result is that those duties

have remained. Now we see after investigation by the Board of Commerce that meat coming from the United States, after duty, freight and all incidental expenses have been paid, sells for 4½ cents cheaper in Winnipeg than the meat obtained from Canadian packers. This discovery alone, I contend, amply justifies the motion made last session on this side of the House for a removal of the duty on foodstuffs. My hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) the other day said that the farmers did not get more for their produce than they were entitled to. I am of the same opinion. Some people are inclined to censure the farmers if they have to pay high prices for meat or other agricultural foodstuffs, but if you compare the prices which are paid to the farmers and the producers for cattle with the prices charged the consumer, you will see that there is a large difference between what the producers receive and the prices paid by the consumer.

That is not only in regard to meat but in regard to all other products. The manufacture of cheese is one of the most important agricultural industries in this country. The price paid to the farmer now does not exceed 25 cents per pound delivered at Montreal whilst, if you go to your grocer, you have to pay from 40 to 45 cents per pound for cheese. Last spring the cheese factories sold cheese for as much as 31 cents a pound but lately this price has come down to 25 cents. A representative of the British food ministry came to this country, met the manufacturers and offered them 25 cents per pound for 20,000 tons, this price to be for cheese delivered at Montreal. His reason for asking them to accept this price was that cheese was being retailed in England at 36 cents a pound or one shilling, sixpence, while in this country we have to pay as much as 45 cents a pound. According to the statement made by the representative of the British ministry of food, over 11 cents is paid in commissions to buyers, exporters and English importers, in freight rates and in exchange on money. The English importer buys Canadian cheese at 25 cents and it is retailed in England at 36 cents a pound. During the war cheese was selling at a fixed price. This year there is no fixed price; the farmers do not ask a price to be fixed for cheese but they believe that the Government could have helped them by giving a line of credit to the Imperial Government, or the British ministry of food, to enable them to buy our cheese. The Government have given a line of credit to Italy to the amount of $6,000,000 to buy our beef and a line of credit to Roumania to the amount of $25,000,000 to enable them to buy certain goods in Canada, whilst no money has been given for the purchase of cheese the manufacture of which is the great industry in the eastern part of Ontario and especially this year when the crops are not as good as in other years and farmers have to depend very much on the cheese industry for their prosperity. The exchange, as explained by the representative of the British ministry of food, amounts to two and one-twentieths of a cent per pound on cheese. If the Government had given a line of credit to the British food ministry to enable them to buy cheese, the farmers instead of selling their cheese at 25 cents per pound, would have sold it for at least 27 cents per pound. The farmers have to pay more than they had to pay in previous years for labour. Labour is scarce and the hours of labour are getting shorter. They also have to pay more for everything they buy, notably feed and agricultural implements. They could buy a binder some years ago for $120 but now they have to pay $225 or $230. All agricultural implements have almost doubled in price. The Government might have helped the farmers if they had acceded to our request last year to remove the duty on agricultural implements. This represents millions of dollars to the farmers of this country. If you want to have cheap food in this country you should remove the duty on food and not only the duty on food but on all the tools and machinery used to produce food. My hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) said that high prices were caused by scarcity. It is true that they are partly caused by scarcity, but Mr. Speaker, not only does the Government maintain duties and prevent agricultural implements and foodstuffs from coming from other countries into this country but the Government creates scarcity. There are in storage large quantities of beef which could have been sold to the Canadian consumer. But the Government gave a line of credit of $6,000,000 to Italy to permit Italy to buy this beef and in this way help to create scarcity. On the 28th of May of last year an Order in Council was passed authorizing the extension of a line of credit to Italy. I have a copy of the Order in Council and it reads as follows:

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a Report, dated 26th May, 1919, from the Minister of Finance, stating that the Italian Government has requested a credit of Six Million Dollars to be availed of for the purchase of frozen beef now in storage in Can-

ada. The beef in question was prepared during the war for sale to the British Ministry of Food who now do not require it, and owing to unfavourable exchange conditions between Europe and America, it is necessary for the Italian Government in order to purchase the beef to obtain a credit for the amount required from the Canadian Government.

The Minister, in view of the foregoing, recommends that a credit not exceeding Six Million Dollars from the War Appropriation, 1918-19, be authorized to the Italian Government for the purpose mentioned, to be secured by the deposit with the Imperial Treasury for account of the Dominion Government of Treasury Bills bearing interest at the rate of 5½ per cent per annum.

The Committee concur in the foregoing recommendation, and submit the same for approval.

Thus the Government helped to create scarcity by sending our goods to other countries, lending the money to other countries to buy these goods that Canada produces and removing foodstuffs from the Canadian consumer. The Government could have remedied the situation by regulating the cold storages. We find by reading the newspapers that there is a great waste of foodstuffs which are allowed to rot in the cold storages and are then destroyed. Only last Saturday I read in the Ottawa Citizen a despatch from Montreal to the following effect:

The city of Montreal, from the first of January, 1919, till August 22nd, of this year, has confiscated enormous quantities of foods which were unfit for human consumption, having done away with 215,667 pounds of meat alone.

With also 884 pounds of fowl, 60,076 pounds of fish, 1,147 pounds of fruit, and 3,323 pounds of vegetables, Montreal likely leads the whole of Canada in the line of confiscation, with Quebec city running a close second, that city having had 95,813 pounds of meat condemned in the ancient capital; over ninety thousand pounds of this was veal.

If these cold storages were better regulated and were not allowed to keep foodstuffs until they are condemned as being unfit for human consumption these foodstuffs would be sold at lower prices to the consumer. Food is very much like money. If money is put in circulation the rate of interest decreases while, if it is kept out of circulation, the rate of interest increases. If foodstuffs are kept in cold storage a scarcity results and prices go up, whereas by putting them on sale the shortage is relieved and prices diminish.

As to lines of credit granted by the Government, we have granted a line of credit to Italy, and we have also extended to Rumania credit to the extent of $25,000,000. Although we may not lose on the credit granted to Italy it looks as though there will be some loss in connection with the credit to Roumania. Roumanian bonds are now selling at a large discount and even though our $25,000,000 should be repaid it will probably be without interest.

The Prime Minister earlier in this debate said the Government had given power some years ago to the municipalities to institute prosecutions where excessive prices were charged. As we all know that policy has been a failure. My hon. friend from Antigonish and Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) discussed this matter the other day, and I agree with him in the opinion which he then expressed: the policy has been a failure and the Government never intended that the power given to the municipalities should be largely exercised. We know very well that the small municipalities would not go to the trouble of holding investigations and bearing the heavy costs necessitated by the institution of prosecutions Moreover, the matter is one of federal concern. It is so regarded in the United States where the Washington Government has caused prosecutions with the result that the prices of foodstuffs have largely decreased. Even in Canada, since the Board of Commerce commenced its operations prices have commenced to fall, and I hope that board will be successful in bringing about further reductions. Public attention has been drawn to the case of one merchant in Ottawa who sold sugar at a profit of three cents a pound. In my opinion, this is an enormous profit on a commodity like sugar. One of the members of the board also investigated the prices charged by Ottawa restaurants for meals, alleging that they were too high. Well, Mr. Speaker, the Government itself has given a bad example to the restaurant people; the buffet car on the National railways has been one of the greatest sinners in that regard. My hon. friend (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) exposed the other day the extravagant price charged for fish in a dining car on a government railway, citing an instance where he paid 65 cents for a portion of fish which probably did not weigh half a pound and which the Government must have bought for about four cents a pound. Why, Mr. Speaker, if you order a piece of roast beef in a buffet car on the National railways to-day, you have to pay 80 cents for a portion which only weighs about one-quarter of a pound. Then for corn on the cob which costs the Government only about one cent, the price is 25 cents. If the Board of Commerce really wants to decrease the prices of restaurant meals in this city it should investigate the prices charged in the National railways buffet car, which, as I have already said, is the greatest sinner among the restaurants.

Again if we want to keep our credit good, Mr. Speaker, we must economize. Consider how seriously we are affected in regard to the rate of exchange. At present our dollar is worth only 94⅛ cents in New York. Moreover, our exports are decreasing. If our credit is to be maintained, we must certainly economize. During the war great extravagance prevailed. This was perhaps unavoidable but now that the war is at an end there should be greater economy in public outlays, and the Government should scrutinize most carefully the public expenditure. At the last session of Parliament the Minister of Finance estimated our expenditure this year would be $620,000,000 and that our revenue would only be $280,000,000. I would, therefore, echo the advice which my hon. friend (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) gave the Government, and tell them to economize in every direction they can. Let them cut off the expenditure on the Official Record which costs about $80,000, and is not, probably, worth 80 cents. Let the Government also cut off private cars. An investigation was held by the Public Accounts Committee last session, at which it was shown that the repairs to one private car—which I think was formerly used by the ex-Minister of Militia and is now doubtless used by his successor—cost $30,000.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Shame.

Mr. PROULX: And still ministers will insist upon travelling in private cars. Last spring there were as many as three private cars attached to the same train. Now that, Mr. Speaker, means a very large outlay. If we want to reduce the public expenditure economy must be practised in all the departments. There should be a pruning down of the Civil Service to what the actual necessities of the service demand, and no more unnecessary appointments should be made. In spite of the urgent need for economy, we still see the Civil Service Commission advertising for different appointments in all kinds of inspectorships. There are inspectors for potatoes and for nearly every branch of agricultural industry. Some of these inspectors, I believe, are practically useless, and the services which they render are not at all commensurate with the cost to the country which the positions entail.

There is one other matter to which I would like briefly to refer. The Government has spent a lot of money in sending Dominion Police, or other police, around the country to prosecute the poor defaulters. I believe more money has been spent for this purpose than has been collected in fines imposed on the defaulters. Some of these police have been persecutors as well as prosecutors, and have brought the defaulters long distances to trial. Only the other day we read in the newspapers that defaulters were brought from the northern part of Quebec to the city of Ottawa for trial.

These men should not have been brought down here, a distance of three hundred miles, to be tried before the magistrate of another province when they might just as well have been dealt with by the local magistrate in Quebec. Some of these so-called defaulters were found not guilty, being medically unfit, or having been regularly exempted, but by reason of the course pursued by the police authorities they were put to the expense of travelling expenses and counsel's fees.

As the Peace Treaty is signed, Mr. Speaker, I would appeal to the Government to exercise a little more clemency, and I wish to direct my appeal to my hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), who is Acting Prime Minister. I know he wants peace and harmony to prevail in this country. Well, it seems to me that the best means to bring about that very desirable condition would be to grant a general amnesty, especially at such a time as this, when we have amongst us His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the future ruler of this Empire. The French Government have taken the course I am suggesting, even the German Government have done so, and certainly this is an opportune time for a general amnesty to be granted. Why continue to prosecute these poor fellows? I believe that at least seventy-five per cent of them are defaulters through no fault of their own. Most of them were honourably exempted. They were mostly farmers with exemption certificates, either from the Local Exemption Tribunal or from the Appeal Exemption Tribunal, and thought they were free from military service, while others were medically unfit for service. I again urge, Mr. Speaker, that the Government should recommend to His Excellency the Governor General the adoption of the course I have suggested—the granting of a general amnesty to military defaulters.

Mr. AUGUSTE THEOPHILE LEGER (Kent, N.B.): Mr. Speaker, I have much pleasure in adding my congratulations to those already tendered to the mover and seconder of the Address. Both gentlemen performed their duty with credit to them-

selves and with satisfaction, I believe, to this House.

My desire at this moment, Mr. Speaker, is to supplement what has been said by my hon. friend from Gloucester (Mr. Turgeon) in reference to the methods used in rounding up defaulters in the county which I have the honour to represent. I am reluctant to speak on this subject, but the methods which are being employed are such that it is high time something was done by the Government. It seems that the Dominion Military Police are clothed with very full powers. If I am well informed, and I believe I am, these men are entering houses with firearms in their hands and threatening to shoot at their pleasure. Last session I had occasion to put a question with reference to this use of firearms, and I have repeated the question this session, but so far I have had no very direct answer, and therefore I am forced to the conclusion that these men are acting within their authority. Last year in Kent county an officer opened fire in the house of an alleged defaulter and inflicted a very serious wound on him; last spring another military policeman fired on a supposed defaulter in a field, putting a bullet through one of his legs; and lately another of these policemen in trying to execute his warrant, not on a defaulter but on a man who was trying to maintain order in his own home, lost his life through his revolver in some way exploding. It seems that these officers, from the way they are acting, do not know half the time what they are doing. A few days ago one of them was fined for using liquor contrary to the prohibition law. Here is an abstract from the Moncton Transcript of September 9, 1919:

4 p.m.

Dominion Military Officer Fined for Violating Prohibition Law.

One of the Dominion Military Police Officers, who has been stationed at Kent County for some months rounding up alleged defaulters, came before the magistrate at Buctouche, Saturday, charged with violation of the N.B. Prohibition Act, on information laid by Prohibition Inspector Daigle of Kent County. He was found guilty of the charge and fined fifty dollars and costs.

That man is typical of the class of men engaged in administering the law, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MORPHY: May I ask the hon. gentleman a question, Mr. Speaker? Does he approve of that officer being fined fifty dollars and costs?

[Mr. Leger.]

Mr. LEGER: Yes, sir.

Mr. MORPHY: Then I would ask the hon. gentleman how he can approve of a defaulter escaping the just penalty of the law?

Mr. LEGER: I am just putting this forward to show the kind of men who are looking after defaulters. When these police officers try to perform their duties while in an intoxicated condition what may we expect, especially when they begin to flourish firearms? It is no honour for us to have the law executed in such a way, nor is it creditable to the Government to allow such a state of things to exist. Many of these policemen are not suitable men for the work they undertake. Some of them I know have defied the Prohibition Act for years and some others are foreigners; in fact, I believe one is a German by the Teutonic appearance of his name. I would like, and I am sure the country would like, to know how long this kind of thing is going to be allowed to continue.

When the Military Service Act was passed bringing conscription into force, I advised, so far as I could, all the young men of military age in my constituency, to register. Many of them registered, but some did not, claiming that they were absolutely needed on the farms. In urging these young men to register, what did I find? I found that, during the election of 1917, I was opposed by the leading Conservative organizer of the constituency telling the young men that this was a selective conscription law; that it was not intended for sons of farmers or fishermen, and that they had better go home and rest easy. I know of more than one young man who had to go about twenty miles to pass the medical examination, and when they came into the shire town of Richibucto where the medical men held the examinations, they were told by this organizer to return home, that this was selective conscription and that they did not want sons of farmers or fishermen. These men accordingly returned home without being examined, and to-day, where are they? They are in the jail of Kent county serving a term of twelve months' imprisonment or they have had to pay a fine of $250. The men who cannot pay the fine are kept in a jail built of concrete, cells and all, and their health is thereby greatly endangered because the jail is always damp and cold. During election time, it was nice to hear these people say: Go home; this is selective conscription; you are not needed. But that is the way things were run in Kent county.

A few months ago, I am sorry to have to say it, an old man of 75 years of age was arrested by a military officer and sentenced to imprisonment for six months and to pay a fine of $350, for what? For having given a bite to eat to his son who was an alleged defaulter. This old man was a perfect gentleman; he had conducted himself well all his life, never having had to go before any magistrate. The officer took this poor, unfortunate old man, who could not readily understand the English language, before the magistrate H. W. Ferguson, and between the magistrate and the officer, a fine of $350 and imprisonment for six months was imposed on him. Is this the way in which the laws of the country should be administered? Is this justice? I do not believe it is.

I will ask the Government this question: Have the Government any after-war mandate? They were returned to power to carry on the war, and their election was ensured through this fine War-time Elections Act which was put through the House for no better purpose than to disfranchise some honest electors and at the same time to add to the list those whose votes would keep the Government in power. The way in which the soldiers' vote was distributed throughout Canada was really a disgrace to the country. This is what a returned soldier, and a good Conservative at that time, told me. I interviewed this returned soldier about February 10, last, in reference to the way in which the voting was conducted at the front at the last election. I asked him if he had any objection to tell me how the political canvass was carried on. His answer was that he had no objection to tell me, and he said, first, "We were not allowed to talk politics amongst the soldiers," second, "The instructions were given by an officer how to vote and for whom we had to vote," third, "When the names were called, an officer followed the voters to the polling booth, and the oath was administered to the voter and the ballot handed to him to vote," fourth, "In my case, the officer followed me to the polling booth, and I took the oath as required by the War-time Elections Act, and the ballot was handed to me and the said officer was looking over my shoulder. I quickly marked my ballot for the candidate I wanted to vote for; then the said officer told me to show him my ballot which was not marked for the candidate that I was instructed to vote for; then and there, I tore the ballot into small pieces and I asked for another one, which was handed to me. Then I marked my ballot for the candidate that I was instructed by the officer to vote for, and left the polling booth." Then I asked him what would happen if they had seen for whom he had marked the first ballot. He replied that he would have been punished; that he would have been removed from the position that he held and put in some other place to work at some other unpleasant jobs." Then I said to him: "You did not vote for your man?" "No," he said, "my man was Mr. Robidoux." Mr. Robidoux is the man who ran for the Union Government at the last election. Then I asked him for what county and for what candidate he had voted. He said that he could not remember. That is the way in which the voting was conducted overseas. An officer, who was in France at the time of the election and who was deputy returning officer for his company, said to me: "Just a few days before polling day, a higher officer than I came to the office where I was and said to me: "In a few days there will be a polling day; you have so many men; we want fifty votes for a certain county, twenty-five for another and so many for another, and then you have to do this." What could this man do in a case of this kind? He had to take his medicine just as the other had done. All this goes to show the kind of mandate that the Government has from the people.

Much has been said already in this debate about the high cost of living. I really believe that the Government know very little of the misery which exists to-day among the poor of this country. Otherwise they would have done something to relieve the conditions long ere this. What is the situation? It is really hard to understand how farmers and fishermen and labourers in the small settlements throughout this country can get along on their limited incomes in view of the present high cost of food stuffs, boots and shoes and clothing. My hon. friend from Prescott (Mr. Proulx) has read an extract from the press to the effect that a large quantity of food has been destroyed that was not fit for human consumption. Who was responsible for this waste? The poor would have been glad to purchase these food stuffs, but they were held by profiteers and trusts and combines until they were no longer fit for human consumption. These profiteers held them just to get a high price, but the Lord sent hot weather and it destroyed the food. I say the Government is responsible, because of its negligence in not having a proper in-

spection of cold storage warehouses in this country. I do trust that something will be done soon to relieve the situation.

What has the Government done to reduce the high cost of living? It is true that a great many commissions have been appointed which have cost the country an enormous amount of money, but what results have they got? None whatever. I hardly like to say that the profiteers, trusts and combines are running this business, but they are really doing it just the same, to the sorrow of the Canadian people.

I wish to say a few words about the loyalty of the Canadian people. I believe that all Canadian people are loyal to His Majesty, but according to hon. members on your right, Mr. Speaker, a certain number of Canadians are not loyal, especially members on this side of the House. We have done our share just as much as hon. gentlemen opposite have done, and in some respects we have done better, even though we were opposed to the Military Service Act. Was this Act absolutely necessary? I say no. In 1914, 1915, and 1916, there was no difficulty whatever in recruiting the required number of Canadian soldiers. In 1917, certain correspondence between the ex-Minister of Militia (Sir Sam Hughes) and the Prime Minister was made public showing that orders were given to let up on recruiting. Why was this order given? Everybody knows what the reason was. I say that conscription will be a dark spot in the history of Canada for all time, and I am sorry for it. As far as I am concerned I believe I have done my duty towards my King and country, and I think all hon. gentlemen on this side of the House have done their duty as well if not better than many of our friends opposite. I should like to quote the following extract from the St. John Telegraph:

Eighth Son in Khaki.

Possibly we will be less prone to criticise our fellow citizens of French extraction when we remember that it is an Acadian family which holds the New Brunswick recruiting record. Eight sons is the contribution of one Shippigan family and when we think of that mother's patriotism and then reflect upon the result of the two great recruiting meetings in St. John on Friday, there is not much ground for self-complacency.

When the 165th Battalion arrived in St. John the tall form and splendid physique of Corporal Duguay, of Shippigan, attracted the attention of the members of the ladies' committee who welcomed the battalion at the armoury, and a group shook hands with him and learned that he has the eighth brother to enlist and he modestly added that he was the smallest of the lot. Corp. Duguay is for this month in charge of the detail to look after the Soldiers' Club. Mrs. Kuhring, president of the club, has written to his mother congratulating her upon her sons, and upon her splendid patriotism.

It may be added that while the 165th Battalion were at Valcartier not one man was up for drunkenness, and no battalion had a better record for good conduct. It is up to the citizens of St. John to show their appreciation of these splendid fellows of the Acadian race, who have made so fine a record since they donned the khaki.

This family belongs to Shippigan, in Gloucester county, which my hon. friend (Mr. Turgeon) represents. In the county where I live there are many Acadian families who have sent four or five young men to the war, and there are a great many more who have sent two or three. So I think we can claim that we have done our share.

I wish to say a word in reference to public works. A certain appropriation was voted about three years ago for a telephone line from Point Sapin at the north end of the county, which is a thriving fishing and farming community, to the village of Kouchibouguac, a distance of twenty-five miles.

This line was not built, although the people were very anxious to have communication with other villages. It was a matter of great importance to them that they should be in a position to get into immediate touch by telephone with outside points, but for a considerable distance they were entirely destitute of communication and had no means of summoning a medical man with any reasonable degree of expedition. Now what happened? The contract for the hauling of the poles in connection with that line I have mentioned was given to the sons of a member of Parliament, and during last winter, the poles having been hauled in the meantime, the line was built. I had different communications with the Minister of Public Works at the time but I must confess, Mr. Speaker, that I never dreamt that such a thing could happen. The line was built from a point at Sapin to the river of Kouchibouguac, a distance of twenty miles. Observe, Sir, it was not to the village of Kouchibouguac, but to the river, and it then turned down the mouth of the Kouchibouguac, to tap a place where there was a great lobster establishment. It seems that there is a gentleman who has a large establishment in Sapin and this line was built for the sole purpose of accommodating him in his communication from one place to another. There was no doubt about the fact that this undertaking was for his exclusive purpose, for the people through the woods would derive no benefit from the line. This line was built notwithstanding the fact that it was only four miles to the village of Kouchibouguac,

where telephone connection was available, securing direct communication with all parts of the country. In view of these circumstances, Mr. Speaker, I deemed it my duty to bring this matter to the attention of the House, as one example of the manner in which public money is being expended in our part of the country.

Another word and I am through. The armistice has been signed for months, the Peace Treaty has been approved of, and the possibility of war for the next generation to come is very remote. Under these circumstances, Sir, may I not appeal to the Government on behalf of those unfortunate defaulters and prisoners who, undoubtedly through ignorance of military law, neglected to register? May I not ask that they be granted a pardon, and that those who are confined be released from further imprisonment; with, at the same time, the withdrawal from the field of military officers in pursuit of defaulters? In such a benevolent and merciful action, the Government, I am sure would, to say the least, receive the heart-felt gratitude of the fathers and mothers of these young men, and their clemency would infallibly redound to their credit.

Mr. WILLIAM FINDLAY MACLEAN (York, South): I have listened with considerable interest to the remarks of the hon. member (Mr. Leger), and from my knowledge I can thoroughly agree with him in his appreciation of the loyalty and good citizenship of the Acadians not only of New Brunswick but of other provinces. They are among the oldest citizens of Canada, and while they are French, they are, as I believe, a distinct section of that race. They have preserved their identity and have played an important part in the history of this country, and I can only bear testimony in support of what the hon. gentleman has said. But I want to say something on another question that concerns the people of Canada. The debate on the Address is my opportunity to refer to this question, and though the House be small, still my voice may be heard further than the limits of this Chamber. If one has something to say to the people of the country and is prepared to say it, let him say it in the House when the opportunity arises. In view of the fact that hon. gentlemen, and especially members of the Government, have in this and other debates directed public attention to the political situation and the political future of Canada, and while these questions are of moment and must be discussed, I am rising in my place to say, notwithstanding what they have said and the attention that has been paid in another portion of this building to the industrial situation of Canada, that the pressing problem before the people is the high cost of living. When I speak thus I am speaking on behalf not only of my own province and constituency but for the whole of Canada; and I repeat, after hearing the debate and all these discussions, that the pressing question is the high cost of living. It is the pressing question not only in Canada but in the United States; it is the pressing question in Europe and particularly in Great Britain at this very moment, and I regret that our attempt to solve this problem has not so far produced any very great results. To emphasize my position, I intend to point out what the real difference is between any effort that is made in Canada to tackle this problem of the high cost of living and the efforts that are being made in the United States. In the United States, it will be observed, while the President is for the time being engrossed in the consideration of the League of Nations and the settlement of peace, he deemed it necessary, first, to direct the whole energy of the Government of the United States—and is now so doing—to finding some sort of relief for the people of that country who are suffering, like ourselves, from the high cost of living. What view did they take of this question in the United States? They dealt with it from the standpoint of a federal question, as a duty incumbent on the whole of the United States to find a solution for the problem. We, on the other hand, have not taken such a view. We have made some headway, but I must point out—and I have directed attention to the matter a great deal in this House now for probably fifteen or twenty years—what are the differences between our methods and those that obtain in the United States? The United States have discovered that in order to deal with social and economic problems of supreme importance they must approach them as federal questions, to be dealt with by federal law, with a federal enforcement of that law. I have had discussions in this House with eminent constitutional lawyers regarding that question, and during all the time that it has been discussed in this Parliament there has been a determined effort to evade the responsibility of the Federal Parliament to deal with these matters as they are dealt with in the United States. Now, the United States has become a nation by reason of war—by reason of civil war and participa-

tion in other wars—and they have become very much united, having built up a strong federal power; and all improvements that have been made in the United States since the Civil War, improvements especially on economic and social questions, have largely been effected through the employment of federal law and making these great issues matters affecting the welfare and interest of all the people, to be settled by the Congress of the nation. Here in Canada, on the contrary, we have largely taken the ground—certainly I have not taken it—that these questions are mainly questions that pertain to the provinces and can be settled in that way, and for quite a while I have had arguments in this House with every Minister of Justice, or, as I prefer to designate him, Attorney General, and there has not been an Attorney General in this country, while I have been in the House, who has not set up the argument that these questions are not federal questions, but provincial questions that ought to be settled by provincial laws and provincial administration of them. We have not made any headway in that connection.

Many years ago we heard a great deal about certain laws that were proposed in this House, amongst them, the Election Act and things of that kind. We passed laws which, when they came to be tried out, were brought up in the Provincial Courts, but nothing was really done to establish the authority of our federal jurisdiction or to vindicate these laws in connection with the conduct of elections. We had eminent men in this House, lawyers who have left a greater reputation than probably some of our lawyers are making to-day; they were all afraid of these questions and they said these laws should be left to the Legislatures and that they should not be enacted by the Federal Parliament. It has gone on and we have had recommendations in this House that these questions ought to be dealt with by the Federal power. Some headway has been made. We have got so far that this Parliament last session passed a law to deal with the question of the high cost of living and it created a federal board of commerce. But there is a great deal of difference between the methods prescribed for our federal board of commerce and the way in which the people of the United States have dealt with this question of the high cost of living. Let me point out some of the differences that exist. In the United States, when they pass a law to bring relief to the people, they invariably put into that law a provision imposing the duty on some responsible member of the Administration to enforce it. If you analyse these laws that have brought relief to the people of the United States in a great many respects, even in connection with railways, interstate commerce and all those things, you will find in every one of them something of this kind:

> It shall be the duty of the Attorney General of the United States to enforce this law.

For the purpose of the enforcement of the law a certain sum of money is appropriated. Not only do they give the Attorney General of the United States money to employ attorneys and special agents, to obtain advice, to collect evidence and to do everything of that kind, but they place at his disposal the services of every district attorney in the United States to assist him in enforcing the law. That is what is being done there in connection with the high cost of living. Not only has the President of the United States entered upon this crusade against the high cost of living, but the Attorney General of the United States is discharging the responsibility placed upon him in connection with this matter, and he is at the head of all the prosecutions. Every district attorney in the United States is assisting him and working up evidence. They have unlimited means at their disposal for this purpose.

In the United States they have tackled this question of the high cost of living, they have created a Board of Commerce, they have created other boards, they have put them all at work, and they have voted unlimited sums of money. I forget what the last grant to Congress was, but it was a large sum, practically a blank cheque, for the President and the Attorney General to use for this purpose. The result is that the President, the Attorney General and the Board of Commerce are all working on this question of the high cost of living. Every district attorney is at it and every district attorney can bring an action in the United States courts. We do not seem to desire to have courts in Canada for the enforcement of our laws, and we do not seem to desire to have prosecuting attorneys representing the federal power.

Mr. DOHERTY: Does the hon. gentleman understand that the district attorneys in the United States are federal officials?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Yes, certainly I do, and we ought to have them here. Does

the hon. gentleman mean to say that we should not, or could not, have them in this country? That is my point. There is this significant difference between the two countries and it is a question that is confronting people in this country at the present time. Why should we not have these officials? Why should we not widen the powers of the Exchequer Court of Canada and impose upon it the duty of enforcing this high cost of living legislation? The Attorney General and the Solicitor General of Canada should have their attorneys all over the country and they should have money at their disposal, because that is the only way in which they can get results such as they are getting in the United States.

I hope we will get results in Canada, but how are we to get them when there is no real enforcement of our laws? Even if the Board of Commerce which we have in Canada has evidence of some one violating the law it cannot inflict punishment. You get a summary enforcement of the law in the United States that you cannot get here because we look to the Attorneys General of the provinces for the enforcement of the laws of this Parliament. I am not criticising the Government so much for what they have done so far as I am criticising them for not seeing that if you are living under a federal constitution here similar to that which they have in the United States, to obtain results you must have a federal organization, you must have federal courts, you must have federal prosecuting attorneys, the Attorney General of the country must be at the head of the organization, and in this respect you must follow the example of the United States.

The hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough (Mr. Sinclair), who spoke the other day pointed out these things. He did not say, when he gave his testimony, that although he had sat in this House for years and heard me make the same argument I am making here to-day he had done anything to assist me. He had never come to my assistance but public opinion is changing in these matters. I would like hon. gentlemen to recall the speech made by the hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough the other day when he dealt with this question. He pointed out all these facts and he said if they were pulling down the high cost of living it was not because the state courts were doing anything, it was not because the private individual was doing anything, but it was because the United States, headed by the President and represented by the Attorney General and assisted by the attorneys in the federal courts, were getting these results. They are getting them in the United States. The packers and all the profiteers of all kinds in the United States are rushing to their hiding places. For the first time great results in dealing with the high cost of living are being obtained in the United States. Prices are coming down. Have you seen how prices are coming down in the United States? Have you noticed the reduction in the prices of meat? That has all been obtained by the Attorney General of the United States going after the great packing firms. The trial of these great packing firms has begun in New York, the Attorney General of the United States has gone there to take charge of it, he has picked out the ablest prosecuting lawyer in the United States to assist him in it and has turned the case over to him. You can see wherever you go now that prices are tumbling in the United States. The prices of flour, beef, cold storage products and a great many things are all coming down. The law there is largely enforced in a summary way. These courts can get quick results; fines are imposed and men are being fined all over the United States for the enormous profits they are trying to take out of the people.

Take the packers. Notice has been served upon them that in all probability if they do not reduce their prices they will be wound up. They are being threatened with being wound up, and the result is that all these prices that are coming down there are coming down as a result of federal action. Now we have not got any such law in this country. As I said before we have made a beginning and we have a Board of Commerce, but there are only two or three members on it. To deal with the high cost of living in Canada to-day the Board of Commerce ought to consist of twelve or fifteen members. They ought to have, as I believe they do have, the power to appoint additional commissioners. But we are not doing that, and we are not getting a reduction in the high cost of living like they are in the United States. If we see a fall in prices in Canada, and there is a sympathetic fall coming in Canada now as a result of action in the United States—if that sympathetic fall is coming to the people of our country it is because of the action of the United States in making these issues federal issues and employing the resources, the officials, and the courts of the United States for that purpose.

Now I want to deal with another matter and that is in regard to the combines in this country. We have had a law with respect to combines in this country for years and years, and it is coming up in Ontario politics at the present moment. We went after combines in Canada and we passed a law against combines, but we put in that law what? That the enforcement of the law rested on the door-step of the Attorney General of the province and still more on the door-step of the private prosecutor. Now no private prosecutor in this country could afford, or had the courage, to go after the combines. Farmer representatives have been talking in this House, and my friends the farmers from the West have been talking, about combines in this country, but how many of them know that the combines in this country never were arraigned because we never placed the enforcement of the federal law against combinations as part of the duty of the Government or of the Attorney General of Canada?—we left it to the private prosecutor and we left it to the Attorneys General of the provinces. Even the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier told me, when I brought up this question some years ago, and I raised it in connection with my own province of Ontario, "Go to Mr. Foy," who was Attorney General of Ontario at that time. No headway was made on this question. In the United States they are getting after the combines, they are getting after the pork-packers, and in a very few days you will see a very surprising exposure of the packers as a combine in the United States, and you will see the exposure of other combines. You will find cold storage an enormous combine. You will find how the packers of the United States have been getting ahead with their plans notwithstanding that the law and the energy of the United States is against them. They have managed to secure the control of, or are gradually taking over, all the foods. They have taken over the control of the supply of rice that they bring to America. They control the rice product of the Southern States and also that of Asia. They bring the foreign rice in, and they control the southern supply, and rice has fallen into the hands of this combine of the packers of New York, and the same with a whole lot of other cereals and vegetables. As far as I can gather the packers of Chicago even control a number of the large hotels in New York, and their combines threaten to become even greater. So great do they threaten to become that at last the United States Government has risen to a realization of its duty. It is going after these combines of all kinds, and is going after these high prices, and is trying to bring relief to the people of the Republic who are suffering from high prices just as we are suffering. But the United States is doing it by federal law, federal money, and federal officials in federal courts, and it is not passing the buck to the state government or to the private prosecutor. How can any private prosecutor in this country, how can any farmers' association even, let alone a single farmer, get after the combinations in trade, get after the combines? We have had a combine law on our statute-book for years and years. Hon. gentlemen opposite, when they were in power, went after the combines, but they never touched the root of the matter. As I state here to-day and as I tell the housekeepers of Canada who are complaining of these enormous charges, these high charges: You will never get relief until this is made a federal issue and brought into federal politics. We must do that now in the same way that they have done it in the United States. So that it won't do for hon. gentlemen to go home to their constituencies and say: "We have done something, we have passed this kind of law." But you have not tackled the real question, you have not gone to the root of the matter; and I challenge my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition and his followers, just as I challenge the Government, to say if they ever hope to regulate the high cost of living and to bring relief to the people, as against the combines, as against the high prices, unless they make it a federal issue. We have got to make it a federal issue, and the people in Toronto and in Ontario are getting to see that. A request was made by our Board of Commerce the other day on the Government of Ontario to assist them in bringing some relief. They are admitting the situation, but they have not got the power, the real power; they have not got the means, they have not got the officials, and, consequently are not getting any results from this law so far. I believe a beginning has been made, and I give the Board of Commerce every credit for dealing the other day with sugar. They are going to deal with some other matters, and one of the commissioners is holding court in Toronto; but I want to tell this House and I want to tell the Board of Commerce that I think they will be hamstrung in no time because they have not got sufficient law, and it is largely a farce in this country. If our people

expect to get relief with such a law as we have to-day, it must be strengthened, and we must look at what they are doing in the United States. I am not going into a lot of detail about the matter, but I want to draw a contrast in this House as I have drawn a contrast out of it, and I am gradually getting the people to listen to me. It is a new view perhaps of our politics in this country, but the new view is this: the great power, and the only power, for progress in this country is the federal power, with federal machinery and federal money, and that those who are at the head of our Government and who take the responsibility of governing Canada, must also undertake the responsibility of passing laws and providing machinery for the enforcement of these laws.

Reference has been made to the high cost of rents in this country. I do not know whether that is quite a federal question or how it can be brought into public consideration, but it will have to be dealt with. The high cost of rents, and a great many other things, were dealt with by Great Britain during the war, and they got results. In Great Britain they fixed prices and they compelled people to respect those prices. They regulated profits and they brought people in and made them show their cost sheets, and that is what the federal Board of Commerce of Canada ought to be doing to-day. In respect of all these prices which are alleged to be overcharges the people responsible ought to be compelled to go into some public office, or to some public official, show their profits, and have it determined whether their charges are reasonable. If they are not reasonable give the offenders twenty-four hours to change them, and if they do not, then fine them or put them in jail. They are getting results in the United States, as the hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) pointed out here—any one can see it who reads the papers—they are getting results by fining the men who are making these exorbitant charges; they are putting them in jail, and they are threatening to put them out of business.

I venture to say that if the packers of Chicago do not pretty soon go a step further and make other reductions, the President will take over their plants in the public interest. I go further and predict that the United States Government will before very long take over the whole of the Standard Oil business and make it a national proposition; and it is not at all unlikely that if they find the Steel Trust is acting unfairly towards its men, or is charging exorbitant prices, they will take it over too.

But to my mind the only cure for these great economic evils that have come to the front in these war times is to enact a Federal law and have summary enforcement of that law. You cannot hang up these questions and leave them to somebody else to deal with; you cannot, in other words, leave the provinces to take action. Profiteers must be prosecuted by a federal official in a federal court, and, if found guilty, they must be punished immediately if we want to get results. We have, in fact, got to change our whole system, and follow the example set by the United States. It won't do to tell me—and I think I have some appreciation of the fact—that there are great differences between the Constitution of the United States and our Constitution. The criminal law is under Dominion jurisdiction, and it would fairly follow that we ought to enforce it. The argument has been advanced in this House that as the provinces enforce part of the law we ought to leave them to enforce the remainder. That is not logical at all. While there may be difficulties to overcome, we must adapt our Constitution so that we can obtain the same results as are being obtained in the United States. I can understand that some of the provinces might take objection to the course I am suggesting. But that is not the question. It is not a matter of constitutional interpretation. It is a matter of the protection of the people and bringing them relief from the evils under which they are suffering, and if the Constitution does not admit of federal action, then let us have the Constitution changed.

If any lawyer tells me that our Constitution cannot be changed as against provincial rights I want him—and I am no lawyer myself—to stand up and tell me how it was done in the United States. It was done by gradual changes in the interpretation of the law by the federal courts. They did not even change the law, but they
5 p.m. evolved the practice gradually, until now the great power over there is the federal law. That law can redress almost any grievance. Do you know how they got after the men who caused those frightful dynamite explosions in the United States a few years ago? There were state laws against such crimes, but they were ineffective, and the federal authorities dealt with the trouble through the jurisdiction they have over transportation and commerce. They simply passed a little statute,

that whoever was guilty of using dynamite that had been transported from one state to another came within the jurisdiction of the federal law. Those guilty of the outrages were arrested and convicted, and the trouble ceased; but that result could never have been accomplished by state law.

Recently we have been told a great deal about constitutional development in this country, and I have in mind many clear-cut deliverances on the subject during this session. It seems to me that a similar development is possible along other lines that will bring relief from the evils we are now suffering. Therefore, even if my voice reaches only a few hon. members here, I hope it will carry a little further and reach the people who are now suffering from the high cost of living, and that they will realize that the only relief possible to them is by enlarging the personnel of the Board of Commerce and having our Attorney General get busy. I think we ought to call our Minister of Justice our Attorney General much oftener than we do. We have also got a Solicitor General. What is he doing? Has any one seen him lately? Why did not the Solicitor General get busy on this question when the Minister of Justice was over in Europe on important business? Over in England they have a Solicitor General, and he is in the courts all the time enforcing the law for the protection of the people; the same practice, I understand, obtains in Scotland and in Ireland. That is what we want in this country.

I want the people to ask hon. members when they go back to their constituents—hon. members on this side and hon. members on the Opposition side—to ask all of us why we cannot have here the process that they have in the United States for getting after profiteers, and if they have it in England why cannot we have it here? Bear in mind that for fifty years we have never got any kind of results in these matters by trusting to the provinces to take action. We have made a start, but we are ashamed of our start—we are ashamed to recognize the Board of Commerce as clothed with federal responsibility. Even when we organized the board we did not clothe it with sufficient power. We should have given it the power of summarily fining profiteers. I want to tell the public how my friend the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) made his reputation in the western provinces in dealing with cattle thieves. He stamped them out by a summary administration of the law.

[Mr. W. F. Maclean.]

I would like to see the Attorney General (Mr. Doherty), and the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton), notwithstanding his other pressing duties in connection with the Treaty and with the department that he now has in hand, to sit down and deal with this pressing question. The project of the Prime Minister and the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) going over to England just as soon as they can to establish Canada as an independent nation, or as a member of a League of Nations within the British Empire, is not the pressing question. The pressing question is to apply federal treatment to the high cost of living and the high cost of rent, and the regulation of abnormal profits made by a lot of our industries under war conditions. The question of capitalization of companies is another thing to which this Parliament should direct attention, although we have been told that it is no concern of ours.

These are matters for our consideration; we must have a law regulating them, and there never will be a law to regulate them unless it be a federal law and unless federal jurisdiction is taken over them. These are questions that the people are thinking about and that must be dealt with. In my constituency there are well-to-do people, some of them farmers, some of them living in the cities; but I want people to meet the letter carrier in the service of the country who is getting pretty good pay in comparison with what he used to get, and I want them to meet the man who works on the railway and hear from them what they think about the high cost of living. Every time I travel by train, I take the opportunity of speaking to the brakeman or other railwayman, and I find that the great concern for him is the high cost of living. Some of them are old constituents of mine who, before the adjustment of the constituency, lived in West Toronto, and they tell me that this is what they do as they go up and down on the train; they give somebody a dollar or fifty cents to buy something out of the packing plant at Peterborough as they pass through, because they can get what they want for a little less than they have to pay for it in the stores at Toronto. That is evidence of the strain under which the people are living to-day. While they are receiving higher pay, they are being charged more than they should be, and there is too great a spread between what the packer pays to the farmer for an animal and what he charges the consumer. The game of the packer in the United States is the same as in this country, name-

ly, to get a great spread between what he gives the raiser of the product and what he charges the consumer. The capitalization of these companies, their profits and so on must be regulated by federal law.

The soldiers of the country are knocking at the door for some kind of relief, and what is their argument when you sift it down? I have in my pocket letters from these men and I talk to them when they come and see me when I am at home. They compare their treatment in fighting for this country and for the safety of democracy and the world, as it has been said—and I think they have had pretty fair treatment in some respects as compared with the soldiers of other countries—with the liberty that is given to the profiteer in this country, especially the profiteer who sells the necessaries of life. We shall not get away from these soldiers or from the working people who have these grievances, unless this Parliament, as representing the people of Canada, takes the American view of the efficacy of federal intervention and federal laws in regard to these questions. While this may not be interesting conversation and while it may not be regarded with much favour, the only question about which I wish to speak in the event of an election is the high cost of living. While the farmers have been getting high prices for what they sold to the packers and to the public and may thus have been getting some benefit out of the high cost of living, they have been suffering in the same way from having to pay high prices for what they require. I am a good deal of a protectionist and I want to see industries built up, because to build up our country we must have industries, but the man who wishes to enjoy the benefit of tariff, must show that because of the tariff he does not charge exorbitant prices. In the last day or two cases of exorbitant prices being charged have been brought to our attention, but we do not go after these people; we let them get away; we do not get results, and we leave these "combinesters" as heretofore to provincial law. Perhaps I am wearying the House and perhaps I may be thought a crank; but when I started first I could not get one man to listen to me, although now the man who is Prime Minister has said: Perhaps there is something in this question that the hon. member for South York brings forward in regard to federal law and federal enforcement of federal law as the proper solution of a great many of our economic and social questions. This view is beginning to spread throughout the country, and when hon. members—I do not care whether they are Unionist or Conservative or Liberal or whatever they are—go back to their constituencies, they must explain to the people, as I am going to explain as well as I may, the difference between relying upon provincial law and relying upon enforcing federal laws. A little more explanation in regard to the matter may be necessary, but it will not take long to discuss it in the press. The Toronto newspapers used to laugh at this idea of federal enforcement of federal law, but their views have changed, and within the last two years they have all come round to my view, just as the hon. member for Antigonish (Mr. Sinclair) came round to it the other day. He is a lawyer and he listened for years to all this buncombe in the House to the effect that we could not do anything because the enforcement of law was a provincial matter, but he has changed his views. The Manitoba Free Press, a paper that has great influence in the West, confessed that nothing was to be gained unless we had practically the same law and the same machinery that the United States has. Again I want to tell hon. gentlemen that the main question to-day is the high cost of living; the next question is the civil re-establishment of the soldier. These questions are being discussed in practically every house throughout this country, and yet here I am talking to an almost empty House in regard to these great issues. But, Sir, this is not going to continue much longer. As I say, the newspapers have changed their views, the Attorneys General are beginning to see that this is an issue, and we cannot sit still in the light of developments. that are going on in the United States and view complacently the relief that the American Government is getting for the people without taking direct action ourselves. We can see the Chicago grain and provision market quotations tumbling every day. We have to-day the possibility of cheaper feed for the Canadian cattle because of the attention that is being given by the United States federal authorities to the price of grain, of provisions and of other commodities. It is not a nice thing to have to say that the relief that is coming to-day to Canada in regard to high prices and in the way of improving the condition of the farmer is being worked out in the United States.

So much for the high cost of living. I have another subject to which I should like to refer for a moment. We have gone in for nationalization of railways in this country and we have made a great deal of pro-

gress. I want to give the Government credit for what they have done, and I hope it is true that they are about to acquire the Grand Trunk, because with the acquisition of the Grand Trunk we shall be able to link up a national system that will be owned by the people for the people. I hope this policy will have the support of the farmers of the Canadian West, as I believe it will. The United States Government have tried an experiment and they have made some headway or, as some people say, some mistakes, because while they took over the railways during the war, it is now proposed that they return them. To those people who read what is now being sent out to the Canadian people and to the people of the United States in regard to the railways, namely, that President Wilson made a great mistake and that enormous sums of money were lost by taking over the railroads, let me say that that is not quite true and does not quite represent public opinion in the United States, because the dominant vote in that country to-day is the farmers' vote; it was the farmers of the United States who made Wilson President, and a great deal of splendid legislation has been passed in the United States since Wilson came into office. The farmers have now a Council of Agriculture similar to that which we have in the West, and the Council of Agriculture in the United States not long ago passed, on behalf of all the farmers of the United States whom they represent, a motion that they were in favour of the nationalization of the railways of that country. You do not hear much about that. There is too much news in the newspapers these days that conceal the facts.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: But there are a few papers in this country that do sometimes bring out some facts. Another thing that has come out in the United States is that organized labour there is in favour of the nationalization of railways; so we are making no mistake in this country when we nationalize our railways. The Government is to-day the largest owners of railways in this country, having a greater mileage than the Canadian Pacific, and when we get the Grand Trunk we shall probably have three miles to their two. Now that we are committed to this proposition we must deal with it. Here we have these national railways, but unfortunately we are not boasting of them; we are not telling the people "Travel on your own lines; give them your business; they are yours; help them out." We have made no great public announcement yet of the public ownership of our great system of railways, and the sooner we begin to boost that idea the better for everybody.

We shall have to link up the various branches of our railway system, and strike out a lot of unnecessary trackage. We shall have to dismiss a lot of unnecessary officials, ticket officers, and a lot of freight solicitors and that kind of thing. We must unify the system. It is a great national proposition, and we should be proud of it and urge the people to use their own railways. Then we will give relief to all Canada, and especially the farmers of the West, once the system has been made a great success.

There is another thing, and that is, if we wish to hold our own in the markets of the world we must have national shipping, because every dollar we now get for the farmers of Canada in the way of reduced freight rates by reason of federal action is taken away immediately by shipping interests on the Atlantic. I hope that we will come to some kind of an arrangement whereby we will not only control freights on the Atlantic but have a system of national shipping of our own. It is the only way to build up this country. It may be radical. It may be worse than radical; it may be Bolshevik, but there are a great many people in this country who think that the only way to deal with the transportation business of this country is by nationalization both on land and sea.

We have another thing in connection with the railways in this country, and we seem to be ashamed of it, and that is, the great telegraph system in connection with the railways we own and those we have taken over. We have never linked them up into a national system of telegraphs. They are still carrying on under the name of the Great Northwestern Telegraph company. Let us say immediately: "We are in the national railway and telegraph business; we propose to unify the system and put it in the hands of capable men who will never be interfered with by politicians on one side or the other; the system will be run absolutely for the service of the public." When the people of Canada know that we have these national railways and telegraphs they will use them, and when that is done, whether we get the Grand Trunk or not, we will be the leaders of the world in the nationalization of railways. All I hope and pray for is that we will as we can make

a success of the system. Canadians can make a success of anything they put their hands to; they made a success of the great war, so far as their part in it was concerned. I have faith in my country to deal with this question. Men are going around saying and it is being said in the newspapers, "You cannot trust Canadians to nationalize railways or telegraphs." What I deplore is that we have not got results yet in connection with the Grand Trunk. I hope that results will come soon, but whether they do or do not, I do not want to see any more of the indecision and delay that has taken place since we took over the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific. We have the Intercolonial, the Canadian Northern, and the Grand Trunk Pacific, and we should have had them unified even without the Grand Trunk. If we are not going to have the Grand Trunk right away, let us go ahead and nationalize the lines we have. Let there be no more of this delay, because in the meantime our chief rival is the great Canadian Pacific, and while we are doing nothing in the way we should do they are getting ahead. A little more of that inattention will make the people distrustful of our roads. Let us at once unify the roads we have. Let us take up the unnecessary tracks all over the country and put them in new settlements where they are required. Let us have a national system of railways just as soon as we can, and ask the people to patronize their own roads and their own telegraphs and make the national system the enormous success it can be made.

Mr. CANNON: Where will the Government get the money to buy the Grand Trunk?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: It does not need any money; I am sorry for my hon. friend. I think I floored the present member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) when this railway question was up twenty-three years ago. I told him then, when they were putting a Bill through this House to allow the Canadian Pacific to increase greatly its capitalization, which was a crime against the country then, and it is more so to my mind to-day: "I will get you the whole of the railways in Canada on the undertaking of one dollar, "—and, you could have got those railways on that undertaking. It is not a money proposition, but a substitution of securities, with a revaluation in connection with that substitution. So it does not require any money.

Mr. CANNON: What about the Canadian Northern?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: It cost us something to take it over, and we had to get the money. I would have done it some other way. I was not responsible for that, but the payment was justified, to my mind. It got us out of a difficulty, and we got the railway. We will have to give an undertaking to the Grand Trunk, in the way of an annual charge. You cannot do things without money. You cannot govern a country without money. You have to get the money for your budget.

Mr. DEVLIN: I attribute to my hon. friend, having heard him for years advocating public ownership, the present public ownership of our railways. Can he give us any reason for the great deficits we have had since we have taken over the railways?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: We have had great deficits, as they have had in the United States, because of the war. We have not had an opportunity of putting economic administration into force, and that is what I am trying to preach here to-day.

Now I come to the Budget. Our debt is enormous. In England, too, the question to-day is, how are we going to meet the Budget? There is only one way to meet it, and that is by saving. The Government of the day must tackle these questions on the line of economy. When we give an account of our stewardship the people of this country are going to ask us, "What did you do with our money? What savings did you effect?

I have no interest in ascertaining whether Canada is one of the galaxy of nations, but I am interested, and the people of this country are interested, to know how we are going to meet our budget. And the way in which we can meet it is by cutting down expenses. In Britain to-day they are reducing expenses, particularly in connection with the army and navy. Only a fraction of the navy is to be left, and the Prime Minister of England, as appears in the papers this morning, had to apologize to the gallant men who comprised the personnel of the navy for the fact that they had to go because they could not be maintained. I say, Sir, that we have to go through our budget with a fine-toothed comb and cut down our expenses, and we must cut down the expenditure in the different departments of Government. We may have to increase our budget on the whole because there are some new things we have got to do for which money is required, but for the present

what the people want is economy in public administration, economy in the various departments. I have had to economize in my business, as other men have had to during the war. It is a hard thing to do and as a matter of fact all did not succeed. I happened to run a farm, and whereas five years ago, before the war, I could get a good man for $25 or $30 a month with board, I cannot get a man for less than $70 and board to-day, and it costs a dollar a day to board a man on the farm. Altogether a farm-hand costs you $100 a month and in some places more than that. Every individual must go through his own budget with a view to economy, and the nation must do the same thing. If we are over-manned in the departments of Government we must take remedial action. We had high plans in Canada not long ago for making Ottawa a great capital. We were to have great avenues, and with every avenue there was to be a big departmental gothic building of some kind which was to be full of employees. But we have only just completed the new administrative building which the Government in their wisdom have erected on Queen street, and which is a modern building consisting of nothing but steel, bricks and concrete, and light. We have been talking for twenty years of making this a great capital with great buildings at the end of avenues, buildings with gothic windows but with a total absence of light and full of cubby holes. In these days we should follow the example of great corporations and have large buildings ten or fifteen stories high with elevator systems and plenty of light all over, so that the employees and the chiefs in charge of these departments would be in the public eye. You should go into a room and see fifty clerks working all the time, not reading the newspapers but working under the eye of the chief, who should also be in the sight of the public. Then you would see business going on. We have overhauled our system here in accordance with this plan and I am glad to read that the Government have taken a competent staff of business engineers, as they are called, to help them in re-constructing and re-organizing the departments. There must be more economy; we must cut down expenditure on public works. We may have to pay our clerks and employees more money, but one way in which we can give some relief is to bring about a reduction in the cost of living. This is an absolutely new world after the war, and none of the pre-war ideas will hereafter obtain. You and I and all of us will be judged by the kind of service we give the people.

We have a pressing problem knocking at the door; the soldiers and the people are knocking for relief. Constitutional questions amount to little in such a crisis. My memory goes back to the beginning of Confederation and men like Edward Blake, Dalton McCarthy, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier at times have talked largely about constitutional questions, but economic questions are the questions to-day. They are the questions that are stirring up the farmers, and the high cost of living is what is biting me in my own business every minute of my life. It is what is biting in the household of every citizen in the country. Economic questions are the questions of moment, and not constitutional or lawyers' questions, although they are involved. You hear about economic and social questions on the street wherever you go, and yet we are not dealing with them in this Parliament. Since the war, how active has Parliament been in connection with these economic questions? We have talked about election acts and things of that kind and we are in trouble about some of them now, but what demands our immediate attention is the solution of the economic questions of the hour. Weakling as I am, and unimportant citizen of the country though I may be, or as a great many people try to make out that I am, I still have the courage to stand up in this Parliament of Canada and appeal to this Government and to Parliament to deal with these economic questions. We are in session now and the people expect us to deal with the high cost of living, with unfair profiteering, and with the question of the capitalization of companies.

Mr. COWAN: What are your plans? Tell us what you are doing.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Did you not hear me? I think I have said a lot of things and I have aroused the hon. gentleman's curiosity. Perhaps he has been asleep and has just awakened. Rip Van Winkles always wake up if somebody makes a noise.

Mr. COWAN: I wish you would wake up.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: The hon. gentleman has wakened up. I wish he would talk that way in my constituency and he would see who is the live man of the two. Perhaps he does not want to listen. These are questions that ought to be dealt with, and any one who brings them up always has the question thrown at him: What is

your plan? Well, the responsibility is not on me. My responsibility is to say what I can, and if the hon. gentleman has a better plan I hope he will take charge of the administration and bring in something to deal with these matters, because the people of Canada expect action. Does the hon. gentleman think I am right in saying that our people are suffering from the high cost of living?

Mr. COWAN: Certainly I do.

Mr. MACLEAN: Does he propose then to see the Government of Canada follow the example of the United States and make this question a Federal issue and bring these people to time to reduce the cost of living?

Mr. COWAN: Has not the Government established a Board of Commerce?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: They have established it, but the President and the Attorney General and all the attorneys of the United States are bringing offenders into court and fining them, and you cannot fine them in the Canadian courts unless you do it through the provinces.

Mr. COWAN: Have you any plan?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. If the hon. gentleman desires to put a question he should rise in his place.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: This is probably the way to bring out the debate, Mr. Speaker, and I enjoy it. If the hon. gentleman has a better proposal than mine he may unfold it to the House and perhaps he will deal with these issues I have raised, and deal with them from the point of view of the farmers of the country and the general public as well. I am trying in my own simple way to present this case to the people, and I think I have had some attention here this afternoon. If we have secured any governmental action in this country, if we have a court of commerce, it is largely owing to a few poor incompetents like myself who have been for years talking in this strain with the result that we have made a little headway. We thank the Government for the headway we have got but we want more.

We have not the Minister of Finance in the House although I have been talking about the Budget. The coming Minister of Finance will have the greatest problems to deal with that any Minister of Finance in this country has ever had to face. These problems arise by reason of this war and by reason of the money that must be raised. On former occasions I have directed, as I again direct, the attention of the House to the fact that we will have, in order to meet our budgets and to deal with the financial question, to make a change and to confess to the change that we have made. There must be some difference in our laws in regard to banking and currency. We have a considerable amount of inflation and we have not quite admitted it. We have inflated our currency by the issue of federal notes and we are practically on a paper currency basis. We cannot get away from it and yet in some way we have to overtake it. We may even have to issue more paper currency to pull us through. We may have to change our banking laws, to encourage deposits, to establish real postal savings banks and to allow our depositors, our farmers, to keep their accounts in the postal savings banks and to take their money out by cheque. In that way, perhaps there will be more deposits at the disposal of the Government than there are to-day. We have heard strange doctrines preached in the West with regard to the banking and currency laws. I am making no suggestions at this moment but in the coming session of this House, and when we have our new Finance Minister in his seat, we will have to face these questions. These questions relating to banking and currency are important and pressing and I hope this House will deal with them.

If I can only in a faint way arouse interest in the House, as I know I have aroused interest in the country in these living questions, I will have done something. I apologize for having taken up the time of the House in dealing with these questions. Yet I think I am doing my duty here to-day. Unfortunately, it is a duty which is not being done. There are men much abler than I to deal with these questions and yet I feel, as I have felt often before, that it is necessary for me to get up in this House and speak about these questions. Some headway has been made. A feeling that something has been accomplished comes to those of us who started some years ago to direct public attention to these questions and especially to direct attention to the one great thing that we have ignored for fifty years since Confederation, that relief in regard to these great economic, and many social questions, is only to be obtained in the Parliament of Canada as it is being obtained to-day in

the federal legislature of the United States, and in the British Parliament. We feel that in this respect we have at least done something. I have been speaking to-day especially in behalf of the people of Canada who are suffering under this high cost of living and these immense profits that are being reaped by those who are in business. While I regret that I have had to take up so much of the time of the House yet I am not ashamed of what I have done because of the pressing importance of the matters with which I have dealt.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. HENRI E. LAVIGUEUR (Quebec County): Mr. Speaker, I wish first of all to congratulate the mover and seconder of the Address in reply to the speech from the Throne upon the admirable manner in which they acquitted themselves of the duty entrusted to them and the fine speeches to which they gave utterance. I regret, however, that the practice of Parliament in having one of those speeches delivered in the French language was departed from. Was it not possible, Mr. Speaker, to find at least one hon. gentleman among the supporters of the Government capable of moving or seconding the Address in one of the official languages of this country? Surely on the occasion of such an important session as the present, the Government should have made it a point to see that both languages were used.

Since the last session of Parliament great events have happened in the Dominion. One of the most striking was that, by the privilege of His Majesty the King, we have had the honour of a visit from His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales who, during his short stay so far in this country, has won the admiration and the affection of the people of Canada. As soon as it was officially announced that Canada was to be favoured with a visit from His Royal Highness, Quebec, through its mayor and council, took occasion to request that the Prince should come to the old fortress city. This great privilege was granted to us and we had the honour of having the Prince of Wales in our midst for four days. The civic welcome to the Prince by Quebec was most noteworthy and the sympathetic and democratic demeanour of His Royal Highness aroused the admiration of all. On the occasion of his visit the Prince charmed and delighted the French population of Quebec province and especially the inhabitants of the Ancient Capital, by the felicitous manner in which he responded in good French to the welcome accorded to him.

In complying with the request of the citizens to inaugurate the Quebec Bridge, His Royal Highness participated in one of the greatest events that ever has occurred in Quebec and he won once more the admiration of our people by the delicate manner in which he responded again in perfect French to the address of our citizens.

The calling of the present session on the first of September last was somewhat of a surprise to a good many hon. members. Although we have been told that it may be a short session, it is one of the most momentous that has been held since Confederation by reason of the importance of the treaties submitted to the House for ratification or approval. It is to be regretted that members did not have the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the terms of the Peace Treaty until the session itself began, and that the French translation was not placed in the hands of the French members until forty-eight hours thereafter. We were told that this document had to be approved by this Parliament within two or three days, and that the Peace Treaty must be accepted in the form in which it was submitted as it had been so signed by His Majesty. There was a general desire on the part of members of the House, especially hon. gentlemen composing the Opposition, to express their views on this important document, but in view of the limited time accorded, many members on this side had to renounce that intention. However, I wish to congratulate the hon. member for Queen's and Shelburne (Mr. Fielding) and the hon. member for Kamouraska (Mr. Ernest Lapointe) upon the amendment which they presented to the House. True, that amendment was defeated but it will find a place in the annals of Parliament, epitomizing as it does our views on the great constitutional question involved.

Very important speeches were also delivered on both sides of the House by the hon. the President of the Privy Council, the hon. the Minister of Justice and by the hon. members for Kamouraska, Shelburne and Queen's, and Maisonneuve, and others who brought up arguments of great importance. I notice however that the speeches delivered by the President of the Privy Council and the Honourable the Minister of Justice, who

were our representatives in Europe, do not seem to agree and that they do not seem to give the same interpretation and signification to some clauses of the Treaty.

I would have been pleased, Mr. Speaker, to see in the programme of this important session, more items of vital interest for our country. I would have been pleased to see measures to improve the economic conditions of our country. I would have been pleased to see vigourous steps being taken by the Government to put an end to actual conditions. The people are alarmed by the continual increase in the cost of living and nothing seems to be done to improve the situation, except by naming commissions and by creating positions or sinecures with big salaries for the friends of the Government. I would have been pleased also to see in the programme of this session a measure regarding the War Veterans with the object of improving their condition. I do not feel that the country is in a position of granting entirely the demands submitted to the Prime Minister by the War Veterans, but I think that the demands made should have been carefully investigated. I don't think that the request for the appointment of a commission should have been refused. It should have been granted and a careful investigation and adjustment made of the demands of our glorious soldiers who so nobly fought for our country.

The organization for the new loan is now going on. Let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, that I am pleased to see that the Government, who committed such a mistake in the last victory loan by exempting the victory bonds from taxation, thus favouring the large capitalists and speculators of the country of an exemption of taxations when the poor and small people had to pay heavy taxes, have recognized their mistake and have amended by floating the present loan without exemption of taxation, so as to give more justice to eevrybody.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that the economic position of this country should receive the solicitude of the Government, who should look very closely into all matters and give good example by seeing that the people's money is not wasted in public works and other matters as it has been the case in late years. I want particularly to draw the attention of the Government to the manner in which public works have been carried on in Quebec and how millions of dollars have been wasted. I wish particularly to draw the attention of every member of this House and to ask them to investigate the situation in Quebec and judge by themselves, as have done some members from the West whom we had the honour to receive in our city some weeks ago and who have taken advantage of a view at close range of the situation I speak of. I am sure that if more members were acquainted with the situation, active steps would be taken to prevent so much public money being wasted in Quebec, and elsewhere.

I wish to draw the attention of the House, Mr. Speaker, to the way in which public money has been wasted since 1911, and particularly to direct attention to the situation in Quebec city. In 1910 the Government formed a commission, known as the National Transcontinental Commission, with the Hon. S. N. Parent as chairman, for the purpose of constructing the National Transcontinental railway. It became necessary to decide on the best site for the Terminal in Quebec city, and after very careful consideration the commission in consultation with eminent experts of the railway and steamship lines interested in the matter, came to the conclusion that the Champlain Market site, with an area of 230,000 square feet and fronting on the St. Lawrence river, was best adapted for the purpose. The Government then decided to proceed immediately with the work of construction, and a contract was signed for the building of a union station at a cost of $750,000. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that this very valuable site was the property of the city of Quebec. The city was very reluctant to part with the property, which it valued at $250,000, but in response to a request from the Government the city consented, after serious and careful consideration, to grant the property in order to facilitate the erection of the Union Station, and a contract was entered into in August, 1910, between the Government and the city under which the Government agreed to build the Union Station, to spend not less than $2,000,000 on the St. Lawrence river frontage in docks, tidewater wharves and elevators, and to build, on the main line of the National Transcontinental, railway workshops at a cost of $2,000,000. The Government then purchased three miles of frontage on the St. Lawrence river at a cost of $2,000,000, and built the railway from the Quebec bridge to the Champlain Market, a distance of six miles. After the change of Government in 1911 the Conservative Government cancelled the contract for the erection of the Union station, all the plans which had been the study of

expert men were abandoned, and a small Union station was built in partnership with the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Had the original plans been carried out the National Transcontinental would have had a railway yard of 12,000,000 square feet, area, free of street crossings, instead of the restricted accommodation which they are now using in conjunction with their competitor, the present yard having an area of only 1,000,000 square feet, and as it is only 1,000 feet in length, every freight train, while passing through the yard, blocks the most important streets and greatly inconveniences local vehicular and pedestrian traffic.

The Government, after they had laid out what they called a general plan for the city of Quebec, decided to go on with some other great improvements, including improvements in the St. Charles river at Quebec. Owing to the fact that the city had handed over to the Government our property, consisting of the Champlain market, the city of Quebec had to provide for another market and also for the accommodation of small craft and boats. After the Government had given serious consideration to the work on the St. Charles river for fifteen or twenty years, they decided to proceed with the construction of the lock, and the dredging of the river, and a contract was entered into in 1912 with the firm of Quinlan and Robertson, of Quebec. The Government at the time told the city of Quebec that they were disposed to proceed with the work on the St. Charles river, but that they had some conditions to impose on the city. They asked the city of Quebec if they were willing to renounce all claim for damage that might, by raising the level of the water, be caused to the sewers which empty into the St. Charles river. The city of Quebec agreed to this, and an agreement was entered into and signed between the Government and the city, and then the Government granted a contract to the firm of Quinlan and Robertson, which proceeded with the work. In answer to a question which I put to the ex-Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) on the 31st of March, 1919, I was told that the contract "was originally suspended on account of the war, but now the question of continuing and completing the work is left for future consideration." I also asked the minister what was the amount spent to date for the St. Charles river works, and the minister's reply was $1,683,094.16. Moreover, my information is that the Government, in cancelling the contract with the Quinlan and Robertson company, have acquired all the plants of that firm at a cost of pretty nearly $300,000, which means an expenditure by the Government of about $2,000,000 on the St. Charles river. The Government, if my information is correct, are selling the plants by auction on the 21st instant, and I suppose they will realize 25 or 30 per cent of the amount expended in purchasing them. As I have stated, the Government, after expending on the St. Charles river $2,000,000, have decided, for no reason whatever, to suspend this work. We told the Government that we were urging that this work on the St. Charles river should be proceeded with, and that the city of Quebec relied on the good faith of the Government that the work would be done, and the promise of the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), who came to our city in 1913 when the citizens of Quebec tendered a banquet at the Chateau Frontenac to him and his colleagues, the Hon. Mr. Rogers, the Hon. Mr. Cochrane, the Hon. Mr. Hazen and the Hon. L. P. Pelletier, the minister then representing the district of Quebec. The Prime Minister came to Quebec at that time to inaugurate the works on the St. Charles river, to inaugurate the works on the Transcontinental, and to lay the corner stone of the St. Malo workshops. He told us that was only the beginning of large expenditures which the Government felt justified in proceeding with immediately in the city of Quebec. All these works have been suspended, and I wish here, for the information of the House, to put on record the declarations and promise made to the citizens of Quebec by the Prime Minister and his colleagues on the 22nd October, 1913. The Prime Minister spoke as follows:

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen:

Will you permit me in the first place to express my grateful appreciation and warm acknowledgment of the kindness and hospitality of my fellow-citizens of this city in tendering me this banquet and in extending to me so cordial a welcome and reception. Whether we worship at the same altar, whether we are affiliated with one political party or the other, we are all united by a proud confidence in the resources of our country, in the possibilities of their development, in the freedom of our institutions and in the greatness of Canada's destiny.

Welcome an Inspiration.

Your welcome is of itself an inspiration but apart from that one cannot fail to be inspired by the memories of the past when visiting this city. Here, more than three hundred years ago were laid the foundations of the Canada of to-day. If even in later years and since the birth of this Dominion it required faith and courage to persevere in this task transmitted to us by the founders of Confederation, how shall we estimate the faith, the courage, and

the strong purpose of those who consecrated their energies and their lives in reclaiming for the cause of Christianity and civilization what was then a vast wilderness in this western world. May the soul and purpose of our nation ever be strengthened by the memory of the ideals which inspired the pioneers of Canada when first they undertook the task which is now committed to our keeping.

Quebec is thus unique among Canadian cities, in the associations and traditions to which I have alluded. But apart from these, when one considers its majestic situation, at the portal of the greatest inland waterway of the world, its commanding position at the head of the Gulf of St. Lawrence which lies like a great land-locked ocean almost at your feet, the vast territory largely undeveloped which lies tributary to this city, and the unbounded opportunities for the development of industry and of commerce which are thus afforded, one realizes the immense importance that this harbour should be so developed and equipped as to enable it to compete on at least even terms with any port on this continent for a legitimate share of the world commerce flowing to and from our shores.

Whatever differences may exist between the policies of political parties in Canada, I am sure they will be found united in the view that the great national ports of this country should be adequately equipped for the purpose which I have stated. It is in this view that I desire to set forth to you to-night the works which the Government deem necessary and which they have already undertaken for the proper equipment and development of this harbour.

Must look well ahead.

In approaching a question, one realizes that we must build not for to-day or to-morrow or for ten years hence, and that no proposals can be regarded as adequate unless they are so comprehensive in their character as to permit of proper extension to meet the necessities of the large future. We can estimate to some extent the probable development within a few years; but one would need a prophetic vision to foresee the enormous increase in our commerce and the equipment necessary to cope with it during the life-time of even a single individual. Considering the resources of this country, still on the eve of development and the population flowing in marvelous streams to our shores, one may conjecture that the bright eyes of children to-day at play in your streets may still be undimmed when this Dominion shall have surpassed in population the British Islands, or that favoured land from which came the ancestors of more than two million Canadians.

Transcontinental Works.

The approaching completion of the National Transcontinental Railway naturally render it important and even urgent that every needful facility and equipment should be provided without necessary delay. Let me put before you in a few words the proposals of the Government in the provision of terminals.

Pending the completion of the Quebec bridge which will probably not be finished before 1917, it is proposed to provide a ferry boat of large dimensions capable of handling a whole passenger train at one crossing. Such a boat has already been contracted for in Great Britain and will be delivered early next season. The ferry landings for this boat are already under construction both on the Levis side and the Quebec side, the necessary land having been acquired for the purpose. It has been thought in the public interest that instead of constructing the shops at St-Foy as originally proposed they should be erected at St. Malo in this city. These shops will occupy an area of about 200 acres and a large number of men will be employed. The establishment of these shops will, I hope, be a marked advantage in the development of Quebec and it will mean the upbuilding of a prosperous community in that portion of your city, as the operation of the shops involves the steady employment of a high class of labour and all the advantages that necessarily result from increased business and commercial activity.

Freight and Passenger Stations.

The site originally selected at St. Foy will nevertheless be utilized in the first instance for a large through freight yard which is necessary at that point in order to provide for the distribution of cars on different roads. Moreover a large handsome station has been completed at St. Foy as well as an eighteen stall engine house and every building necessary for the efficient operation of the railway. Between the Quebec Bridge and the Champlain Market a double track has practically been completed. There is also a connection with the Canadian Northern Railway at Cap Rouge which permits entrance to the St. Charles side of the city and which can be utilized for this purpose pending the completion of the tunnel that will connect the St. Lawrence waterfront with the new Union Station on the Palais site. While that tunnel is essention to the National Transcontinental Railway for effective access to the Union Station and to the St. Charles side, it will be equally necessary to other great railway systems which will naturally require access to the great frontage terminal of the St. Lawrence. The new Union station will be a very handsome edifice worthy both of this city and of the great railways by which it is to be used. Not only will this building be handsome and spacious, but its arrangements and accommodations will be of the most modern and approved designs. Its location is in the most populous part of the city and it will therefore accommodate most conveniently the greatest number of people. The advantages of a union station for all railroads where such a course is reasonably practicable are so obvious hardly to need enumeration. It is sufficient to say that when this station shall have been completed, Quebec will be as well equipped with terminal facilities for passenger service as any city in Canada.

Must Obtain Western Traffic.

Having regard to the probable enormous development of western traffic to this city and its wonderful possibility by reason of the situation which I have described and seeing also the necessity of providing adequately for future development, the Government thought it desirable to possess an extensive waterfront on the St. Lawrence. With this view we have acquired three miles of the best waterfront in Quebec extending from Sillery to Cap Diamond; and portions of the waterfront from the Cap Diamond to the Champlain market have also been secured. This magnificent waterfront will give to the Government and to the Harbour Commission the opportunity of almost unlimited development of port and terminal facilities; and I hope you will agree that in thus looking forward to the possibilities of the future the Gov-

ernment have taken no unwise course. In adopting this policy, we feel that we are acting not in the interest of Quebec alone but in the interest of all Canada, for Canada as a whole is concerned in the provision of modern and effective facilities necessary for the outflow and inflow of commerce at all great ports.

Whenever necessary we can also arrange for connection of the tracks between the Champlain Market Station and Louise Basin for the transfer of freight which can largely be carried on at night without disturbance or inconvenience to the business activities of the city. While the great Union Station which the Government is to occupy jointly with the Canadian Pacific Railway will subserve the principal requirements of traffic it is also desirable that there should be a station at the Champlain Market for the convenience of that portion of the population in the immediate vicinity. The plans for this station are now in course of preparation and the work will be commenced at a very early date and will be carried to completion with no unnecessary delay.

Gigantic Dry Dock.

It is not difficult to understand that the St. Lawrence route cannot hold its own in competition with other routes unless vessels of the largest tonnage can be docked and repaired in case of necessity. The conditions of the past, in which at least a score of the large liners sailing to the St. Lawrence could not be accommodated in any available dock in the gulf or river St. Lawrence, could not possibly continue if we seriously contemplate not only the maintenance but the increase of the existing transportation facilities across the Atlantic. Accordingly the Government have undertaken the construction at Lauzon of one of the largest and finest dry docks in the world. According to a statement compiled by the experts of the Department of Public Works no larger dock is either in existence or in contemplation in any British or American port than that which is being commenced within the city limits of Quebec Harbour. Last year in London we sought and obtained information as to the requirements of the Admiralty in respect of the character, dimensions and the possible use of such a dock. The information thus gathered was of great value and it has been acted upon in determining the size and character of this dock, which primarily will be utilised for commercial purposes to the marked advantage of the St. Lawrence route, but which will also be capable of use in time of need for the purposes of the Admiralty. Whatever differences of opinions may exist upon the question of preparation for defence, there can be no sound objection to a policy which subserves in the first place the necessities of commerce and the requirements of peace and which can also be made available for naval purposes in time of need. It is to be hoped, and, indeed, anticipated that, with the construction of this dry dock, there will come the speedy development of such an enlarged repair plant as is needful at this port. Without assuming the role of prophet, one may well anticipate that from these beginnings there may in the future spring up a great shipbuilding industry surpassing even that which in the old days of wooden ships flourished in and around the harbour of Quebec.

Harbour Commission Work.

Let me now advert to the work which has been carried on by the new Harbour Commission since its appointment less than a year ago. Two English Engineers of eminence familiar with the problems of harbour development were instructed to draw up a general scheme for future as well as for immediate development. The plan which they proposed was most carefully considered by the Commission which consulted with the Railway Companies, the steamship lines, captains of steamers, pilots and other competent persons and eventually concluded that the recommendations of these engineers should be carried out. Plans have accordingly been prepared in accordance therewith and the work is now under construction. The bulk-head wall on the St. Charles' side is in course of construction, and dredging contracts involving no less than three million cubic yards have been awarded for dredging at the mouth of the St. Charles. A contract has also been given to capable contractors for the construction of an elevator having a capacity of one million bushels which will be ready early next spring. This elevator can be increased to a capacity of two and a half million, which will probably be accomplished next season. In addition to this, new freight sheds have been constructed for the Grand Trunk and Intercolonial and new tracks laid in connection with the car ferries. Shunting engines have been purchased and are now in use, with good results in increased efficiency. Indian Cove has been acquired by the commission, a small mill has been erected for the purpose of working up the timber for the cribs, and a number of large cribs have been constructed there for the purpose of the work which is being carried on in the St. Charles.

St. Charles River Locks.

The acquisition by the Government of so large a portion of the waterfront of the St. Lawrence naturally restricted very much the opportunities of the large fleet of smaller craft which hitherto have availed themselves of that frontage. In this view the Government thought it both important and desirable that provision should be made for the utilisation of the St. Charles above the railway bridge near the Louise Basin. The construction of a dam and other works at this point, will enable some six miles of the St. Charles river to be used for transportation and will afford necessary accommodation for the smaller craft which hitherto have carried on their operations on the St. Lawrence waterfront. The transportation facilities thus afforded will doubtless be untilized not only for these purposes, but to the advantage of many industries which I trust will greatly increase both in number and capacity in that vicinity.

In this brief exposition of the proposals of the Government for the development of this port, I trust you will find evidence of our determination to spare no reasonable effort for the proper development in the public interest of this city and port.

Ministers Favour Quebec.

Holding strong opinions as to the necessity of adequate equipment for our ports, I have taken a warm personal interest in the proposals for the equipment and development of Quebec. I need not assure you that Mr. Pelletier has been indefatigable in his efforts to reach a satisfactory conclusion in these matters. Let me add that Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Hazen have given sympathetic consideration and careful attention to every reasonable suggestion for the effective carrying out of our proposals. The works which I have described will involve the expenditure of very large sums, but the national purposes which are to be served amply justify that expenditure.

On behalf of the Government let me express our appreciation of the sympathetic co-operation of the mayor and council of the city, of the harbour commission, of your board of trade and of other important bodies. In common with them it is our desire and determination that adequate facilities shall be provided for Quebec and that in the future no man may truthfully say that the "Ancient City" lags behind for lack of equal opportunity. And we are not unmindful that modern science coupled with Canadian enterprise and courage may increase very materially the period of navigation available to this port.

I conclude by thanking you once more for your generous and cordial welcome, and let my last word be the expression of my sincere wish that the works now projected and under construction, as well as those which in the future will be their necessary consequence, may be attended with all the advantages to your city which are now within the bounds of reasonable anticipation.

As I have said, Mr. Speaker, the plan for the construction of the Union station at Quebec has been cancelled by the Government and arrangements have been reached with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to have a joint railway station at the Palais site, to cost approximately $200,000. How does this $200,000 station compare, for the capital city of Quebec, with the $12,000,000 station which is being erected in Toronto, the capital city of Ontario?

It was stated by the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) in an eloquent speech that he delivered to the citizens of Quebec that there would be another station in the Champlain market. The members of this House whom we had the honour to receive in the city of Quebec a few weeks ago, had an opportunity to judge for themselves as to the station that was built for the Transcontinental railway there in place of the $700,000 station that was to be built. The station that has been built on the Champlain market site is a disgrace to the city of Quebec, it is a disgrace to the Government of Canada and it is a disgrace to the Transcontinental railway. This station was erected, I believe, at a cost of $30,000 or $35,000. It is a brick building, more suitable for use as a cattle shed than as a station.

The valuable property that the city of Quebec has handed over to the Government and which is worth at least $250,000, was damaged by flood last December. Every effort was made by the city, the board of trade and the citizens of Quebec to have the Government repair the damage to the property which the city has given them. Not a cent has been expended for the repair of this property. I have communicated with the hon. the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Reid), and several times with the Canadian National Railways commission, but they never gave us any satisfaction. We in the city of Quebec to-day are considering the question as to whether we shall close the street, as we do not feel that we should be compelled to repair property that we have handed over, almost for nothing, to the Government. I am pleased to see the hon. the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Sifton) in his seat. I hope the minister will give his attention to the situation as soon as possible. I know that he has been newly named to the important of Minister of Public Works, but I make an appeal to the minister to-night and ask him to look into this situation which is very urgent, and to render justice to the citizens of Quebec.

I said at the beginning of my remarks that millions of dollars had been wasted in the city of Quebec. I think I have proven most conclusively to the hon. members of the House that the situation in Quebec is very grave. Millions of dollars have been wasted there. The Government should proceed with the work which it has undertaken in Quebec, and not allow the money which has already been expended there to lie idle as it has for years.

The Government have purchased the Ross Rifle factory in Quebec at a cost of millions of dollars. I do not pretend to blame the Government for the position that they took at the time. It was reported that the Ross rifle was not suitable for our soldiers, and the contract which was given to Sir Charles Ross, proprietor of the Ross Rifle factory, had to be cancelled. The Government deemed it necessary to expropriate the Ross Rifle factory at a cost of millions of dollars. This important factory employed thousands of people, who were sent away from their work with only a few hours' notice and the doors of the Ross Rifle factory were closed. These valuable properties, for which the Government paid millions of dollars, are lying idle to-day.

The Government last year erected in Quebec a number of huts for soldiers, at a cost of over a million dollars. These huts are not utilized, and the money which was expended thereupon is practically wasted. Personally, Mr. Speaker, I do not see the necessity of such an expenditure by the Government on these buildings when the money thus spent could have been devoted to the carrying out of important public works.

At a cost of some $2,000,000 five railway shops were constructed but they have remained closed since their construction. The city of Quebec, the Board of Trade, and other public bodies have urged the Government to utilize these shops for the repair of rolling stock for the Canadian National railways, but those appeals have remained unheeded. In the month of February last year we had a visit at Quebec from Mr. Hanna, Chairman of the Canadian National railways, and the members of the Railway Commission, who came down to investigate the situation in regard to these shops and they have decided to put the shops in operation. While the shops remained idle the rolling stock of the Transcontinental had to be hauled from the Quebec section to Winnipeg, a distance of 1,350 miles. Let me ask why not use the shops at Quebec for the purpose, especially in view of the fact that their construction has involved an expenditure of $2,000,000? Last spring it was stated that the shops at St. Malo would be in operation and by the month of June would be employing at least one thousand men. On the 27th of June last I was officially informed that the number of men employed at the St. Malo shops did not exceed fifty, and if I am right in my information the men now employed there number only about 200.

What do the records show in connection with this matter? In 1898 the city of Quebec entered into a notarial contract with the Lake St. John Railway and the Great Northern Railway Companies, whose systems now form part of the Canadian National railways, whereby the city subscribed $650,000 towards these railways, and a special agreement was also made in accordance with which the city subscribed $200,000 of stock with the express condition that the railway repair shops should be erected at Limoilu, in Quebec and give employment to a great number of men in the repairing of rolling stock. It was decided, however, to transfer the staff of the Canadian Northern shops to the St. Malo shops and only to utilize the Limoilou shops for the repairing of freight cars. If my information is correct the personnel so transferred consisted only of about 200 men when we were anticipating that from 3,000 to 5,000 men would be employed at this branch shop.

I ask the Government, and I make the appeal to every member of this House, to investigate the way in which the management of the public works and the railway facilities in Quebec has been carried on, and to immediately remedy the situation. I am sure, Sir, that if more members of this House would imitate the example of their colleagues from the West and go down to Quebec and investigate the situation for themselves they would appreciate the injustice which has been done to that city. Once more, Mr. Speaker, I am sorry the Minister of Railways is not in his seat, because I would have preferred to have described the situation to him personally. Recently an organization comprising the most eminent citizens of Quebec has been formed to interview the Government in the hope of bringing about a remedy of the present state of affairs. I have communicated with the Prime Minister, asking for an interview with a number of delegations from Quebec in order that they might give expression to the views which I have uttered here tonight. I have also asked the Prime Minister to arrange for an interview with his colleagues the Minister of Public Works and the Minister of Railways, and I have received a reply from the Prime Minister stating that he would endeavour to secure interviews with the citizens of Quebec as soon as possible. I hope that the Minister of Public Works and the Minister of Railways will do their best and collaborate in arranging for these interviews at the earliest possible date.

Before concluding my remarks I wish to refer to the matter of the treatment of defaulters. Every true citizen views unfavourably the campaign carried on against defaulters under the Military Service Act—even the returned soldiers do not endorse it. They would much prefer to see the Government display the same activity against war profiteers, whose extortions are causing so much unrest at the present time. The defaulters in many cases had good grounds for acting as they did, but those who are maintaining the high cost of living have no excuse whatever. Furthermore, why should our Government deal more severely with military defaulters than the French Government, for instance? The authorities in our former Motherland have pardoned those who did not fulfil their military duties. It is rumoured that even a former Prime Minister, M. Caillaux, charged with treasonable dealings with Germany during the war, will benefit by the general amnesty. It has been realized that the work of reconstruction will require the full energy of the whole nation and that nothing is to be gained by such useless proceedings. Why not adopt the same course here?

Let us not forget that, according to many of our statesmen, this Dominion was under no constitutional obligation to participate in the great war. But we did participate, and our soldiers, volunteers as well as conscripts, immortalized themselves by their gallantry in many a hard fought battle. Let us not forget also that in the province of Quebec our people were not treated as they should have been by those who were asking that she send the best of her young men to the front. Insults, slanders, lies—nothing was omitted that would irritate French Canadians. In view of this no one needs be surprised at the number of those who failed to fulfil their military duties; on the contrary, it is rather a matter for congratulation that so many answered the call of the federal authorities, and the devotion of these men should help to efface the remissness of the defaulters.

Therefore, let us drop these proceedings against them. A nobler and greater task requires all our energies and statesmanship, namely, the urgent necessity of ameliorating the condition of the people by taking drastic action against profiteers, and by reorganizing our agriculture and our manufactures. Let us cease these rancourous personal quarrels, unworthy of a nation wishing to become great and prosperous, and instead let us devote ourselves to promoting the union of our citizens in an entente cordiale.

Mr. JAMES McISAAC (King's, P.E.I.): Mr. Speaker, in supporting the resolution before the House, I desire to add my congratulations to those which have already been expressed with regard to the admirable manner in which the mover and seconder of the Address discharged their duties. I wish also to refer to the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who by his demeanour has apparently completely captivated the hearts of the Canadian people. His simplicity of manner and undoubted sincerity of speech and action have endeared him to the people, and his evident desire to be among them prove him to be a democrat of the best and purest type.

It is unnecessary to dwell at any length upon the extraordinary causes which necessitated the calling together of the representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers in connection with this Treaty of Peace. The great war was of a nature more stupendous than anything of which we have any record in the history of the world, and after the enemy was vanquished it surely was imperative that those engaged in bringing about his defeat should meet together in order to arrive at such conclusions as would tend to prevent a recurrence of a similar calamity. As is well known, this was the most important Conference that had ever taken place. It was felt that its deliberations would have the most far-reaching effects, that they would have a regenerative force, as it were, and would result in the establishment of such principles as would make it very difficult, if not impossible, for any nation to again disturb the peace of the world.

Now, Sir, starting from these premises, it is not unnatural for us to inquire: What was Canada's position at the Conference? What was her attitude in the tremendous struggle that necessitated the conference? What was her participation in the war? What were her energies? What were her sacrifices? Their remarkable and transcendent character is known to the world. Canada's contribution was most extraordinary, whether in wealth or means or sons, who so valiantly acquitted themselves and wrote their names in letters of gold on the battlefields of Europe. Not only the participation and the glory of her arms, but the tremendous sacrifices that Canada made in the cause of liberty and civilization, were extraordinary, wonderful and equal in every way, population and other things being taken into consideration, to those of any other nation that participated in the struggle. Canada having so participated, having been such an important factor in the war, is it not quite natural that she should have an equally important part to play in the arrangements that were made in consequence of the war; that she should participate equally with those other nations, with whom she had fought side by side, in drawing up the conditions by which the defeated enemy should be bound, in taking part in the regulations which were so far reaching, so important and intended to have such a tremendous influence in regulating the conduct of all the nations that took part in the war? Is it a patriotic sentiment, is it worthy of our country or our country's representatives, that any one should deny the right, privilege and duty of Canada to participate in the Peace Conference? I would suppose that all patriotic Canadians would feel a thrill of just pride in the knowledge that Canada's Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues participated in the memorable conference side by side with and of equal importance to the representatives of other nations taking part therein. Would you, Sir, have us take a full share in the prosecution, the glory and

the sacrifices of the war and deny us the right to have an equal participation in the conference at which the peace terms were to be decided upon? That would be unworthy of us.

Let us inquire what Canada's position was at the Peace Conference, what place her representatives took in the discussions at that conference and what the representatives of Canada accomplished and placed in the completed Treaty. The representatives of Canada, the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden and his Cabinet colleagues, his co-delegates to the conference, side by side with the delegates of the other Powers, were not in any inferior position to them, and let it be said here that there is no doubt at all that Canada's important position at the conference was perhaps not conceded to her immediately; but through the energy, wisdom and perseverance of the Prime Minister of Canada and his colleagues we were accorded that position which was in proper proportion to the importance of our participation in the war and our sacrifices in connection therewith. Would you have Canada refrain from taking the position she did at the Peace Conference? Would you have her different from all other Allied and Associated Powers participating in the war? Would you have her different from the other Dominions of the great British Empire? On the contrary, Canada not only took her place of importance at the conference, but led the way for the other Dominions of the Empire. It was the perseverance, wisdom and judgment of the Prime Minister, in conjunction with his colleagues, that showed the way and that won for him the assistance of the other Dominions of the Empire in persevering in exerting their energies to get their rightful place at the conference.

Mr. CANNON: Was that before or after Union Government?

Mr. McISAAC: I will leave that to the judgment of the hon. gentleman himself. His memory is possibly equal to the occasion. I was going on to say that had Canada been denied that position, a cry would have arisen from this country, and I think the 60,000 who made the supreme sacrifice, giving their lives for the cause of liberty and civilization, would have spoken from their graves and said: We gave our lives freely for the cause of civilization and liberty, for the cause of Canada, and we would consider our sacrifice was in vain if you were not there to see that no right of Canada would be jeopardized; that every right and privilege to which she is entitled would be properly guarded and placed before that conference.

What did the Canadian delegates accomplish at the Peace Conference? Sir, it is written in the Treaty. Many of its most important articles were framed, or partially framed and advocated, by the Prime Minister of this country. The labour clauses in particular were his work. Through his perseverance and unflinching fidelity to the duty which he believed devolved upon him as Prime Minister of this country he had the labour clauses inserted against a great deal of opposition. Have we not therefore reason to be proud of the part that Canada's delegates took at the Conference and of what they accomplished? Surely no one in this country is unwilling to accord to them their due meed of praise.

In virtue of the promise made by the Prime Minister to this Parliament, the Peace Treaty was laid before this House for approval before ratification by His Majesty the King. This same action is taken by all the other Dominions of the British Empire. The Parliaments of South Africa, of New Zealand, and of Australia are all either in session or have been summoned in order to ratify this Treaty. His Majesty the King awaits the approbation of the Treaty by the Parliaments of the Dominions before he ratifies it. It is, therefore, extraordinary that we should have heard so much from hon. gentlemen opposite that was calculated to lower the prestige of Canada. Are we to have the privilege of participating in the war, contributing our means, our soldiers laying down their lives by the thousands in the cause, and then to be told that Canada should not participate in the Peace Conference? Is that just or is it reasonable? Hon. gentlemen opposite instead of desiring to see Canada rise from plane to plane would degrade her in the eyes of the world and put her back to her colonial status of forty, or fifty or sixty years ago. As the President of the Privy Council truly said, there are a number of Rip Van Winkles on the other side of the House. Hon. gentlemen opposite made no attempt to put Canada in her best light before the world and maintain for her the prestige she had won during the war. On the contrary everything was said that would tend to degrade her, and deprive her of the proud position she has taken and is destined still more to take among the nations of the world. We can only call their attitude " little Canadianism." We have heard

of the "little Englander," who is not regarded as much of an intellectual asset in the Mother Country. It would seem that we have "little Canadians" in Canada who occupy not a more distinguished or honourable position in this country. What was the reason for their attitude? They tell us that it was altogether unnecessary for us to discuss the Treaty, as the King could ratify it independently of this Parliament. That is possible, but His Majesty's advisers in Great Britain, fully conscious of Canada's status in the Empire, would never think of asking His Majesty to ratify the Treaty until it had been approved by the Dominions of the Empire. So far as Canada is concerned, the Treaty could have been approved by Order in Council, but if that had been done what a different tune would have been heard from the other side of the House. We have often heard them object to conducting public business by Order in Council, and if that course had been taken in this case there would have been a clamorous demand that the Treaty should be brought before Parliament for consideration. I think we can venture that assumption, judging of the future by our knowledge of the past; for that is the nature of the reasoning which we have heard from the other side during the last two or three years. The conduct of our representatives at the Peace Conference has been described by such high-sounding, rhetorical and admirably classical language as "arrant humbug" and "tomfoolery." These are the expressions which emanate from those whom we would expect to have a full knowledge of matters of this kind and who should deal with public questions in a temperate manner instead of endeavouring to throw ridicule on them.

I would animadvert for a moment on an expression which I have heard from quite a number of those on the other side who have participated in the debate on this subject.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order. I am sorry to have to call the hon. member to order. If he will look up Bourinot at page 357 he will find that a member addressing the House cannot refer to anything said or done in a previous debate during the same session. I did not want to call the hon. member to order immediately, because I thought he was making merely a slight reference; but I fear he intends to make extended remarks on a previous debate.

Mr. McISAAC: I bow to your decision Mr. Speaker. I realize that I cannot quote anything that has been said in a former debate, but I suppose I am at liberty to express my opinion of the conduct of those who participated in that debate. I think that the conduct of hon. members opposite during that debate had for effect, ostensibly if not in reality, to degrade Canada and deprive her of the proud position she occupies. Their remarks tended to give Canada the status she held half a century or more ago, and scarcely anything that came from those hon. gentlemen was calculated to elevate this country in the eyes of the world and to place her upon the high plane to which, in consideration of all that she has done in behalf of humainty, she is entitled. Why did hon. members opposite go so far afield as to place themselves before the world in a position of antagonism to our plenipotentiaries, and to criticise their conduct in the most unfair manner possible? This was an occasion when the people's representatives, in Parliament assembled, should have been big enough and willing enough to rise above party feeling and to accord to the right hon. the Prime Minister and his associates at the Peace Conference that due meed of praise which they richly deserve. It is unpleasant to think that one section of Canada's representatives in this Parliament have placed themselves on record in direct opposition to what has been accomplished in this world-wide and all important matter. The Peace Treaty is an instrument which, in its scope and magnitude, and in the multiplicity of subjects which it embraces—all for the benefit of humanity and the proper government of nations—reflects abundant credit on those who framed it. Possibly it is not perfect. Nothing human is perfect. It has its limitations, but it is marvellous that the representatives of thirty-two powers, after discussing these questions from their naturally variant viewpoints, and considering the diverse interests which they represented, should unanimously sign their names to that memorable document. It is a marvellous historic achievement, and the people of Canade, in common with the rest of mankind, should, regardless of political feelings, be only too proud to approve of this Treaty. As regards the League of Nations, I shall say very little, because it has been pretty well discussed, and the constitutional and legal aspects of it have been admirably presented to the House by the Minister of Justice and the President of the Privy Council. But this question was raised on the other side during the debate. A fear was expressed that Canada—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I must ask the hon. gentleman not to refer to anything said during the former debate.

Mr. McISAAC: The fear was expressed—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order. The hon. gentleman cannot refer to anything which was said during a previous debate.

Mr. McISAAC: May I say that the fear was expressed in this House?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No; the hon. gentleman would certainly not be in order. He cannot refer to anything which has been said in this House in a previous debate.

Mr. McISAAC: Then I will say this: From my knowledge of the League of Nations, as far as my limited ability and the time at my disposal would enable me to arrive at a conclusion, obligations may arise from Canada's position in the League of Nations. According to the Covenant of the League as expressed in Clause 10. We cannot operate singly. All the signatories to the League of Nations act with us. We all unite in bringing into effect whatever may be the intent of that obligation. Unless we all unite nothing can be done. The Covenant of the League of Nations is intended to establish peace throughout the world. If, in order to sustain, maintain and perpetuate that peace, we should be called upon, in conjunction with all the other signatories of the Covenant, to raise soldiers, and to expend money, there is surely no one who will deny that, if we enjoy the privileges, the rights and the benefits of that Covenant, we should be prepared to assume the necessary obligations.

How much more edifying it would have been to the people of Canada, to the Empire and to the world at large if we, with one voice, unanimously and enthusiastically, had voted for the approval of this Peace Treaty so that it would have gone forward to His Gracious Majesty the King, with the evidence attached thereto, that every representative in this Parliament assembled had subscribed to this marvellous, this wonderful Peace Treaty intended to do so much to regulate the relations, constitutions and morals of the civilized world in the years to come.

Mr. H. A. FORTIER (Labelle) (Translation): Mr. Speaker, this special session summons us before you to achieve a purpose lying outside the acknowledged bounds of our constitutional powers—the ratification of the Peace Treaty of Versailles. True, it is that we Canadians, loyal subjects of the British Crown, enthusiastically showing our devotion to the Mother Country and our fondness for the Royal Family by acclaiming the son of our beloved Sovereign, the Prince of Wales, have many a reason to rejoice over the brilliant victory of Great Britain and the Allies. Moreover, the heroes of the Canadian army who went and fought under the British flag, the noble offering of their lives by 60,000 sons of Canada who fell upon the battlefields have made us realize, value and hold sacred the advantages of the victory won by the Allies and sealed by the Peace Treaty of Versailles. It seems to me that on those grounds the Canadian people ought to be proud to see their Parliament assenting to that document and sending it overseas after their representatives have reverently and joyfully heard of the advantages accruing from victory.

But these advantages, compensations and indemnities to the Mother Country and the Allies are satisfactory to us in so far as the Mother Country with whom our boys have co-operated in defeating the common foe, and in so far as the Allies who were our brethren in arms, are satisfied with the treaty they victoriously dictated.

The noble act of Canada during that great war was not the interested but the free act of an independent State asking that outrages be atoned for, that treaties disregarded as scraps of paper be respected; no, the act of this Dominion was more than that, for it was the act of an autonomous colony which of its own accord lent assistance to the Mother Country and fought for the prevalence of the Christian slogan: "Dieu et mon Droit" over the barbarous political motto: "Might supersedes right."

So, for us, the day of final victory was the eleventh of November, 1918, the day of the armistice, when the enemy, vanquished as he was, craved for quarter from the commander-in-chief of the armies. We had nothing more to claim, nothing more to expect from the Peace Conference which might cause us furthermore to rejoice at the victory, for we had taken part in the great war as a British possession, or, if you will, as a self-governing Dominion under the protection of Great Britain, and we had sent forth our quota of men on the very day when the Mother Country had rushed into the conflict. War, for us, was at an end.

So great was the sacrifice and so noble the stand as to make it unnecessary to pledge our future participation in the conflicts which may eventually take place be-

tween the nations of the world. Before going over to sit at the Peace Conference, the representatives of the Canadian Government should have been vested with certain powers by the Canadian Parliament. Parliament might properly have asked: "What interest had we in having Canada represented separately from Great Britain at this Conference?" To put the question is to solve it. We had apparently no interest in being so represented. No one of the belligerent powers had invited us; far from it, we were first denied the right to be represented, and it was only as a consequence of the entreaties made after the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet, that we could secure admittance, fictitiously, as being included among the representatives of the British Empire.

Therefore, our participation in the Conference, the sequel of which is this invitation to approve of the Peace Treaty, was not prompted by the Canadian Parliament, but imposed by the Empire and with the view of serving the ends of the leaders of Imperialism. It is Imperialism which we fought against on the battlefields of Europe and which we will never suffer to be imposed upon Canada so long as we are in a position to claim as ours this country of our ancestors, and so long as we cherish it above all others.

This statement of mine is quite in keeping with the platform of my party, and I may assure you, Sir, that we on this side of the House, together with all the Liberals in the Dominion, have approved of a proposal which tends to crush any project or attempt calculated to impose Imperialism upon Canada. Here is the resolution adopted at that Liberal convention, concerning the autonomy of Canada: "Be it resolved that we are strongly opposed to the idea of centralizing imperial control and that no organic change in the constitution of Canada with respect to the relations of Canada with the Empire, should come into force, if adopted by Parliament, before and unless it has been ratified by a vote of the Canadian people in the form of a plebiscite."

Mr. Speaker, according to the speech delivered by the hon. leader of the Government in the Senate, we are a nation, a separate nation, enjoying full autonomy, though forming an integral part of the British Empire. According to the hon. President of the Privy Council, we are, within the British Empire, a sister-nation to the other nations of the Empire. It being admitted that the Canadian Dominion constitutes a nation, here is the argument I have to offer against taking any such steps as the Government proposes to take in a coming Imperial conference to evolve towards Imperialism. The first privilege of a nation is to be the arbiter of its own destinies, and the supreme end of a nation is to preserve and to strengthen its existence as such. Full autonomy is the essential condition of this privilege of being a nation, and the main object of its existence. Now, the imperialist doctrine which the Government is at present advocating in order to bind us constitutionally to that immense British Empire about to be established, appears to me as inconsistent with a status of full autonomy for us, and consequently with our very existence as a nation.

My first contention is this: The imperialistic view voiced by hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches coincides with that which has prevailed in the United Kingdom of Great Britain, only on an enlarged scale so as to embrace all the Dominions. Now, this United Kingdom scheme has proved manifestly injurious to the kingdoms of Ireland, Scotland and Wales in their association with England. Under the folds of the Union Jack, England developed wonderfully through the disappearance of Wales, Scotland and Ireland as separate sovereignties, while England has evolved into a Great Britain, and correspondingly has maintained, extended and strengthened its autonomy, while its associates were deprived of their own.

Well, by copying those united kingdoms, it is intended to establish a vast British Empire in which England shall unceasingly develop her attributes of self-government, but in which the Dominions shall enter and remain, deprived of their autonomy as is the case with Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the United Kingdom.

Indeed, I shall prove that we are going to lose our autonomy. Who will govern the Empire? An imperial parliament, I fancy. For should the answer be that it is the Government in London, as now constituted, it is obvious that we would be deprived of our autonomy. Therefore, we are no more a nation. If the answer be that to govern the Empire an imperial parliament shall be established in which the Dominion of Canada shall, of course, have representatives, then I say: In that imperial parliament, naturally, England will have a majority of the votes. Giving way to an awkward sense of generosity, she will not com-

mit her fate to an imperial parliament in which her representatives should be in the minority. Consequently, under the proud name of an imperialist system, we are asked to accept a parliamentary form of government under which we should no longer be the masters of our destinies and we should be deprived of our autonomy; but a nation is no longer a nation from the moment it ceases to be self-governed and master of its fate. Therefore, the imperialist doctrine now advocated is the doctrine of national suicide for the Dominion of Canada. We should not be in that case a nation in the British Empire nor in the League of Nations; Canada would be the servant, the slave of sovereign nations.

I said that the highest aim of a nation is to maintain and to develop its existence. Now, the policy of an imperialistic system, the policy of the League of Nations, utterly defeats our purpose by ruining our autonomy and leading us into ventures entailing a great loss of lives and money. In order to reach our loftiest end which is to develop our existence, the policy of the Government should be confined to the reconstruction of the country, to the establishment of an economic condition which together with the actual welfare of our farming community, of our manufacturing and trading people, which constitute a splendid nation truly autonomous and living in a happy state of civilization.

The policy of the Government should be directed towards the internal questions rather than towards the external problems. I repeat once more that should we be forced by the present conditions to concern ourselves with these, let it be in this Parliament and let us not allow new responsibilities to be imposed upon us by two or three members of the Canadian Government empowered by an Order in Council to bring us under the subjection of the sister nations of the Empire. As the representatives of the Canadian people, it is our lot to be the masters of our destinies, to maintain and develop our existence, to perfect the work of our forefathers who have established Confederation.

The fathers of Confederation had the foresight of themselves framing on Canadian soil the new charter of our constitutional rights. In 1864 when in the old city of Champlain the representatives of the five large Canadian provinces signed the federal covenant subject to the approval of the provincial legislatures and of the Imperial Parliament, Canada gave herself a constitutional charter.

If we are a nation to-day, if we can cry out, as during the debate just closed, that we have the status of a nation, it is far less on account of the part we played in recent events than on account of the enlightened will of those fathers of Confederation who foresaw in this federation of provinces the origin of the Canadian race.

May I be permitted to quote to the House the words uttered by Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Etienne Cartier, in 1865, when they asked for the establishment of Confederation?

Macdonald said: "If we will become a great nation and form a great race capable of imposing respect to the world and of upholding our institutions, if we will have uniformity of government, an economic system which will be homogeneous for the four provinces depending on a single nation, obeying one sovereign only, bound by the same allegiance and for the most part sprung from the same blood, we must be united under a single government."

And Cartier added: "If we become united we shall form a political nationality regardless of the racial origin and creed of individuals." He also said: "It is not to be feared that there will ever be an attempt to deprive a minority of its rights."

Underneath the cold memorials dedicated to his memory in Ontario, he must be shedding bitter tears and deploring his blind trust in the fairness of those majorities.

However, in the minds of our forefathers, Confederation was a political aggregation governed by the new charter they had framed for themselves, and consequently the provinces made but one nation composed of various races, which, although distinct, had a common aim: to weld a free Canada within a free Empire.

For my part, I am content with the present status of my country, that of a self-governing Canada within the Empire, and that condition, I think , is even the best suited to the development and progress of this vast country and to the political aspirations of its inhabitants. I most strenuously protest against the dangerous proclivities of this Government who thoughtlessly call upon the centre of the Empire to consider new political questions which might irretrievably affect our relations to the Mother Country and forever endanger our national existence. Nothing is more degrading for a member than to hear what was said from the Government benches in this House: That as soon as this short session is over, the Prime Minister and his colleagues, without consulting Parliament, will

again go overseas to receive from an Imperial conference of sister nations a new principle as the basis of our constitutional charter.

The Government is bound to attend to Canadian affairs, and not to matters of Imperial concern alone. This House has just approved by its vote the Peace Treaty of Versailles. There are important events which must come to pass to ensure a better administration of the common weal. I shall not go into them all; I shall spare the House protracted remarks, pointing out however that this country is in need of a reversal to pre-war conditions. Why should we not start by repealing conscription? England does so; the Allies prescribe it in the Treaty of Peace; the trades unions call for it, and the whole country demands it. Would it not be an act of justice to repeal all those Orders in Council quickly begotten by war conditions and no more justifiable now than the War Measures Act? For God's sake, let us have peace!

Another matter which I dare say is still more pressing is the repeal of all those vexatious measures enacted by Orders in Council so as to punish defaulters or slackers. These criminal proceedings are obnoxious, and the Government is well aware of it. There are defaulters in every province of the Dominion, and that is no wonder. Conscription was enacted at the last moment and was quite open to criticism; it was rather an exemption measure as far as military service was concerned. We had been led to believe by the very utterances of the Prime Minister himself that compulsory service would never be enforced in this country. For the most part, those who are prosecuted are farmers exempted by orders of judges of the Superior Court, and who were in such circumstances as to be granted leave according to the regulations, as their help could not be dispensed with at home.

Their only fault is the neglect of a mere formality. They are only guilty of having failed to assert their right to an exemption; they sincerely believed they were exempted, having only an imperfect acquaintance with this intricate Act, and relying upon the postponements granted to farmers, such as appeared in the newspapers under official sanction. Moreover, war is at an end; we have a well-earned peace and why should these young men be punished now? Would it not have been wiser, more farseeing and fairer to wink at their failure to respond to the first call and to call them to the colours in the thick of the fight, if the Government intended to indiscriminately enlist the farmers? But they purposely left those farmers in the fields, thus tacitly yielding to their claim for exemption. It is unfair to chase them now as wild beasts in some quarters, in order to feed the demon of bigotry, and to carefully avoid doing so in other quarters. Everybody favours a general amnesty, and the Government would be well advised not to turn a deaf ear to the people's voice. Nobody desires the continuation of this vexatious system. Great War Veterans in my own city have shown their disapproval of such a course, and those from every part of the country, no doubt, harbour the same feeling.

To hold a different view would be to deny their sense of fair-play, their generosity and magnanimity. Moreover, do we not know they came back to us with a greater fondness for their beloved country and willing to devote themselves to the work of reconstruction, united with their fellow-citizens by the bonds of a new friendship.

I appeal to the Government and especially to the Minister of Justice, and I ask him to give his immediate attention to those just requests coming to him from all sides and praying that defaulters be pardoned. It is the Department of Justice which attends to the enforcement of these Orders in Council and is entitled and bound to show the Cabinet the uselessness and unfairness of these arrests. The minister is well aware of the anxiety which belabours the father's mind when his boy is wrongly suspected of having infringed the Military Act. I lay before him the sorrows and sufferings of mothers whose sons have been arrested and brought into another province to appear before an outside court where they have no relatives, no friends, no spokesmen to plead for them, and are sentenced to imprisonment for a term of two or three years.

I beseech the honourable minister who presides over the administration of justice, and is one of the most prominent members of the Cabinet, to take in hand that important question concerning our young farmers and to grant to our drafted men a general amnesty such as is proclaimed in victorious countries. The honourable minister knows how to rise to the occasion, and the country expects from him that noble deed.

On motion of Mr. Joseph Archambault (Chambly-Verchères), the debate was adjourned.

DEPARTMENT OF SOLDIERS' CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT AMENDMENT ACT.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Rowell, the House returned to the Order for the introduction of Bills.

Hon. Mr. Rowell moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 10 to amend the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Act.

Mr. McKENZIE: Explain.

Mr. ROWELL: The Bill is the one I referred to in the statement made to the House on Friday. Legislation was enacted last session for the creation of a Department of Soliders' Civil Re-Establishment, but the work of that department has been carried on under the provisions of certain Orders in Council passed under the War Measures Act which lay down the scale of allowances to be paid to soldiers who are taking training under the department and also define the classes of returned soldiers who are entitled to the benefits of the provisions contained in the other Orders in Council, there being some four or five Orders in Council in all defining the work of this department. As, with the coming of peace, the Orders in Council passed under the War Measures Act will come to an end, it is necessary that the department should have power to carry on the various branches of the work which it is now carrying on, and the object of the Bill is to authorize the department to make the necessary regulations for that purpose. As I intimated on Friday, when the Bill comes up for second reading, which I hope will be to-morrow, it is my intention to ask the House, after the measure has received its second reading, to refer it, together with the Orders in Council which I have mentioned, to a Special Committee for consideration and report.

Mr. McKENZIE: Is it not a Bill involving the expenditure of money?

Mr. ROWELL: No, the Bill simply provides for the making of regulations. The money provision, so far as any money is necessary, was covered by the vote of last session. The Bill itself contains no money provision.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty, the House adjourned at 10.32 p.m.

[Mr. Archambault.]

Tuesday, September 16 ,1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

SOLDIERS' CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT.

NOTICE OF MOTION DROPPED.

On Motions being called:

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): I beg to move, with the consent of the House, that we now proceed to the Order "Notices of Motions." Among these Notices of Motions there is one which the mover, I understand, desires to drop.

Motion agreed to, and the House proceeded to Notices of Motions:

Mr. D. L. REDMAN (East Calgary): On Thursday last I put the following Notice of Motion on the Order Paper for the purpose of obtaining a commission to inquire into the question of the civil re-establishment of our soldiers:

> Resolved, that in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to immediately appoint a Royal Commission to inquire fully into the whole question of the reinstatement into civil life of former members of the overseas forces and their dependents, and to report thereon.

On Friday the Government announced that a committee would immediately be appointed for this purpose. That committee is entirely satisfactory to me, and as the Notice of Motion has effected its purpose and is now of no further use, I ask the leave of the House to withdraw it.

Motion withdrawn.

THE PEACE TREATY.

PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS IN CONNECTION THEREWITH.

Hon. N. W. ROWELL: If my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition has had time to look over the Covenant and the explanatory note, I beg to move the following motion:

> That 10,000 copies of the document entitled "The Covenant of the League of Nations with a Commentary thereon" laid upon the table of the House the 15th day of September, be printed forthwith, and that the provisions of Rule 74 be waived.

Instructions will be given to have a portion of this number printed in French.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. N. W. ROWELL: I beg to move:

> That 10,000 copies of the document entitled "Labour and the Peace Treaty, including the Labour Convention and General Principles as

incorporated in the Treaty of Peace (Part XIII, Sections I. and II., Articles 387-427) between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany, signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919," laid upon the table of the House the 15th day of September, be printed forthwith, and that the provisions of Rule 74 be waived.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Ten thousand does not seem very many to spread all over the country and I think it would be well to have printed ten thousand in English and ten thousand in French.

Mr. ROWELL: It was the intention, as I intimated yesterday, that a certain percentage should be printed in French and a certain percentage in English, judged by the requirements. Does my hon. friend think that ten thousand in French would be required?

Mr. McKENZIE: Almost everybody in the province of Quebec can read French, and ten thousand does not seem very many when spread over a large province.

Mr. ROWELL: I originally suggested twenty-five thousand to cover both English and French, but it was represented that that was probably too many. We might print twenty-five thousand, fifteen thousand in English and ten thousand in French.

Mr. McKENZIE: There are eight millions of people in this country and 235 constituencies, and ten thousand seems a small number when spread over them all. I think we might have just as many in French as in English.

Mr. ROWELL: I have not the least objection to amending the motion so that we may have ten thousand printed in each language.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING: What is the object of these special motions for the printing of these documents? The Government are at all times printing large quantities of literature for distribution without any motion in the House. I am not offering any objection, but I am curious to know why a special motion should be required in this case.

Mr. ROWELL: It is in order that the printing may be done forthwith. Requests are coming in for copies of these documents, not only from members of the House but from outside. These documents have been laid on the table of the House, and if a special motion was not made suspending Rule 74 there would be delay because the matter would have to go before the Printing Committee.

Mr. FIELDING: Surely my hon. friend does not mean to say that it is necessary to have an order of this House to get documents printed promptly. The Government can do that of its own motion. I am not offering the least objection, but I do not see the necessity for these special motions when the Governnment is having printing done right along without any motion in the House.

Sir SAM HUGHES: The hon. member is not familiar with advertising.

Mr. FIELDING: No, I am not.

Mr. J. A. CURRIE: The customary procedure is to send documents laid on the table of the House to the Printing Committee, and if the committee deems it advisable they are printed. Occasionally important documents are submitted and the House desires an immediate issue of them, in which event the motion is passed, the rule suspended and the documents are not sent to the committee. They are then charged against the appropriation of the Printing Committee.

Hon. Mr. MARCIL: I would bring to the attention of the minister who is leading the Government the fact that the rules regarding the Soldiers' Settlement Board of Canada have never been printed in French. A large number of requests have been made for these rules to be printed in French.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. gentleman is hardly in order in submitting his question on this motion.

Mr. BELAND: Is there any special mode of distribution contemplated in connection with these documents?

Mr. ROWELL: All the copies which the members desire would be available through the Distribution Office, but as regards the rest I do not think any plan has so far been decided upon for distribution. If my hon. friend has any suggestion with reference to the matter the Government would be very glad to have it.

Mr. BELAND: I should like to have as many as possible.

Motion as amended agreed to.

NAVIGABLE WATERS PROTECTION ACT AMENDMENT.

Hon. A. L. SIFTON (Minister of Public Works) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 11, to amend the Navigable Waters Protection Act.

Mr. McKENZIE: Will the minister explain the effect of this Bill?

Hon. Mr. SIFTON: The Bill has reference to an amendment which was made a year or so ago in the Navigable Waters Act in connection with permission given by the Department of Public Works for the construction of bridges or wharves upon navigable waters. The Bill tnat was passed provided for this permission, but not for the removal of obstructions if people should build without having obtained permission. The purpose of this Bill is to authorize the department, in the event of the violation of the law, to remove obstructions from navigable waters.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

THANKSGIVING DAY.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. ISAAC ELLIS PEDLOW (Renfrew South): I find in the evening papers an announcement to the effect that Monday, October 13, has been set aside as Thanksgiving Day, this decision having been arrived at by the Government. May I ask the Government if this announcement is authentic? That there might be no doubt in the matter I called up the King's Printer within the last half hour and have been informed that he has not yet received a copy of this announcement from the Government; nor has it yet appeared in the Canada Gazette. I call attention to this matter because I have a Bill standing on the Order Paper—

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. gentleman has given the ground work for his question and I think he has gone as far as he may.

Mr. PEDLOW: May I not finish my statement?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. genteman is not in order in making a statement on the Orders of the Day.

Mr. PEDLOW: My question is this: Am I to infer from the announcement, if it is authentic, that the Government are opposed to the proposition as contained in the Bill before the House?

Mr. DOHERTY: I may say that the Government has already arrived at the decision to set apart the 13th day of October as Thanksgiving Day, and the Order will be passed in due course. I do not know that action in regard to this particular year necessarily implies a determination as to whether or not for all time in the future we shall fix the particular day which the hon. gentleman desires to be selected as Thanksgiving Day. The question as regards the future remains entirely open.

GRATUITY ASSOCIATION OF RETURNED SOLDIERS.

MOTION BY MR. CURRIE TO ADJOURN THE HOUSE TO DISCUSS THEIR INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. J. A CURRIE (Simcoe North): Mr. Speaker, I have the honour to ask leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely: "The Gratuity Association of Returned Soldiers and the interview of its representatives with the Government."

Mr. SPEAKER: There is an old established rule of this House against anticipating a discussion which in the natural course would arise at a more or less early date in the session. We have upon the Order Paper standing for second reading Bill No. 10, an Act to amend the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Act, which will be broad in its terms, admitting of very wide discussion. There is also Resolution No. 16, standing in the name of the hon. member for Ottawa (Mr. Fripp), which deals in part with the question of the re-establishment of returned soldiers. Although neither the Bill nor the Resolution is so wide in terms as that which was dropped from the Order Paper this day, I am not altogether free from doubt as to whether we may not be anticipating, in this motion, a discussion which may arise at a very early date in the session. At the same time I do not feel it my duty to rule the motion out of order. Rather, I feel it is a question for the House. Is it the pleasure of the House that the hon. gentleman should have leave to move this motion?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. J. A. CURRIE (Simcoe North): Mr. Speaker, it is indeed with considerable diffidence that I bring this matter before the House, for I realize that when a question of such supreme importance as this comes to the attention of the public through a discussion in the House, the member who introduces the subject always lays himself open to the accusation that in his action, however laudable, he is self-seeking or desirous to obtain some degree of public advertising. Involved in this question also there is the possibility that I may be charged, being myself a returned soldier, with an attempt to institute class legistion. Permit me to say, Sir, that so far as

I am personally concerned I am by no means disposed to discuss either class or class legislation of any kind. I am too deeply imbued with the ancient idea of parliamentary government to desire that this House should spend its time in any discussion of class legislation. But in view of the fact that there has been a widespread agitation for further gratuities to the soldiers, and that there have been some public disturbance as the result, I feel that the House and the country will excuse me for seeking to bring this matter before Parliament at the earliest possible moment. My experience in parliamentary life, as well as the experience of those who have studied parliamentary law and history, shows that nothing will clear the atmosphere as readily as a discussion of questions of this kind on the floor of the House. For that reason, Sir, I was pleased beyond measure to see the hon. member for Calgary (Mr. Redman) to-day withdraw his motion, because, if the motion of a young member has stood in the way, he might have been accused of blocking the discussion by his motion on the Order Paper.

I remember very well that when I was in Opposition in this House, a certain young gentleman from the West used to come here every session and place upon the Order Paper a motion referring to the removal of taxation from farm implements. Then he would disappear every time that order was called and nobody could discuss that question during the session. It is only right and proper that the rules of the House should be rigid in every regard, but I notice, Sir, that you have modified your resolution in this case, no doubt in accordance with the new rule of the British House of Commons, which leaves matters of this kind largely to the discretion of the Speaker.

The Bill that has been brought before the House by the hon. the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) deals with Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. That Bill can be obtained in the distribution office. It deals with one department of the Government and with returned soldiers who are not yet discharged or demobilized. The discussion I wish to carry on to-day will not deal with that phase of the question at all. I will try to avoid that in every possible way and discuss this question purely with reference to the soldiers that have been demobilized.

Mr. ROWELL: The hon. gentleman is under a misapprehension.

Mr. CURRIE: I have the Bill and I have read it.

Mr. ROWELL: The Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment only deals with soldiers after they are discharged and have left the control of the Department of Militia and Defence. This is a general arrangement as between the two departments.

Mr. CURRIE: This Bill deals largely with wooden legs and does not deal with the question of future gratuities to soldiers. I am very glad to know that it is the intention of the Government to grant a committee on this Bill. It is within my recollection that it has always been the duty of this House to give a committee on every Bill that comes before it except money Bills which are dealt with in Committee of the Whole House. The experience is that whenever a Bill is brought in by the Government, or by a private member, the House sends it to one of its standing committees, if it comes within the scope of any standing committee. But if the Bill is of such a character that it does not come within the scope of any of the standing committees of the House, such as this Bill, it is sent to a special committee. There is nothing particularly new about sending this Bill to a special committee. If it is the intention of the Government to discuss this question at large, before they do that it is the duty of the minister to bring in another Bill dealing with the question of further gratuities to soldiers and let that Bill also go to the same committee. Otherwise we will find that when this Bill comes before the Committee the discussion may be very readily blocked by the chairman limiting the discussion to what is within the four corners of the Bill. The discussion of the question of granting any further gratuities to returned soldiers need not be proceeded with under this Bill at all, as there is no clause there dealing with it. I think the House understands that. I know that all the old members understand that, but there has been a great deal of camouflage in the press over the committee that is going to be appointed by the House and it has been spoken of as being something very wonderful. This House has a right to appoint a committee. That does not appertain to any particular member; it is the duty of the House. I think that in so far as this House is concerned, its scope and its duty—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I wish to remind the hon. member that the rule is very clear that the discussion on a motion of this char-

acter must be confined strictly to the subject matter of the motion.

Mr. CURRIE: Unfortunately the minister brought to my attention this Bill, and, of course, I must answer the remarks that he made. It is the question of the returned soldiers that I propose to take up to-day. I am endeavouring to bring a difficult subject before the House. It is the duty of every member to bring matters before this House for discussion so that members of the House may have an opportunity of discussing it in a public way. Putting the soft pedal on a difficult question such as this only creates dissatisfaction in the mind of the public and the belief that Parliament has lost its old-time vigour and is no longer the mouthpiece of the people.

In reference to the subject matter that I am going to deal with, I understand that an association has been formed in the city of Toronto by returned men and that it has been named the Returned Soldiers' Gratuity Association or something of that kind. The members of that association waited on the Government on Saturday last and made certain propositions with reference to further gratuities to returned soldiers. The question of gratuities to returned soldiers falls roughly under three heads. There is a demand for a cash gratuity for returned soldiers, especially those who cannot or who did not take up land. There has been a demand, emanating at first from Calgary, that the men who served in the trenches should get $2,000 in cash; those who went to England $1,500 and those who were enlisted and served for a term in Canada but who through disability were unable to go to the front, should get $1,000. That question came before the Great War Veterans Association at Vancouver, was discussed there and a committee was appointed to deal with it and to bring it to the attention of the Government. They brought it to the attention of the Government as the House will observe in the correspondence from Mr. McNeil, the secretary, which correspondence was laid on the table of the House on Friday last.

I understand that the Great War Veterans Association, of which I am one of the oldest members, only represent a small fraction of the number of returned soldiers, possibly not 15 per cent. There is a tremendous number of soldiers who have returned and who have not identified themselves with any of these associations. Consequently, it would be very difficult to speak entirely at large for the returned soldiers. No small organization—perhaps no organization so far in Canada—is in a position to speak entirely for the returned soldiers; consequently, the only place that the returned soldier really can be spoken for is in the House of Commons. The House of Commons contains a number of returned soldiers and these gentlemen from time to time during the last session held meetings for the purpose of dealing with the question of pensions and of keeping this matter before the House and the Government. But the committee of returned soldiers in the House does not contain all the members on both sides of the House and I do not think that we would be justified in assuming that its decision should be taken as final on any of these questions. We are not designated a committee of the House and we are not designated a committee for the returned soldier. After all, the only place where this question can properly and generally be discussed and where everybody can take part in the discussion is on the floor of the House. After all, Parliament represents the people and under our constitution it is the proper place for the discussion of public questions. For this reason I feel justified in bringing this question forward here, having it discussed and then leaving it to the Government to take any action they deem advisable.

I make this explanation because the newspapers have been drawing attention to the fact that I did not represent the Great War Veterans in bringing this question up in the House. I do not represent them—I confess. Members of the Army and Navy League, the Veterans and the Gratuity League desired to discuss this matter with me the other day but I told them that I preferred not to discuss it at all because I wanted to be a free member in a free House of Commons and that is my position in the matter.

Another matter that is desired to be drawn to the attention of the House is that of a gratuity to widows and the mothers of those who have given their lives in France. There is a widespread feeling amongst the returned men that the Government should give these women a gratuity equivalent to what their sons would have received had they returned home. This strikes a responsive chord in the hearts of a great many men as it does in the hearts of all the women of the country and it is a matter which should be discussed in this House.

Another matter that has been brought before the House and which should be attended to before we depart this session is the question of gratuities to students.

There is no class of the community in Canada who so cheerfully rushed to the colours, went to the front, and gave up their lives, as the boys who are attending the universities and colleges of this country. We all know that at one time the Princess Pats were decimated in France—decimation would be a mere figure of speech to characterize what happened to them, because there were only seventy or eighty men left in the whole regiment. When that battalion was completely wiped out it was recruited by young men from the universities of Canada—the university of Toronto, and the university of Laval, and the universities of McGill and Queen's. The students rushed in a body to take their places in the ranks of that regiment; and I am sorry to say the records will show that fully fifty per cent of that student body that went to the front from this country perished in France. Now, those of them who have come back have given up a great deal. Many of them were young men of eighteen or nineteen when they enlisted. They have returned men of twenty-three and twenty-four years of age, and it is exceedingly difficult for them to find their old places in the community; the cost of living, and of everything else, has grown so great that these young men have found themselves in a very difficult position in re-assuming their studies.

Now these are the three questions that are being discussed. I want to take the three matters up, one after the other, place some arguments before the House and leave the decision in its hands. Of course a division on the motion I have brought before the House is to a certain extent impossible. I know that the sympathies of members are with the returned soldier—the only question asked is: "Where are we going to get all this money?" But there are many people in the country who do not look at the question in that way and they slam the door in the returned soldier's face.. Now, the returned soldier who has come back from the war is just like a poor shipwrecked swimmer who has just reached the shore. He is exhausted from his struggle, he has been badly beaten and buffeted by the waves, the roar of the tempest and of the surf is still ringing in his ears, he does not understand his orientation, he does not know the north from the south, or the east from the west. He has changed greatly since he went away, and when he returns he finds that everything at home has changed. A dollar will not bring him as much as it brought him before. He finds that his former associates have changed. Some of the young fellows who worked alongside him have become rich men since he went away. When he comes to take back his position in the factory he finds that he has to take exactly the same position that he occupied when he left, and that many of the fellows who "slacked" at home are his seniors. He finds also that the law has been changed. Perhaps somebody, on his way home, hands him a flask in Montreal, and when he gets to Toronto the first thing he knows he is picked up by a policeman, brought to the police court, and sent to Burwash. I am told that 4,000 soldiers have been sent to Burwash and I do not quite approve of the operation of the law in that regard.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. CURRIE: As I say, the returned soldier finds that in his absence the laws have been changed. In speaking as I do I am merely expressing the views of my comrades. They come to me on the street and ask me the question: "Don't you think this is very unjust? Here is my chum Jack who fought with me two years in the trenches. He comes home and gets a flask of liquor at Halifax. When he reaches Toronto, he is picked up, he is pinched and sent up to Burwash to serve six months." That is what the soldiers are saying. Four thousand soldiers have been sent up there, men who have fought right in the trenches and helped to keep our liberty, but when they come home they have not got liberty, they find that something else has taken the place of the old-time liberty. Now the situation with the returned soldier is peculiar. His former friends do not seem to be very glad to meet him. Some of his old chums who stayed at home pass on the other side of the road—they do not pay very much attention to him. When he has been back in Canada a couple of weeks he is a worse wreck than he was when he left France because the sudden change has not been of benefit to him. The form of demobilization that we have adopted is not, and never was to my mind, a proper form, because when the soldier comes back from the war he must have something to lean on, and you should not take the returned soldiers, as we have taken them, march them on to the parade ground, and then give the order: "Pile arms. Take your uniform off, and if you wear it longer than a certain period you will be sent to jail." That is pretty drastic treatment with re-

spect to the uniform that the soldier wore with such honour and glory—the uniform that he was clothed in when he broke the Hindenburg line. There is nothing for it, the returned man has quickly got to get out of his uniform and in this respect, as in others, he finds things are not the same. As a matter of fact none of these men who have fought overseas, not one single one of them should be asked to do a turn of work after their return home for at least six months. We do not sufficiently appreciate the physical and mental condition of the men who have struggled and fought through such terrible experiences. They are not exactly normal. The records of our institutions will show that many of our bravest men have succumbed to mental trouble. None of them are in proper shape to take up their employment right away and something surely should be done, under those circumstances, to help them. To my mind in the first place they should never have been demobilized as quickly as they have been. It is no proper form of demobilization to tell a man to throw down his rifle and take his uniform off the moment he comes home. They did that in Russia and you know what the result has been. You must keep some sort of control over these men. What is going to happen if things continue as they are? We have lots of socialists in the country but thank God the returned soldiers have stood steadfast against these socialists and their propaganda in this country. In Vancouver, and elsewhere in the West, they told the Government and the civic authorities that they were at their call at any moment and they would help to suppress a revolt of any kind. They did the same thing in Winnipeg but because two or three shell-shocked individuals joined the socialistic tribe and raised a row, do not for one moment think they represent the great body of returned soldiers. The returned soldier knows very well he fought for our parliamentary form of government and our parliamentary form of freedom, and he is going to stay by them. He does not want our constitution changed into a soviet government, such as they have in Russia. He figures out these questions very well. He knows that the propaganda of the Bolshevik government of Russia and of the I.W.W. is directed entirely against everything he has fought for, and all he asks is justice from this House. If you cannot do anything for him you can explain the situation to him and he will be quite content, but he wants the question discussed now—that is his position. He is asking you to grant his request —as I have said—$2,000 for men who have served in France, $1,500 for those who served in England, and $1,000 for those who remained at home. Now I find in looking over the documents that were presented to the House by the President of the Privy Council—I was only able to take a hurried glance through them—that Australia is doing certain things for its men. Australia gives the returned man a tract of land for a very nominal rental and $2,000 in cash, and it is said they are going to raise the grant to $3,500 to start him in life. Now we have not done anything of that kind. Before the soldier went away, he understood that he could go out West and get 320 acres of the choicest land there by settling on it. When he comes back, by some strange method of hocus pocus, what has happened? He is told there is not any land at all in the West for him and if he wants land any place he must pay for it. I cannot understand it. I am going to go out West, if I can get away from my duties here, and find out what has happened there, because everybody understood there were thousands of acres available in the West; and if a man was given a lease of 320 acres of Western land and $2,500 or $3,000, to start him, he would be just as well off as the man in Australia. It is a great shame to realize what has happened in this country in respect to the land that we formerly owned when we realize what has taken place in Australia. If you will turn up the Parliamentary Companion you will find that Australia received four times as much for its public land as Canada has received for its public domain. There must be lots of land in the West, and there must be lots in the East, available for these soldiers. What we are doing is to make every one of them a debtor. We are giving them land, it is true, but we are placing them under a heavy obligation to pay us back for it. We are starting him as a debtor. They are put in a worse position than the rack-rented peasantry of Ireland or the fellaheen in Egypt. They will be renters and will be rack-rented with Government whips and scorpions, and you will have another Ireland in this country . Anybody with common sense knows that, and if these returned soldiers do not know it they quickly realize the conditions confronting them after they have gone on the land. Therefore something must be done to relieve their burdens. Australia and New Zealand are going to help their returned men in the manner I have indicated.

They lease the land in perpetuity and grant money. Is it wrong for us to do the same for our returned men? Of course, it will be said that we have done a great deal already. From the time I returned to Canada I have seen nothing but proclamations and heard nothing but shouting of what the Government and everybody else has done for the returned soldiers. I have seen thousands of dollars raised for returned soldiers on various tag days. I remember a tag day in the city of Toronto for the men who were allowed two weeks' furlough to visit their wives and families after being at the front two or three years. Twenty thousand dollars was collected, but I will wager not one of those men received ten dollars out of that fund. For every dollar that is being expended on the returned soldier or for his benefit, as near as I can make out about three dollars is spent on bureaus and organizations to get that money to him. Men are going up and down the country wearing uniforms and assuming titles to which they have no right, what time they are supposed to be looking after returned soldiers and drawing salaries of six and seven thousand dollars a year. All these job grabbers rush into these departments as soon as they are formed. Department after department, bureau after bureau is formed. We have a Soldiers' Disestablishment Department, we have a Soldiers' Re-establishment Department, we have a Pension Department— in fact, there are so many bureaus that this country is being turned into a bureaucracy. To my mind the whole thing could very well be looked after by the Department of Militia. After the Civil War in the States these matters were looked after by the War Department, and well looked after too. But we have the bureau fad as well as the Order in Council fad in our minds. The sooner we get back to the old forms of Parliamentary Government the better it will be for the country and for the returned soldier.

Let me now pass to the widows and orphans. I do not think there is any question at all of a gratuity being granted to the widows and mothers of those men who gave up their lives for Canada. Many of these women, of course, do not need any assistance. Many of the boys, I suppose, were insured. One of the bravest men in my regiment was also one of the wealthiest, and when he wanted me to let him go to war I said to him: "You have a wife and two children. You are only a young man. Why did you want to go to war?" He said: "I am a rich man. I do not think there is any man in the regiment whose wife and children will be better looked after if I am killed." Such men served us faithfully and well, they did their duty and gave up everything worth giving up to fight for the ideals of liberty and justice. Our Christianity is built on sacrifice, and only he who has made sacrifices can appreciate what such action entails. These men made the supreme sacrifice, and it should be the duty of this country to deal as fairly with their mothers and widows as they are dealing with those men who have been fortunate enough to return home. I do not think when that question comes before the House there will be any disposition to deny them a gratuity equivalent to what is granted the returned men.

I now come to the students. I have touched on that subject already and told you how they sacrificed themselves. The student body glorified itself, and the rolls of honour in the colleges bear eloquent testimony to their glorious services. No class has done as well as those boys, and surely they are entitled to the same consideration as the students are receiving in England. I understand the British Government is giving to each of its student soldiers a grant of £100 a year to enable them to continue their studies. Surely this House is big enough to say to its student soldiers: "Go and qualify yourselves for your professions at our expense." There are not so very many of them, and I can assure the House that the country will benefit a thousandfold by such action because these young men are made of the right kind of stuff, and when they enter their professions they will glorify them. In the United States the men who rose to great eminence in their professions were those who fought in the Civil War.

Mr. MORPHY: Will the hon. gentleman allow me a question? Does the Imperial Government pay to a Canadian who left this country and went into the Imperial service the student gratuity that he has just spoken of, if such student wishes to complete his education here?

Mr. CURRIE: Unfortunately the British Government limit the grant to those students who go through Cambridge, Oxford, or the British universities; I do not think that is fair. However, I think this country should do as well as England does. I want the House to understand distinctly that when I speak of the returned soldier I make no distinction, as far as I am personally concerned, as to whether he served

in the Imperial army or in the Canadian army.

The question arises: Where are we going to get all this money? I suppose the House is anxiously looking around and listening to the plea that we are going to become bankrupt. Now, I am not the Finance Minister, nor do I like to give lectures on finance, except when the question is before the House; but this subject involves a financial question, and unless some method can be shown whereby the money can be raised we could not very well ask the House to make the necessary grant. I know, Mr. Speaker, that it is only by your courtesy that I am permitted to make this digression. Of course, I should not talk finance unless there was a Bill before the House dealing with it, but, Sir, you will bear with me for a moment while I proceed, and I hope the House will show me similar indulgence.

We read in the press recently that Australia was going to get $300,000,000 or $400,000,000, as her share of the war indemnity. We have not yet heard what Canada is going to get.

Some hon. MEMBER: Nothing at all.

Mr. CURRIE: I am going to take occasion to point out to the House what Canada did in the war, and what I think we should be entitled to, and if I am able to do that the discussion will be worth something. Now, what have we done in the war? We went to war for freedom. We went of our own free will. There was no clause in the Constitution, there was no bond, there was no League of Nations Covenant or anything else; there was nothing to take us to the war but that great ideal of liberty which we wanted to defend. We did not go over to get a few acres of snow—we had lots. Somebody suggested that we should have Greenland, until it was discovered that Greenland belonged to Denmark, a neutral nation. But we could not expect to get any territorial advantage. We have taken our part modestly and our men have fought as well as those of any other army in the field.

General Currie, who recently returned, has told you that it was not the expectation that the war would end as it did last year. If you read Haig's despatches and those of the other generals you will find that nobody expected the war would end last year. It was a surprise. Soldiers will tell you that when they were sent in to the final drive they were not expected to drive through, for the simple reason that if they had been expected to do so they would have been supplied with new boots to continue the march up through Mons into Germany. Many of them struggled along barefooted until they reached German territory—all glory to them who broke the line. Who do you think broke the line and ended the war as it was ended, a year earlier than it was expected to end? The Canadian soldiers. I do not wish to cast any reflection on any of our Allies, but the fact stands out that when our men were given fifteen miles of line to break through—to make a demonstration is really what the generals expected—they went through, and they went through so fast that supplies and equipment could not keep up with them, and they fought the Germans to a finish and kept them on the run until they had driven them back into Germany.

The men who really broke the line were our own men. I do not wish hon. gentlemen to think that I am boasting about our men; the war despatches of General Haig and all the other despatches testify to this fact. I bring this point to the attention of the House for the purpose of showing that we were not laggards in this war; we were at the front and we did our duty every time we were asked to do it. The glory of winning the war really rests with us, because it was our final charge that counted; we were the "Old Guard" that broke the German line, and we take that credit to ourselves, because it is given to us by all the other Allies. But for us the war would have lasted another year.

That being the case, we now come to the Peace Treaty. We were represented at the Peace Conference, and through the Peace Treaty, which this Parliament has approved, we received at the Peace Conference our place in the sun. I did not speak in the debate on the Peace Treaty for the simple reason that, to my mind, we must treat it as we would treat a Hamburg steak—we must not inquire too closely into its antecedents. But one thing it did do: it gave us a seat at the council table of the nations; it showed that we were recognized by the nations of the world as a free people, as a people equal to those of any other nation. That was sufficient; that is really what we got out of the war.

Now, what did the other countries get out of the war? France gets Alsace and Lorraine. We do not begrudge her that. She gets the Saar Valley. She gets millions of tons of iron and coal in that district, a small royalty on which would pay the whole cost of the war to all the Allies. These iron and ore fields that she has won from Germany are greater than all the ore fields of Minnesota and the Western States—and you all

know how large those are. France, therefore, is to get back her old territory and she is to get a large acquisition of territory in Africa. Belgium gets an indemnity. Italy gets territory—and she is not satisfied with what she is getting.

We turn now to the other British colonies, who fought just the same as we did—and I am going to make this point as an argument in favour of special consideration of our case. All the colonies, dominions, or dependencies that went into the fight alongside of us are receiving something out of this war which is far above and beyond any money consideration. South Africa is getting an empire greater than the whole of the United States. Great Britain is getting Palestine and Mesopotamia with its oil fields, its coal and gold, and its free route on British territory to India. Australia is getting a mandatory power over the islands in the Pacific, German colonies worth hundreds of millions. Our good friends to the south of the line, the United States, stayed out of the war a good while, and what do they get? All the loose change that is lying around in the world—that is what they get. As for Canada, we get no territory. If Australia is getting $400,000,000, the least Canada should get to recompense her for her part in the war should be $1,000,000,000, or only a hundredth part of the total indemnity—and surely we did more than a hundredth part of the fighting in this war. We are entitled to it, and out of that amount we could very well pay our pensions and any gratuities that we require to pay, without its costing this country a single dollar. If we do not spend the money that way, we will spend it on railways, at the rate of from $20,000,000 to $50,000,000 a year. Or there may be demands for a further navy, though no one has yet decided what a future navy shall be like. But if anybody is entitled to a gratuity, surely it is the man who fought overseas I do not think this country should hesitate one minute to see that they get it.

4 p.m. Mr. Speaker, for the last three years this House has been doing its best to shift the weight of the burden of taxation from one shoulder to the other; it has adopted virtually what I would call a policy of free trade. We have taken the duties off a great many articles, and there is a constant cry that the duty should be taken off everything. Several years ago I pointed out, in an address delivered in this House, that if we wished the soldier to have a place for himself and to have employment after he came back from the war, the fiscal policy of the country should be such as would build up great industrial institutions within our borders. I do not think that any one in this House can point out to me one new industry that has been established in Canada as a result of the war. No hon. gentleman can rise in his place and say that the Government during the war so adjusted its programme as to facilitate the establishment of new industries in order that employment might be given to the returned soldier.

Mr. M. CLARK: I do not know whether my hon. friend meant that to be a challenge. But I should like to ask him whether he does not think there is enlightenment along the line of his question as to the ability of our country to build up industries without special feeding for years, in the fact that Canada, during the brief period of the war, turned to what for her was an absolutely new industry—the making of munitions; and that she made munitions profitably and in quantities beyond the possibilities of exaggeration?

Mr. CURRIE: I am quite well aware of the hon. gentleman's ideas along that line. But no thanks are due to this House or to the Government for the large proportions which the munitions industry assumed in this country. The directors of companies, the private individuals who put up the funds, were responsible for the development of that industry, not the Government. But in England, whence the member for Red Deer came, there was not a manufacturer who was not deluged with money which was advanced to him for the buying of machinery and the building of factories for making munitions. That money came from the Government; and we can readily understand how it was that the Government, after seeing that the manufacturer had recompensed himself, asked him for a part of his profits in taxes, which he willingly gave. If any manufacturer was given a large factory full of machinery and a contract so that at the end of a year the cost of his plant and equipment is amortized and everything is paid for, I do not think any one would object if the Government went to him then and said: Next year we want half your profits. That is what happened in England, but it is not what happened here. No thanks are due to the Government, nor the country, I repeat, for having, through any part of its programme, caused the munitions business to become such a large business in Canada. The only man in the Government who had anything to do with it, so far as

I know, was the former Minister of Militia (Sir Sam Hughes). He did his best; certainly he blazed the way, and others followed. But the hon. gentleman (Mr. M. Clark) cannot base any argument along that line upon the fact that the private individual put his money into this business and made it successful.

Mr. M. CLARK: Does the hon. gentleman not see that he is admitting my contention that private enterprise is sufficient, under special circumstances, especially when there is a market, to build up industries? Does he not see that he is really conceding my point?

Mr. CURRIE: The hon. gentleman may think so, but I do not, and I do not think anybody else does. The hon. gentleman is very sore because his position during the war was antagonistic to the establishment of any industries in this country to help out the returned soldier, and he is afraid now of what will happen when he gets back to his riding and has to face his electors.

These young men, when they come home will want positions, and if you cannot give them farms, then you must provide factories for them, or things of that kind. We all know what position our country took in the manufacturing of the world during the war and no one is prouder of it than I am, but our exports have fallen off already since the war ceased. No effort has been made to continue our war export trade. Nothing to my mind has been done by the Government to help restore our industries to their normal condition. Anything of that kind that has been done has been entirely due to the private individual, and God knows he has difficulty enough. There are hundreds of factories idle in this country, and the reason soldiers are walking the streets discontented is because business is not being carried on as usual in this country, whereas imports from the United States have virtually doubled. The Americans who never went to the war are getting the money, making the boots and shoes and hats and everything else for our returned soldiers. That is not right, and I think my friends the farmers will agree with me. We simply have to go to their relief. I said in this House last year that we would have to fix a price for wheat, and a lot of free traders, my hon. friend from Red Deer (Mr. Clark), for one, said that was against free trade principles. But the Government had to come to that idea, and so did the grain growers and the farmers, because things were not normal, and until they are the Government must assist. I say that an additional tax on everything brought into this country of from five to six per cent—the average is now only twenty-two per cent—would give the Government a sum ample to pay all the gratuities for the returned soldiers and to set aside a sinking fund and wipe out the debt in ten or fifteen years. Anybody who knows anything about finance knows that. He knows that from that twenty-two per cent duty we are drawing to-day about $165,000,000, and yet we have men saying that all the taxes should be put on the shoulders of those who have a few dollars. Why should our method of taxation bear hard upon one class of people of this country? Everybody knows that income taxation is the hardest and most disagreeable kind of taxation in the world. It is like the hut tax on the poor African negro who has to pay five dollars a year for nothing. There are lots of cranks going around who say there should only be one kind of tax and that should be collected from the land. If that method of taxation should be adopted my friends the farmers would have to pay every dollar of the war debt. The best form of taxation is that which bears most lightly on the people. Suppose we had not won the war. Suppose our soldiers had not broken the Hindenburg line. Suppose we had not been victors in this fight. Apart altogether from the $500,000,000 or $1,000,000,000 that it would have cost this country to carry on the war for another year. Suppose we had lost the war, how much do you think every farmer and every other man in this country would have had to contribute to the German tax that would have been immediately put on? There is not an acre of ground in this country that would not have been sold over again to the farmer. There is not a bushel of wheat that would not have been taken, just as they took the wheat from the Roumanians and paid nothing for it. Bear in mind that the men who prevented that condition from existing to-day are these very men whom I am endeavouring to represent in my modest way in the House here to-day. These are the arguments which the men themselves have, and I think they are arguments that can be repeated to this House and to common sense people everywhere, in support of further gratuities to the men.

I have told you how the money could be got by the German surtax from what they have to pay for the war, and they will pay it. They will have to pay that $100,000,000,000, and if they cannot England will lend them the money just as England and Ger-

many bought the bonds of France to help France pay off her indemnity to Germany. Now we are going to get a piece of that indemnity and this Government will be derelict in its duty when the question comes up as to how much of that indemnity we are going to get if it does not present these arguments and point out that we are not receiving millions of dollars' worth of territory, we are not receiving empires comparable with South Africa or Mesopotamia, or that we went into the war without any hesitation and did not expect anything out of it, but as $100,000,000,000 of an indemnity is coming from Germany, and I hope something from Austria too, Canada is entitled to some of that coin, and we are desirous of putting that money in the hands of the men who fought for us.

Now comes the question how this matter can best be dealt with by the House. The Bill to which the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) has drawn my attention is not sufficiently wide to my mind.

Mr. EDWARDS: Before discussing that phase can my hon. friend say whether the returned soldiers who have asked for $2,000, $1,500 and $1,000 for those respectively who went to France or England, or remained in Canada, make any distinction as to the length of time a soldier may have served in France? Would they give the $2,000 gratuity to the soldier who was in France a week, and the same amount to a soldier who had been in France three years?

Mr. CURRIE: There has been no distinction made by the men. Ever since the men started to come back efforts have been made to raise these distinctions by outsiders who wanted to break up the men's organization. The first effort was made before the Pension Committee to see that the men got the same rate of pension as the officers. Coming back to my hon. friend's question, I have seen a man come from England and go right into the trenches and be killed inside of five minutes. I know another young man who was in the trenches only six minutes when he lost his left leg and left arm. He draws the same pension as the man who served five years in the trenches. There is no distinction made. It does not matter whether he was in the trenches five minutes or ten minutes or ten years. There is no argument in favour of quibbling of that kind. But they have made a distinction between the men who did not get to the trenches and those who did. The men are all agreed that the gratuity for the former should not be as much, but so far as the men who were in the trenches and were under gun and shell fire are concerned it makes no difference whether they were there ten minutes or ten years. It is just luck whether he gets killed inside of five minutes or not. None of the soldiers would support these distinctions. The last men to make distinctions between themselves and the officers are those who fought under the officers. The junior subaltern who led his platoon with rifle and bayonet and fought just like one of the men, the little lad whom they followed over the top at the zero hour was not drawing as good pay as an armour sergeant, and his wife at home suffered more than any private in the ranks for the simple reason that the Patriotic Fund would not allow her to receive a cent. His average pay would not be more than from $3.50 to $4 a day; the sergeant was drawing more money and his wife was receiving assistance from the Patriotic Fund. The men I have spoken to say: "We want the officer to get his proper place, if there is any proper place for him. There is an occasional officer who is a rotter, but there are rotters everywhere and you run across them occasionally. That cannot be helped."

Mr. POWER: I did not quite gather the full effect of my hon. friend's reply to the question of the hon. member from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards). Did I understand him to advocate that all men who served in France should receive equal gratuity, that the military landing officer at Boulogne for instance should receive the same gratuity as the man who fought in the front line trenches?

Mr. CURRIE: The law has clearly distinguished between the man who is entitled to the war medal, the man who has fought in the actual war-zone and the man who has not. The distinction that has been made is, to my mind, amply sufficient. One man might have been in the trenches for nearly five years and have been fortunate enough to have escaped without being wounded. I know of several who have never left the trenches except for a furlough of ten or twelve days and have emerged unscathed, whereas, on the other hand, others have not been in the trenches ten minutes—indeed, in some cases, three minutes—when they were killed. The widow of the man who unfortunately was killed at the end of the war and the widow of the soldier killed after only ten minutes of struggle should be placed in the same category so far as

compensation is concerned, for their sacrifice to the nation's cause is precisely the same. There is no difference between their position, and it is not in the interests of the returned soldiers that any distinction should be made between cases of this nature. Great efforts are being made to create such distinctions, which are not only invidious but, from a national standpoint, should be severely discountenanced. A good deal has been said derogatory of the conscript, but for my part I raise my hat to the man who went overseas after the enactment of conscription. It was the conscript forces that broke the Hindenburg line; the Canadian army contained over fifty per cent of conscripts, and the irresistible advance of these men shattered the enemy. So it ill becomes us to say that they were not just as good fighters as the volunteers and not entitled to every consideration. You cannot divide the returned soldiers by any such line of demarcation, because the moment you argue in that way you give him to understand that you are antagonistic to him, and he takes it for granted that you are stirring up trouble between him and his comrades. A considerable amount of far-fetched criticism is indulged in at the expense of the returned soldiers, and an attempt is being made to intimidate the farmers and others with absurd stories about the alleged recklessness of the men who have come from overseas. All kinds of yarns are told about them, one example being the story of the returned soldier who, hired by a farmer, was sent to milk a cow and finding the animal refractory killed it with a pitchfork. The soldier, however, cannot be found.

Mr. M. CLARK: Did any one find the cow?

Mr. CURRIE: No—I am afraid this tale is on a par with fabulous pair of socks which the woman knitted for use overseas and which were found at Hudson bay. That is an innocent story compared with some others, but the evident intention is to prejudice the farmers against the employment of these men. As to what we should do, I think the Government could appoint a special committee of the House to deal with the whole question, so that there might be no possibility of narrowing the scope of the committee. I think myself, it would be a very good thing to have a motion passed in this House to investigate some of the new departments with a view to ascertaining just what they are doing. The returned soldiers are not pleased with the Department of Soldier's Civil Re-Establishment. I have received a number of letters in reference to that organization, and I think that the entire subject should be inquired into by a parliamentary committee. I know a pamphlet has been sent to the members stating that it is not the intention of the committee to go into anything that has been done by this department. If it is necessary I will introduce a resolution, and I should like to see this committee, if it is appointed, take up that matter and carefully consider it. The returned soldiers are sending all kinds of complaints to me, and other members are receiving complaints also to the effect that this department is of no earthly use. The complaint is made that a man is being taught about automobiles, for example, by one who does not know the difference between a carburettor and a muffler, and men are trying to teach telegraphy by a system in vogue twenty years ago. This subject should be investigated, and the President of the Privy Council will, I hope, introduce a resolution giving us the assurance that this committee when it is appointed will have the power to inquire into all these questions, and will not simply deal with this particular question alone. I have spoken at greater length than I intended, Mr. Speaker, but I have endeavoured to answer all the arguments against the proposition that the returned soldier is entitled to further consideration. I have shown the House that he is not asking too much, and I think I have made it quite clear that he is a good and eminently loyal citizen, who is ready to stand up for law and order when revolution threatens. His whole object in life is to see his country worthy of its position as one of the greatest, and I have every faith in his honesty and integrity. No one has a greater stake in the country than has the returned soldier, and we must bear in mind that if in our efforts to help him the country is put into debt, he is helping to liquidate that debt. I am a returned soldier and I pay my income tax. I pay my income tax on the enormous amount I receive as a member of Parliament. We are all willing to pay our share, and the returned soldier is willing to take off his coat and work strenuously to make his country worth while. I trust therefore that we will stand behind these men and give them every advantage which it is in our power to bestow. I will be willing, Mr. Speaker, to answer any questions that may be asked of me, and I hope that we shall reach the conclusion that these returned men deserve everything

which a grateful Government and country can do in their behalf.

Mr. NESBITT: The hon. member has told us what the returned soldiers want and what the resolution passed at Calgary meant, but he has not told us what he himself wants. He has not told us whether he is in favour of the proposition or not.

Mr. CURRIE: If the hon. gentleman will read my speech he will find that I endorsed the gratuity to returned soldiers in accordance with the Calgary resolution. I also said that I consider the widows and orphans and mothers of men who were killed in France are entitled to a gratuity the same as men who came home. Further, I am in favour of a substantial amount to every student going to the university. That is my position on the question.

Mr. G. W. ANDREWS (Winnipeg Centre): In rising to speak on the subject before the House I desire at once to express my gratitude to the hon. member for Simcoe North (Mr. Currie) for bringing this matter up in the way he has done. I quite agree that this is the place in which to air grievances, the place where allegations can be proved or refuted as the case may be. With much that my hon. friend has said I am in hearty accord, but with some of it I do not at all agree. However, with regard to his statement that the soldiers came back rolling through foam and spray and did not know what they were doing, I may say that that cannot apply to me personally.

I think, Sir, that this is a proper matter to come before the House. When everything has been said to the contrary, the fact remains that there is unrest amongst the returned fighting men. This unrest, in my opinion, is caused solely by the inevitable injustice of war. With your permission, Sir, I will cite a couple of illustrations of the injustice consequent upon war. There are two brothers, one of whom went overseas and into the trenches, the other going into a munitions factory. The poor boy who went overseas remained there for a year, suffering all the horrors and hardships incident to modern warfare. He never slept in a bed, he was greatly inconvenienced by vermin, and eventually, a big shell dropping near him, he was disembowled—his comrade takes him back to the dressing station where he dies. The brother in the munitions factory has slept every night in a good bed, and has made more money than he ever made before. He is alive and has married since. Both these men were doing absolutely essential war work. The lad in the trenches could not have lasted one week unless the fellow at home supplied him with the necessary munitions, but I think it will be conceded that there is no comparison between the sacrifices of the two men. Take a second example, a couple of doctors. One of them goes overseas and the other stays at home. They could not both go. The man who went overseas returns and sees some of his old patients going into the other medico's office. These patients had to go somewhere. He also notices that the medical stay-at-home is living in a much bigger house than when he went overseas, and that he drives a much more expensive car. So we have it right down the line from the lawyer, the doctor, the civil engineer to the man digging; we find that the fellow who went overseas got the bad end of the stick. There is no use in denying that. We find, since the beginning of the war, lavish display and luxury cropping up. The streets are filled with new motor cars. In my own province in 1914 there were 10,000 odd licenses for cars; the last return shows that there are now 27,000.

I am not going to try to speak for all the returned soldiers in Canada. I speak for myself. I do not begrudge any man a car; I would like to see every man own a car, but if there are spare cars going around, I would like to have one, too. That is my personal feeling, and in expressing these thoughts to my comrades I find that they are met with at least a smile; they understand what I mean.

The average man did not go to the war for the money that was in it. He does not come back expecting to be paid for it. You could not pay him if you tried. But the fact does seem to me apparent, Mr. Speaker, that if any man during the last five years really earned a new motor car it was the man who risked his life for his country. There is one other phase that has appealed to me personally, and that is the psychological end of it. I venture upon this question with a certain amount of diffidence, for I do not know much about psychology, but the soldier comes back to Halifax and he is still very largely influenced by the spirit which took him over and bore him up through all the trials and troubles that he encountered over there. He is in a heroic mood. He is cheered and acclaimed by the people at home. He wears his medals with pride, he is smiled on by the ladies and everything is just as he hoped it would be when he was on the

other side. But in a few weeks he is demobolized, and you cannot demobilize the soldier too quickly to please him. It is something he has been looking forward to for a long time. He has been looking forward to the time when he would be back safe and sound in old Canada and at work again. But once you get back to civilian clothes and get back to work you seem to miss something. It begins to gall you under the collar. I do not know what it is that the men miss; perhaps it is the comradeship, but personally I think the smiles of the ladies have a good deal to do with it. It is a fact that all women love a fighting man. If he is in uniform he is received with a proud smile, but for some reason or other when he gets back to civilian clothes they size him up in a little different manner. Sometimes I think they size him up for his ability to keep a house going, to support a family and to maintain a car. But there is a distinct difference between the soldier in uniform and one in civilian clothes. That cannot be helped.

I have tried to bring before the members of this House some of the points of view that have a bearing upon the question of the returned soldiers and some of the causes for the prevailing unrest. Now that we have the unrest I shall try to suggest, if I may, the remedy. First of all, I think we must realize the tremendous job ahead of us. The successful re-establishment of the returned soldier is so intimately bound up with the general prosperity of this country. The job of reconstructing the ravages of the war is such a big one, that it is going to take all the men, all the returned soldiers, all the women, all the babies for the next twenty years to accomplish it. We want to realize that it is a big job just as the war was a big one, and we can only deal with it successfully by having goodwill and an absolute desire to accomplish the end. Goodwill is something which only comes by sacrifice to the common end.

It is hard perhaps to express to you exactly what I mean by comradeship. There is nothing quite like it in the world. With it you can do anything; without it you can do nothing. I remember that once it was my duty to help bury in one orchard all classes and all ranks of the sons of Canada and there lie, if my memory serves, the son of a senator, the son of a millionaire and the son of a labour union leader in one shell hole. I have yet to learn that any one class in this country has all the virtues or all the good points which go to make up this common citizenship and goodwill without which we can do nothing.

Right here I should like to say a word on another phase of the subject. I want to register here and now my protest against the loose way in which we are using the word "profiteer." Who is the profiteer? Is it the man who makes profits? That sounds very like a good business man. Can any hon. gentleman suggest to me that we could run this country successfully if we eliminated or hounded out of business our successful business men? Is it likely that we will ever get that goodwill and unity that I have spoken of by calling some of our men profiteers? I can never believe that ninety per cent of the business men of this country are profiteers. God only knows, I hold no brief for the man who has made money out of the distress and turmoil of this war, but there is not in my acquaintance a man of the calibre who might properly be called a profiteer and I want to register my protest right now against the loose way in which profiteers are being spoken of in almost every newspaper in the country. It was brought to my attention more particularly during the labour parade in Ottawa. They had a dummy on a string labelled "profiteer"; they were hauling him up and down on a derrick and every time he went up to the top the crowd cheered. The question just struck me: What is a profiteer? The more I thought of it the more satisfied I was that it was time for me to stand up and say something on the subject.

Last session it was my duty to place on record my protest against the use of the word "Bolshevik" with reference to a few men who were striking to better their conditions of life and I equally and just as emphatically wish to go on record as protesting against the loose way in which the word "profiteer" is being used.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege to be very closely connected with the work of re-establishing the returned soldier. I am proud to be able to say that in my opinion of all the countries engaged in the task of re-establishing the soldier, Canada stands second to none.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. ANDREWS: But I would say this: there is much yet to be done. I believe we can do it, I believe we have the will to do it.

In 1917 the election programme was: The last man, the last dollar if necessary to win this war, and you will remember that I was returned by the biggest

majority ever known in Canada. That, I believe, was the true spirit of Canada. It is the spirit which prevails now, and we shall win in our efforts to surmount the difficulties that confront us.

Mr. R. J. MANION (Fort William and Rainy River): Mr. Speaker, as one of those who served at the front for some time and saw the courage, sacrifice, tenacity, and cheerfulness of our men under most appalling conditions, I feel that it is perhaps my duty to take some slight part in this discussion. I agree with the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. Currie) that a discussion of this kind is perhaps wise for the good of the country at the present time. I have become more or less convinced that free and open discussion on practically all occasions lets off steam, so to speak, and perhaps does good in the country. I also agree with the hon. gentleman that in certain cases injustices have been done by the Government in the handling of the returned men, although at the same time I submit that this Government has done exceptionally fine work in its handling of the men. Still I agree with him that there have been injustices done. For example, in my own city, I have seen the appointment made of a man who was not a returned soldier to a $3,000 position, which I protested against. That position might well have been filled by the selection of a returned soldier from some other part of the country.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MANION: Sir, I think that cases of that kind should not have occurred. They are the small items in the handling of the returned soldier which have caused a great deal of the dissatisfaction and unrest in this country. But I submit also that the Government of Canada, just the same as the other governments of the world, was inexperienced in the handling of such vast problems as we have had to handle since this war began. Therefore, I think that the Government, whichever party happened to be in power, could easily be excused for having made a number of mistakes in the handling of the men who came back from the front.

Now, Sir, I wish to disagree with the hon. member (Mr. Currie) on one point which he made. He stated that only fifteen per cent of the returned soldiers are members of the Great War Veterans' Association. I have it on the best authority, from one of the high officers—

Mr. CURRIE: I said active members.

Mr. MANION: The hon. member now states that he said "active members." I did not so understand him; I thought he said "members." I was about to say that I have it on the authority of one of the high officers of the Great War Veterans' Association that over 200,000 of the soldiers who came back from the front, which is something like fifty per cent of the total, are members of that association. However, the hon. gentleman may be correct in his statement of the number of active members; I am not a very active member of the association myself, so I cannot check up his figures.

I also wish to make one allusion to the remarks from my hon. friend from Centre Winnipeg (Mr. Andrews), who has just taken his seat, who said that the existing unrest is very largely the result of the inequalities which existed between the men who served overseas and those who did not serve overseas. I agree with him that a great deal of the unrest is caused and brought about by, perhaps, an accentuation of the differences which really existed before, and for centuries before. But I believe that the recent war will, perhaps, bring about a type of civilization in this world whereby the people of the world will not stand for those vast inequalities which have existed in the past.

Mr. Speaker, as a returned man, and as one who made a fair amount of financial sacrifice in going to the front, I do not know anything that I could accept more easily than $2,000, unless, perhaps, it were $3,000. And, by the way, Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask you if you could tell me who it was that originally set this cheap price of $2,000 upon the glorious individual actions of our men at the front—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MANION: —those men who won imperishable fame at the front and won a reputation equal, if not superior, to the men of any other country who served in the armies of the Allies. In making that observation, Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that I used to think that was only a figure of speech, but since serving overseas and seeing the work of the noble boys who fought over there, I firmly believe that the Canadian corps was at least the equal of, if not the superior to, any other corps that fought on the western front. Then, Mr. Speaker, who is it that sets a price of $2,000 upon achievements of that kind? Why all the riches of the Indies could not buy the imperishable fame that our men won in Flanders and France by their sacrifice and

their courage? I should like to ask further—I should like to ask the hon. member for Simcoe, or anybody who advocates that $2,000 be paid to our soldiers—if the men are willing to sell that heritage of glory for a mess of pottage, in the shape of $2,000, which is mentioned?

Mr. CURRIE: I want to answer that question. I think it is a very cheap and contemptible form of argument against the returned men.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. MANION: The hon. member may think what he likes about it being a cheap form of argument, but I must say that I could not express in parliamentary language my opinion of his style of argument.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear

Mr. MANION: I should like to ask if our boys ever expected to get $2,000 when they went to the front as an extra gratuity? As one who went and served over there I submit they did not expect any $2,000; I never heard a gratuity of any kind discussed over there. I did not expect a gratuity and so far as I am concerned the gratuity which I received was a total surprise to me. Mr. Speaker, there is nobody in this House or out of it who thinks more nobly of our boys who served so courageously at the front than I. There is no person in this House or out of it who thinks they should receive better treatment from this country than I think; but at the same time I wish to say that I have yet to discover any man, in this House or out of it, who does not hold the same view as I do regarding the very finest treatment of our boys who have returned from overseas. And, Sir, I resent, as a returned soldier, the imputations which have been cast upon serious, high-minded public men, who do not wish to blindly promise $750,000,000 to the returned soldier unless they see some possibility of raising that sum, unless they see no fear of bankrupting our country in doing it, and unless and until they feel sure that they will not bring about the collapse of the whole financial structure of this country by attempting to pay that sum. Mr. Speaker, anybody I think will agree with me in those remarks when he looks at the immense increase in the debt of this country since the war began. Let me briefly review our financial position: Canada owed $330,000,000 before the outbreak of hostilities or a matter of $40 per head for every man, woman and child in the country. Canada to-day owes $250 per head, amounting practically to $2,000,000,000. The interest on our national debt was about $15,000,000 per annum before the war. The interest on our national debt to-day is $115,000,000 per annum. Our pension bill, which was nil before the war, or practically nil, is to-day something like thirty to forty million dollars per annum. Another $125,000,000 is being spent on the Soldiers' Settlement Board. Another thirty or forty million dollars—I have forgotten the exact figures as I am giving them from memory—on the Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. Then there is the upkeep of the country, the deficits in the operation of our railways, and vast other sums which have to be raised. Therefore, I think it is a reasonable view to take that we should seriously consider how we are going to obtain the $750,000,000 for the purpose in question. I admit the hon. gentleman (Mr. Currie) has informed us that we are going to get it from Germany, but before we undertake to spend money we must obtain it, and we certainly have not yet obtained any indemnity from Germany. But I agree that if eventually Germany does pay the indemnity which has been imposed on her it will be the duty of the British Government to see that Canada gets her just share. I think this Government will look after that part of it, and if they do not they will be derelict in their duty.

Personally I think that one of the greatest menaces in this country to-day are the demagogues who are ready at a moment's notice to accede to the irresponsible demands of any class of people. In my opinion they are panderers to popular prejudice, who are ready to promise anything which the people demand, so long as they do not have to give it themselves; and all they demand in return, Mr. Speaker, is the vote of the people to whom they are pandering. Unfortunately it is a sad comment upon our public life that too frequently these demagogues get the votes, and the high-minded, serious citizens, citizens who love not only the returned soldiers but this country of ours, are shoved aside.

Mr. Speaker, $750,000,000 is an immense amount of money. Outside of this imaginary indemnity which we are to receive, I have not heard it discussed where this money is to come from, nor how it is to be raised. I have not heard or read of its being discussed in any public meetings whether the vast majority of the men who have served overseas desire this proposed gratuity of $2,000, nor have I heard it discussed whether it is the best thing for

them. I have heard the fathers of soldiers, and soldiers themselves, in fact most of them I have met knocking about this city—one who served with me and lost a leg—say they were not in favour of this $2,000 indemnity. We need production in this country. Will a payment of $2,000 to each of these returned men help production; or, as some people claim, will it send fifty per cent of them out on an extended holiday and lessen production? These are vital questions, and they are not generally discussed at public meetings.

The men who have returned from the front should receive the best treatment this country can give them. But I wish to repeat what the President of the Council gave to the House the other day, that so far as this country is concerned we have treated our men better than any other country in regard to monetary arrangements. I agree with the remarks made, I think, by the hon. member for Centre Winnipeg (Mr. Andrews) that no money can repay the men who have been out there—$2,000, $3,000, $10,000, $20,000, could not repay them for the sacrifices they made. But, as a matter of fact, Sir, these men did not go out there for money. What one of these men would have gone to work at a job like that for $1.10 a day? One compensation to those of us who served out there—and it is rarely mentioned—is the satisfaction of knowing that in this war we played the parts of men. Is not that a priceless possession for us to hand down to our children? Mr. Speaker, I would not sell that possession for any figure you could name. And what about those who do not need or do not want this $2,000 gratuity—men who perhaps, as the hon. member for Simcoe mentioned, do not require the money, men who are well fixed financially? Some of these returned men do not wish to get anything else but a good position, and are they to be forced to take $2,000? Then there are the men who have better positions to-day than they would ever have had had there not been this war; are those men to be given $2,000? I admit that such men are vastly in minority, I admit that the majority of the men who went to the front made financial sacrifices—and if I may be excused for a personal reference, I am one of those who did make a financial sacrifice. But as far as I am concerned, I am ready to accept that financial sacrifice as part of the price I paid for the privilege of going out there and helping in my humble way to preserve civilization by curbing the abnormal ambitions of the German Emperor.

Mr. Speaker, let us think of our dead—our noble dead, those men who but a short time ago lived and loved as we do now. Would they demand $2,000 to be permitted to come back and join us here? I think of two of them at this moment, two who assisted me when I was medical officer of the Twenty-first Battalion—Private Boswell and Corporal Holden. They were among those whom I grew to admire, to respect and to love out there. They were charming, gallant boys, one of them with a little wife and family waiting here and longing for him to come back. I can see them now, Mr. Speaker, as they strode smilingly into danger zones that the bravest hesitated to enter. I can see them for days and nights after the battle of Vimy Ridge standing under heavy shell fire in an open trench dressing wounded men, snatching an odd hour of sleep in the snow and mud at the bottom of the trench, and never uttering a complaint. Those men were recommended by me for decoration for that act, and it was only one of a thousand noble deeds which they performed. Do you mean to tell me, Mr. Speaker, that those men would demand $2,000 to come back to life, and love, and health and youth here in Canada? If the dead know what we do here on earth—and perhaps they do—must they not smile sometimes at the demands of the living? How they must say to themselves: Are you not satisfied that you came back in health, while we must lie out here in the cold soil of France and Flanders? Let our country keep its $2,000, but give us back our lives, our loves, our youth. When we think of them and the price they paid, does it not seem petty that we should be demanding money for the price we paid?

I do not wish to be misunderstood in speaking of this $2,000 gratuity, or in speaking of this question at all. Let me repeat that this country must do everything it can possibly do to help these men who have come back from the front, and cases of injustice must be righted. Some system, it appears to me, must be devised whereby cases of real hardship can be helped; cases which require assistance to start them anew in life should be given that assistance.

I thoroughly agree with the hon. member for Simcoe regarding the university students, a lot of whom enlisted when they were about to enter the university and they gave up their future to serve their country. It seems to me that some system of loans might be devised whereby those

boys would be assisted to complete their education and be put in a position to qualify for a professional career. In addition to those, some system should and must be established in this country whereby all classes suffering hardship should be helped, because I do not believe it is the opinion of our people that any man who played a noble part over there should suffer hardship, or any of his dependents accept charity.

As the hon. member for Simcoe explained, Great Britain has organized an institution of this kind and is helping students to complete their university course and qualify for the professions. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that some such system as that applied not only to the students but to all other classes would meet with the support of the people even if it cost $100,000,000 or $150,000,000. I believe the country is very desirous of repaying our gallant boys for the noble part which they took out there at the front; the only thing they ask is that the price be not prohibitive, that it be within the resources of this country.

What would it profit our soldier boys if they gained these demands at the cost of the destruction of our country? I think that blatant demagogues should not be encouraged; ranting, irresponsible agitators should not be tolerated, because they are neither friends of the returned soldiers, nor good, loyal citizens of our country.

As a returned soldier who has at heart not only the interest of the returned soldier, but also the interests of my beloved country, I appeal to our heroic men to show the same steadfast qualities here in Canada that helped to hold the line in France, and not to allow petty politicians looking for votes or irresponsible agitators looking for notoriety and power to seduce them into betraying the country which they so recently offered to die for.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK (Red Deer): Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a few practical words upon what is, after all, a very practical and urgent question—we should not be discussing it if the House had not voted that it was an urgent question. I would wish from the bottom of my heart that we should approach it with the utmost sincerity and with absolute freedom from any party bias. The speeches which have preceded what I have to say in this debate have been admirable from that point of view. I think we are indebted to the member for North Simcoe (Mr. Currie); he need have made no apology for bringing this question before the House; I think he has done a public service. The advantage of approaching it without party bias, if we have regard to the urgency of the subject, is that there will be a possibility of our arriving unanimously at a wise method of handling what is, after all, a somewhat difficult question.

I do not intend to be debarred from saying what I have to say upon the subject by the appeals, and even the attempted dictation, of those reckless and "blatant demagogues"—I think that was the expression of the member for Fort William (Mr. Manion)—who outside this Chamber have shown considerable inclination to draw party support for themselves from a federal question in a field of political endeavour which is not federal.

I shall very likely be misunderstood by many friends whom I have amongst the returned soldiers. I have been for years a much misunderstood man, so that the experience of being misunderstood will not be a new one to me. I purpose, Sir, in the short time that I shall have the good fortune to retain the attention of the Chamber, to say what I have to say on this subject with courage and with an attempt to put ideas before the House for its practical solution which will meet the demands of fair play to all classes of the community.

There need be no surprise that this question has been brought to the doors of the Government and to the doors of Parliament. There need be no surprise, Sir, because the returned soldiers have been invited to bring it, both by the Government and by the official Opposition in this House. I am afraid that at this point I shall not receive the support of many members of the House of Commons. But I repeat that both the Government and the Opposition have invited this approach.

What did we have at the last session of Parliament? We had a housing scheme introduced, mainly for the relief of the returned soldier. We had an incursion on the part of the Government of this country into road building—which, in my judgment, is a purely provincial enterprise—an incursion which was made with all the encouragement possible from considerable portions of the Opposition, especially those of them who came from Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia is a splendid province, but its inhabitants have Scotch blood in them, and they can never resist the attraction of something that is going to do them good in worldly affairs.

5 p.m.

Then, we had a shipbuilding scheme brought before the House, largely it was

said, for the benefit of the returned soldier, as the roads were. I trust we shall hear how many houses have been put up for returned soldiers, how many returned soldiers are working on the roads, and how many at shipbuilding. There again the Opposition, in the person of the most capable gentleman who still temporarily occupies the position of leader (Mr. McKenzie), gave every encouragement to the Government—no doubt not losing sight of the fact that the plates for the ships were to be bought in Nova Scotia.

Then we had a large scheme of land settlement—a huge scheme of land settlement—for the benefit of returned soldiers. But a far more serious invitation than any of these held out has been held out to returned soldiers to present such a claim as this by the neglect of the Finance Department—not so particularly of this Government as now constituted as of the previous Government—to curb profiteering in the only way it could have been curbed—that is, by drastic taxation imposed from the first war session of Parliament. I want to say here, Mr. Speaker, that it is within my knowledge, as the result of intercourse with all ranks and conditions of returned soldiers, that they have been incensed and their whole nature has been revolted by the thought, on the one hand, of what they have gone through and what they have suffered, of their comrades who have died to the number of sixty thousand; and, on the other hand, of what they have seen since they came back—men who had not two dollars to rub against one another at the beginning of the war but who are now riding in their motor cars and owning their hundreds of thousands and in many cases their millions of dollars. So I say, Sir, that there need be no surprise that the returned soldier is coming to this Parliament and asking that his immediate needs at least receive consideration for a little longer.

Now, I have referred to the invitations that have been held out to the soldier by the Government. But so far as I can see, the official Opposition in this House are still more culpable. I studied, Sir, with much interest and with very great care, a document which will lend itself to extended consideration, probably, in a future session of this House—the platform of a convention which met in Ottawa in August last.

I do not know precisely what was done on that platform in the way of promising gratuities to the returned soldier—we shall no doubt hear from the Opposition on this question; I hope they will tell us exactly where they stand in regard to it— but I know there is a large body of belief in the country that this question of a further gratuity to the returned men was one of the planks of their platform. It is an open secret anyhow that it was supported by many of the members who attended that convention, and that it was discussed in the Resolutions Committee. Everybody knows that, but as I say, although I have studied the somewhat extended and interesting document very carefully, I could not find precisely what it was that they were prepared to do for the returned soldier, and we shall listen with interest to the official expositors of that document in this debate and hear exactly what it was that they held out to the returned soldiers.

There was more in that platform that invited the returned soldiers to knock at the door of this Parliament than any direct reference to the gratuity. Why, there was a plank in that platform which engaged to take care of human Canadians from the cradle to the grave, by means of the State. The maternity fee was to be paid when the Canadian came into this world. I suppose for a brief period he was to be handed over to my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) to have a house provided for him when he was at the prime of life. If by any chance he became sick he was to be insured by the official Opposition returned to power on this platform, against sickness; if he lost employment he was to be insured against unemployment—all by the State; and when he got old, in a country with less than two people to the square mile and an infinity of resources, he was to be provided with an old age pension, and, I suppose, finally he would be returned to my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council who would no doubt give him the necessary consolation in his last moments.

Now, what inference was a returned soldier, with all the weariness of war on him, and all the hardships of a pretty severe climate in front of him to draw from the policy of the Government and the platform of the Opposition? Why he could draw only one inference, and that was that we had money to burn in this country, that we had so much money we did not know what to do with it. The poor fellow, after all, had been at war, and he would like a little consolation. I listened with interest to the poetic assurance of my hon. friend from Fort William and Rainy River (Mr. Manion) that all the wealth of the Indies

could not reward the soldier for what he had done. That is perfectly true, Mr. Speaker, but all the verbal appreciation of a more eloquent man than my hon. friend would not fill his stomach three times in one day. There are two sides to that poetry business.

Mr. MANION: Besides verbal praises for the men who served at the front, did I not advocate assistance in every possible way for the returned men who required assistance?

Mr. M. CLARK: Since my hon. friend has asked me a question, I must say that his speech was the most admirable specimen of facing both ways on a question that I have ever seen in my life. He said in general terms that he was willing to do anything in the world for the returned soldier—so everybody in Canada has said who could speak—but the next moment he said that all the wealth of the Indies could not reward him. What was the meaning of that sentence? He uttered many other sentences along the same line. I did not make my remark ill-naturedly, although it has provoked a somewhat ill-natured retort. We will leave it at that. The public and the House will form their own appreciation of exactly where he stood on this question.

Mr. MANION: I hope so.

Mr. M. CLARK: I was trying to elaborate the point that official politicians are largely responsible for the fact that the soldiers are at the door of Parliament with this demand, and I think I have given considerable evidence that there is some foundation for that statement. If these things have not happened, if these are not to be the policies of the parties in Canada, there will be every opportunity for reply. I said, before I was led off the line of my thought, that it was perfectly natural, indeed almost inevitable, that the returned soldier should, from a great many considerations, have arrived at the conclusion that there was money to burn in this country. Mr. Speaker, I think the time has come when somebody has got to say, not only to the returned soldier, but to every citizen in Canada, that there is not money to burn in this country.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. M. CLARK: I think the time has come when that must be stated in a loud and emphatic voice not only to the Federal Government but to the Provincial and Municipal Governments of this country. The real truth, Sir, is—and we had better all realize it, we shall be the better patriots the sooner we do—that for a small population of eight millions such as we have in Canada, we are carrying a debt and obligations as a result of the war which are well-nigh unbearable. The country is in a condition of enormous debt and facing insolvency almost. Don't let me be thought for a moment to have any doubt of Canada's ability to bear her burdens? Canada will bear the burden and clear the debt, but the facts about our financial situation at the moment ought to be stated, and stated in the plainest and most unmistakable terms. To take any other course, for political or any other reasons, is to be dishonest with ourselves and dishonest with the country.

Now I come to what, after all, as I said to commence with, is a very practical question, and I do not think it is very abstruse or very difficult. We can look at it from two angles in the main, and I think we can look at it from two angles only. We can look at it from the angle of the nation, and we can look at it from the angle of the returned soldier.

Another statement that has to be made emphatically which was made by my hon. friend from Fort William and Rainy River, and which I am very happy to endorse, and which the Government are taking steps to make by these very publications which we have ordered printed this very day, is that Canada has done far and away better in the matter of financial help for her soldiers than any other belligerent country within the Empire or outside of it. We stand at the top in that respect. Sir, I am proud of what Canada did in the war and I am proud of what she has done since the war. It is worthy of Canada. We are a big people and we know it. We have a big country and we know it, and we are out to do big things in the world; and as our men veritably did what my hon. friend from Simcoe North (Mr. Currie) claimed for them,—as they made the first break in the Hindenburg line, so we in the civilian trenches behind the ranks are at the top, as they were, in what we have already done in sheer gross material assistance to our soldiers. I am not now referring to the other things that have been done, which may or may not be of assistance to the soldier or the country, according as they were wisely conceived and will be wisely carried out. We have not only given this aid, but we have done an enormous amount in the way of the re-instatement of our men in civil life at the sacrifice of others of our citizens, and that is a con-

sideration that ought to affect the mind of this House, as well as the minds of the veterans in their attitude on this question. I wonder if those who are most insistent upon this question ever reflect that there were many civilians who held positions in the Civil Service both of the Federal Government and of the Provincial Governments, who have had to step down, and have in many cases, I am sure, gladly stepped down in order that the returned soldiers should take their places. In many cases these civil servants stepping down are tender girls who did their bit in the war according to their ability and upon whose earnings parents are dependent for their support. Numbers of them have already been dismissed and others will be dismissed in the course of coming weeks. They will be dismissed not merely in the interest of economy but to provide places for returned soldiers. If it be true—and it is substantially true, I think, as it has been stated to-day—that each man or woman who stayed at home and did the best they could in their own work here was morally as virtuous and as heroic, if you like, as the soldier himself, then the civil servants who are suddenly deprived of their occupation and income would be entitled to come to us and ask for relief. But we know that they will not do it. That consideration, however, should modify our attitude on this question.

I have referred to the financial position of the country, which is as serious as my language can describe it. What the country has done for the soldiers; what those who are giving up positions are sacrificing for the soldiers now; and the very serious financial position of the country at the present moment—these are the main thoughts that ought to be in the mind of the committee which will deal with this question, and that ought to be in the minds of hon. members when they approach the consideration of it.

I have said that the subject can also be looked at from the point of view of the soldier, and at this point let me say that I should like to know from some member of the Government who may speak on the subject later—as I have no doubt some member of the Government will—whether there are any statistics as to how many soldiers have been replaced in civil life. I understand that when my hon. friend the Minister of Militia demobilized a man, that man passed from the Militia Department's care and was handed over to some other department of Government. I should like some minister to state whether there are any accurate statistics as to the men who have already been replaced in civil life and those who have not been so replaced. I think that that is a consideration of the greatest importance. I had occasion to address a meeting on Celebration Day, July 19, in the little town where I live, and I told the audience there with very great pride that from that little town and district 150 men went to the war. A very considerable proportion of them, I am sorry to say, will not come back, but those who have come back are replaced to a man. Statistics have been kept by the people in that neighbourhood, and those who have come back have been all replaced either on the farm or in the village, or in the service of the local Government of my province. I have similar information about other districts in my constituency, and I have not the least doubt that this is the case with regard to the rural districts all over Canada. However, the practical point I am trying to bring to the attention of the minister is that we ought to have as near an approximation as possible in statistics to the actual numbers of men who have been replaced and those who have not. I quite agree with my hon. friend from Fort William (Mr. Manion) that there is something very alluring about the policy of giving $2,000 to a man—at least for the man who is to receive the $2,000. It is a policy which, amongst the recipients, would not need any active propaganda to make it reasonably popular; I quite agree with my hon. friend in that respect. But this Parliament has responsibilities, and one of them is to ask, in regard to the soldier himself: Suppose he got the $2,000, would it do him good or not? Now, Sir, I am certain it would do some men good. I know of some returned soldiers whom I could trust with $2,000 to put it by and let it breed and take care of the interest as well as the original capital. But I know some others who are now on the farm—I know them intimately—who, if they got a whack of $2,000 would immediately go off the farm. They might not stay off, but they would have a look at old London again. It is the duty of this House to consider seriously whether, if this demand were acceded to, we should not be doing more harm than good to the soldiers themselves. From the soldiers point of view—and here I have no doubt I am going to make enemies in the ranks of the soldiers—I think it is necessary to say that there is no heroism in mendicancy. If there is any man among the returned veterans who has the spirit of

a mendicant, then he should lay that truth to heart, that there is no heroism in mendicancy. However, we shall have light on the subject when we know exactly what has been done for the soldiers since they were demobilized.

Now, in regard to the Government's attitude so far on this question, I think the statement of the Prime Minister, which has been very much criticized and in which he expresses the view that he did not see the need of a commission, was a most courteous and reasonable statement, as indeed his statements always are. It not only said that the Government did not see the need of a commission but that they had all the facts in their possession which were necessary to settle the question. Well, that being so, one arrives at the point at which the Government's position is not quite so strong, because if they had all the facts at their disposal necessary to settle the question, why in Heaven's name do they not settle it? Why appoint a committee? This committee cannot ascertain any more facts than the Government has, if it has all the facts. I do not therefore understand why this matter is being handed over to a committee, after the Government have told the people from the Atlantic to the Pacific that they themselves know all about it. After all, they are the parties who are primarily responsible.

Mr. PECK: Committees have been numerous enough. Why not one more for the soldier?

An hon. MEMBER: They are not appointing a committee on this question.

Mr. CLARK: I thought it was to be handed over to a committee. I am glad my hon. friend follows these things closely. I have no desire to make a point against the Government, but for my part I do not think the subject lends itself to extended consideration.

And I will tell the House why. Of all the things in the world that Canada needs at the present moment, it certainly does not need any more boards, committees or commissions. I cordially agree on this subject with my hon. friend from Simcoe (Mr. Currie). I think we have far too many now.

Mr. PECK: With the multitude of commissions that we have had appointed in this country—and they are as numerous as the sands on the seashore—is not the returned soldier entitled to one?

Mr. M. CLARK: Well, according to my hon. friend's question, if a returned soldier comes to ask for a committee, then any other body may do the same.

Mr. PECK: The rest of them got it but the soldier did not.

Mr. M. CLARK: My point was after all, as my hon. friend who has a very fair mind will observe, that certainly a committee is not needed if the Government have all the facts. I am going to give my hon. friend a further reason why a committe is an unoesirable method of handling the question. I might reply to my hon. friend in regard to a committee—

Mr. PECK: A commission I said; I did not say a committee.

Mr. M. CLARK: A commission will not fill the soldiers' stomachs. A commission will not do very much to deal with the question which will become extremely urgent on the first of November if a severe winter sets in about that date. I am not disposed to do but little for the returned soldier—my hon. friend knows it—and if he wants to come before this House with a policy of a commission to satisfy the returned soldiers he is entitled to do so. It may be that there are facts which the Government do not have, and which I do not have, which would come out of a commission but I have yet to see that. Despite the class appeal of my hon. friend for one more committee, I agree most cordially with the hon. member for Simcoe that the country has plenty of them now. The fact of the matter is that the Government ought to have the facts if they have not. They say they have and I accept their statement.

What is the practical question? The practical question is that the Veterans have come to the doors of Parliament with a request and that which is being especially urged, as one would naturally expect, is that they are running through their gratuity money, they are largely unemployed and we are within six weeks of a very rigorous winter. That is the practical question that we are here to deal with and that is the question upon which I hold some opinions and I want to give them. That we should take a decision is urgent. With all due deference to my hon. friend from Skeena (Mr. Peck) this commission will not settle it in six weeks unless it is faster than most commissions are. My hon. friend is pretty young in politics. I might apologize for being rather pertinacious in regard to his interruption but I remember a government in England which

was in power for six years and which passed during that time one Act containing a permissive clause under which people might contract themselves out of the Act. That was all it did in those six years and it was known as the Government of Royal Commissions. Winter is coming, there are a large number of soldiers unemployed and their gratuities are gone. That is the practical question before us. That practical question is not going to be settled by bathos or by sentiment. It is simply a question of: Are we going to do any more for the returned soldiers, or what are we going to do? I think that in the winter which is coming, which will be the first winter when we have had all our soldiers back—thank God—that will come back, our people from one end of Canada to the other will not brook the idea that any of those men should be in want. That is a practical opinion and I do not believe that the public in this country will brook the idea that in their first winter at home any considerable number of these men should be in want. I lay that down as a fundamental proposition in my thinking on this subject.

Well, what are we going to do for them? Something has been said about dealing specially with students. My admiration of the Scottish people could not be expressed in language. When I was at a Scottish university I used to read with the utmost admiration of how that frugal and wonderful people used to starve themselves to send their sons with a very sparse supply of coin and a bag of oatmeal to live in a humble dwelling that they might go to the university and, in many cases, become professors. That is the kind of student I was led to admire in my youth and I must say that in my thinking on this subject I do not make any distinction in my mind between what the country owes to the student and what it owes to the man who has carried the hod. I think that every returned man is equally deserving. I am trying to look at this question from the point of view of the difficulties of the Government and I think it would be a fatal policy for the Government once more to deal with the men in special compartments.

I may be interrupted at this point in the thought of hon. gentlemen by the rejoinder: You have already dealt with them in special compartments in regard to land settlement. Yes, we have but let every hon. member of this House disabuse his mind of the idea that we have done anything for the soldier under the Land Settlement Act. It may be a benefit to Canada it is to be profoundly hoped that it will be and that in the long run it will be a benefit to the soldier. But it will not be very obvious to him for the next few years. I know; I started the game myself eighteen years ago and I am just beginning to see that I was not another fool because I am beginning to get something out of the land now. This land settlement scheme was never promulgated, as I understand it, by the Government, in the first place, as a benefit to the soldier. It was promulgated with the idea that it was a desirable thing for this country to get more men on the land and of course incidentally to provide for any returned soldiers who were fitted for farming and who were willing to undertake it. But it is no boon to the returned soldier. He has a burden to carry which I would not like to carry again as I have carried it in the past. Let this House disabuse its mind of the idea that it is doing anything for the soldier. If I wanted to book a man right through to a real hard life and to very serious reflections for a time extending over a considerable portion of eternity, I would put him on a waste piece of western land and put a debt of $8,000 around his neck. These men are in the trenches just as veritably as they were in the trenches in Flanders except that they have the assurance of their lives and the ultimate prospect of making a living. From my thinking, it would be unwise on the part of the Government, in dealing further with this question, to deal with them in compartments. If a man has the spirit of a professional man in him, if he is meant to be a doctor, he will be a doctor.

A distinguished surgeon had a bell boy and Pollitzer's bell boy became a more distinguished doctor than possibly even Pollitzer himself. In the case of the theological students especially I should say they have no claim on their profession whatsoever for special treatment. If it is in a man to preach, it is the one thing you cannot prevent him from doing. My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition knows that. The Scriptures are in his blood and they continually come out of him even in this House; and of the professions, the theological profession, the parsonical profession, is one I would not give any special consideration to under this heading. Now I have made enemies, I guess, amongst the returned soldiers, amongst the general class of the population, and amongst the would-be students.

There is another class we have heard of in this connection and that is the man that

wants to go into a little business. Well, I trust the Government won't, without very great and very grave consideration, try to find embryo Rockefellers in the ranks of those who are most urgent amongst the veterans for this $2,000. I trust the Government will not look there for the best business men that they can find. I do not want to say anything to hurt the feelings of any man who went to the front, but I do say this: That for building up a business, and every man almost in this House knows what I am saying is true, you want in the first place business inspiration—that must be your calling—and you want very great mental astuteness and you want determination. Every business man listening to me knows that what I am saying is true and it is a great doubt in my mind—especially if the description of the returned soldier given by my hon. friend from Simcoe (Mr. Currie) has even a glimmer of truth in it—if large numbers of successful business men could be found in those who are most urgent for money under this particular head. What are we to do then?

I have said that we should not leave the men without something for this winter; and personally, having regard to all that I have said about the gravity of Canada's resources, I believe we should start this winter as beginning from the first of November to the last of March. That is what I do in regard to the feeding of my cattle—I always try to have feed enough for all the cattle I have from the beginning of November to the end of March. Now having said that as to the winter, during which these returned men may suffer want and suffer want to the point of becoming a menace to the public safety—and here the national question joins the personal question, here the nation's interests join the soldiers' interests—looking at this as a practical question and seeking a wise method of dealing with it, I would give a gratuity to the soldiers from the first of November to the end of March. Limit it as you like, make it the lowest thing that you can call a living wage. I may be asked "Why do you urge that after you have said that Canada has already done more for her soldiers than any other country?" My answer is this: Canada has, but Canada also has a climate which is vastly more rigorous than any other country in the Empire, and that I take it is a complete answer to that question. There is no inconsistency in claiming a high position for Canada and yet bearing in mind that we have so much of our work closed down in winter and that our climate is so rigorous. That is what I would say for the returned soldier. "For whom mainly would you do it?" I may be asked. I would do it for every man among them; I would make no distinction between the humblest private and the commander-in-chief. This is a democratic country. I would do it as an urgent public necessity and an urgent necessity for the soldiers themselves; I would do it along the line of seeing that every returned soldier, at least, had enough to keep body and soul together in this severe climate for the first five months, for the first winter that they have been at home altogether with us once more; and I would do it as a democrat—I would treat them all alike. In that way you would relieve yourselves of all the heart-burnings, and they would be numerous, which would arise if you dealt with special cases and you would put yourselves in the position of saying: When the month of April comes we shall all be living in the finest country in the world to get along in, if you have a man in you. We shall be able to say: This is the final decision, this closes the question, and next April we are all going to settle down to be good Canadians.

I intended to say something about how I would get the money. I would not get it the way my hon. friend from Simcoe talks of getting it, because he would not get it that way at all and it would be a very poor way of getting it. Talk of getting money from Germany to relieve the soldiers this winter is not to be considered for one minute, just as I think giving $2,000 to each soldier is not to be considered for one moment—I do not believe the majority of the men are considering it, and certainly the majority of our fellow citizens are not considering it. I would get the money along the lines of the policy that was laid down by Mr. Asquith in a very lucid and powerful speech which he delivered the other night—delivered in a way I could not deliver a speech, but I could say all the things he said, and have been saying them continuously during the last five years, and the House will recognize them when I repeat what he said. He said: "I have no panacea, no special panacea for the condition of England at the present moment; you have got to remove all the restrictions from imports which you put on during the war"—and strangely enough the Government did it from the first of September. That is Number One. He said further: "And the next thing you have got to do is to institute drastic economy." Why, we could save what would pay for the soldiers,

what I have said should be done for them, if the departments of this Government were handled by business men upon business lines as the business men of this country handle their own business. Drastic economy; and I would get it by bringing Parliament down early in the new year and giving every member of it a primer on political economy and let him get to know something about the proper methods of taxation. I would do it by taxing the rich. I would do it by direct taxation.

Mr. CURRIE: Class taxation.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: Well, there must be class taxation to the extent that you cannot get money from a man who does not have it. If my hon. friend says that; if his zeal for not going along the lines of class taxation carries him to the length of saying that paupers should pay taxes, then I take his point for what it is worth. The point is not mine—it was Mr. Asquith's recommendation to the people of Britain. I desire to impress these three points of a great speech upon the Government and upon the House: Take down your import restrictions; trade to make money. Money was never made in any other way. Make the money first.

Economize; do not spend. That is the way to get rich whether you are an individual or a nation. Make money on the one hand and do not spend it on the other. Mr. Asquith's third point, which he said would be more disagreeable, was more drastic taxation—and that in England, Mr. Speaker, where some incomes are paying sixty per cent income tax. Let me at this point repeat, that what is rankling in the minds of the returned men is that, against advice, the Finance Department, under the ex-minister, did not put on an income tax at the beginning of the war. Our debt would have been less, and what would have been vastly more valuable than that, our people, rich and poor alike, from the first days of the war would have learned the lessons of service and of sacrifice.

I have given the House my poor thoughts upon this question honestly and fearlessly, and without any party feeling, as behooves one sitting on these cross benches. When we arrive at spring, if we shall have tided over the winter in this way, we shall be all Canadians together, let me repeat, in a country which I have learned to love, and which is capable of the greatest things for ourselves both individually and as a nation; but I want to say that we shall only be a people equal to the record we have made in the war, we shall only be a people worthy of the great natural resources which Divine Providence has given us as a magnificent heritage, if, whether we be veterans or civilians, we bring into civil life the same qualities of courage, of endurance, of holding on to the end that has sent Canada's name to the very topmost pinacle of the Temple of Fame. Those are the qualities we must cultivate if we would build up Canada.

This country is amply able to provide for all of us. Do not let any of our soldiers hunger this winter. Deal with them all alike on democratic principles; give them at least a living wage for the first five months of the winter; leave no heart-burnings by giving it to one and refusing it to another, and when April comes, this decision having been recognized by Parliament and Government and people and soldiers as final, let us stand as men before the world, and may every one of us be able to say about his civil life as our soldiers are well able to say about their military life:

> In the fell clutch of circumstance,
> I have not winced nor cried aloud;
> Beneath the bludgeonings of chance
> My head is bloody but unbowed.
> It matters not how straight the gate,
> How charged with punishment the scroll,
> I am the master of my fate,
> I am the captain of my soul.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight oclock.

Mr. D. L. REDMAN (Calgary East): Mr. Speaker, I declared in Calgary last summer that I was opposed to the $2,000 bonus to each of our returned men, which meant a total payment of $800,000,000 because I believed that the country could not pay it. On the other hand, there is a large field of reasonable inquiry to which we should devote our attention. The subject which is before us to-night, Sir, is this, what has been accomplished by the present schemes of re-establishment? What further is required; how much money will it take to meet these further requirements, and what part, if not all, of that money can our country afford to pay?

There are several proposals before us. There is the proposal of a new organization known as the Gratuity League, or something of that kind, in Toronto, that a flat gratuity of $2,000 be paid. There is the proposal of the Great War Veterans' Association, passed by their Vancouver convention last July, that the Government

pay a bonus to the soldiers, that bonus to be limited by the ability of the country to pay. I need hardly point out that the Great War Veterans' Association is the most powerful body of returned men in Canada; that it has within its ranks—I should think that this is a fairly correct estimate—some 200,000 returned men, and that it has as its sympathizers the dependents of these soldiers, and I think, many soldiers who belong to no organization. This being the case we should consider to what organization we should give the greatest consideration.

I do not agree with some hon. gentlemen who have said to-day that this very intricate and involved subject can be settled by one debate in this House. I believe that the subject should be gone into by a committee or commission which will ascertain with the greatest care all the facts which are relevant to such an inquiry and which will survey all the possible remedies to meet the needs of the case. With this end in view I put a resolution on the Order Paper some days ago which, as I have previously explained, I withdrew because the Government saw fit to appoint a parliamentary committee. I understand, from the assurance given by ministers in this House, that the appointment of that committee will be based upon a Bill already submitted, or that the Bill will be so amended as to enable such a committee to go into the entire question of soldiers' civil re-establishment and in doing so to have the broadest possible scope.

I believe that such a committee will be more satisfactory even than the commission which was first suggested by the Great War Veterans' Association, because its personnel will consist of members of the House, who are now available for action; a staff is also available. In the second place, such a committee will be made up of men who are responsible to their constituencies. The inquiring body will not consist of men who may have no special qualifications for the work, or who may even be biased one way or the other. Another reason why a parliamentary committee will be more satisfactory to soldiers than a commission is that the committee must report during the present session of Parliament, and when the report is in an opportunity will then be presented to the Government to bring forward any money Bill which may be necessary in order to give effect to the recommendations of such a committee. Moreover, in the original resolution of the Vancouver convention, a joint parliamentary committee, not a commission, was asked for. No such body as a joint parliamentary committee is possible under our constitution, so that a parliamentary committee is the nearest approximation which can be had to comply with that request. Having served during the last two years on the Pensions Committee of this House, I am certain that a parliamentary committee will accord to the war veterans and to all interested parties the fullest possible consideration of all the facts which bear upon this complicated subject. I am certain that such a committee can adequately deal with this question.

Now, taking my definition of the subject which is before us and having in view the desirability of surveying the existing schemes for demobilization and for reinstatement into civil life of our soldiers, let us first see what the present schemes are.

On Friday the President of the Council (Hon. Mr. Rowell) gave us a great deal of very useful information and a number of very interesting figures showing that the provisions which Canada had made for her soldiers were infinitely superior to those which had been made by other countries. Let us examine for a few moments the charts and figures which he gave us.

In the first place, it may be pointed out that pensions affect only those who have been wounded or dependents of those who were killed in the war. While our pensions are admirable, even their limit is not adequate to meet the cost of living which at present prevails in our country.

Then, the question of re-education. While Canada has proceeded further and more successfully in this matter than any other country, only a limited number of our returned soldiers are assisted in that way. In fact, it is questionable whether the courses which have been given to many returned soldiers adequately fit them for the new vocations which they have taken up, or whether it has really put them in a much better position than they were before.

The question of medical treatment has been adequately dealt with, but that applies only to those who have been wounded; it does not go far towards re-establishing the returned soldier in civil life.

It was shown that France, England and Germany have not dealt as generously with their soldiers as Canada has dealt with hers. While that is true, we must not forget that France, England and Germany are impoverished by this war to an extent which we in Canada have not begun to approach. Moreover, in the countries men-

tioned other schemes are carried out, in addition to the gratuities and pensions, comparison of which was made with ours. In England there is unemployment insurance; and they have been more generous in the affording of facilities for the education of soldiers in universities than we have. It is quite true that United States compare very unfavourably with Canada in this matter. In that regard I can only say that in my opinion United States has not dealt fairly, let alone generously, with its soldiers. Moreover, the United States soldiers were only in the war a very short period compared with our men, and the sacrifices which they were called upon to make were as nothing compared with the sacrifices made by the Canadian soldiers.

In respect to the gratuities which have been paid by the Government, and which were generous and voluntarily given, the soldiers have made several complaints. Some of these complaints, in my judgment, are well founded. In the first place, these gratuities were given according to rank. That was a fundamental mistake in a matter of principle, because gratuities were given for the purpose of re-establishing soldiers in civilian life as civilians, not as officers or privates in the army. There has been resentment and there is still resentment among private soldiers on account of the adoption of that principle, which seems to me to be an unfair one.

In addition to that, I think the Government would have been wise had they made arrangements whereby some board could have sat in various centres and instead of paying monthly to the men this wage or allowance which was given monthly, that board should have afforded a man an opportunity of getting the amount in a lump sum if he could show that by so getting it he would be able to re-establish himself forthwith in some business.

A great deal of agitation and irritation has also been caused among soldiers by reason of the fact that a certain number of the dependents of soldiers who returned to Canada, since the day of the armistice have had their way paid home, whereas those who, at the invitation of the Government, were patriotic enough to send their dependents home from England previous to the date of the armistice, had to pay their way, and no effort has been made to re-adjust that unfairness.

A great deal of complaint has been made by those Canadians who, instead of enlisting in the Canadian army, for various causes enlisted in the army of Great Britain or in the armies of our Allies, with the result that their fellow Canadians who enlisted in the Canadian army are receiving infinitely better treatment than they are.

Last session the Government brought forward a housing scheme—an excellent scheme, well-timed; a scheme which, had full advantage been taken of it, would in many communities have solved the problem of the shortage of housing accommodation. That scheme was brought in, as we understand, mainly to provide houses for returned soldiers.

I am sorry to say that in the province of Alberta, and I believe in many other provinces, the scheme up to date has been ineffective. I do not think that is the fault of this Government, but of the various Provincial Governments who have refused to take advantage of the scheme. In any event the soldiers who have been looking forward to getting homes under that scheme have seen their hopes disappointed, and have in consequence a feeling of justifiable irritation.

The land settlement scheme of the Government has been an excellent one and has provided for many soldiers. I do not agree with those who say that the land settlement scheme is not of advantage to soldiers. I think a man who can borrow several thousand dollars and get on a half section of land in our western country with its splendid possibilities, and with the almost certain increase in land values about to come, with full equipment, has an excellent chance of getting ahead in the world and is pretty well on the road to re-establishment. While that scheme is of advantage to a great many of our soldiers, you can understand the feelings of the others who wish to go into business of some other kind. It is bound to cause dissatisfaction amongst them. I think that the land settlement scheme, while not the underlying cause, was perhaps the proximate cause of the birth of the $2,000 bonus scheme.

Let us consider the position of those of our soldiers to whom none of these schemes have been of any advantage. Many of our soldiers, it is true, have been able to re-establish themselves, but a large proportion of our soldiers have not. I have said in this House so often that it must be getting monotonous, though I have never said it as well as or as fully as the cause deserves, that our soldiers returning to Canada are entitled to be absorbed into our economic life; they are entitled to the best positions they are capable of filling. They have come back to this country after two, three or four years' absence overseas, having sacrificed

the positions they held when they left, and are returning to us perhaps slightly more unfit for economic strife in proportion to the time they were overseas, some of them suffering from physical handicaps, and some perhaps from mental handicaps, on account of the experiences they have gone through. They come home to Canada where we in the meantime have had every opportunity, owing to the exceptionally good financial conditions prevailing during the war, of improving our own financial condition. Many of these men have not yet been absorbed into our economic life. I claim it is their absolute right to be absorbed by the Canadian people into the economic life of this country.

Mr. CURRIE: How are you going to put them back into civil life without some money?

Mr. REDMAN: I have no objection whatever to that question. My objection is to offering to give them a sum of money which I think every reasonable human being knows we cannot give them.

As I said last year, I think the Canadian Government might have gone further in absorbing more soldiers into the various departments of the Government, not only for the good of the soldiers so employed, but for the example it would set to other employers of labour throughout the country. I need hardly remind the House that Great Britain has recognized so clearly her obligation to re-absorb her soldiers into civil life, that she has made arrangement whereby if a soldier cannot obtain a position during the first twelve months after his demoblization he is entitled to a certain stated sum each month he is idle. I believe, Sir, that no comprehensive scheme has yet been offered by this Government at all commensurate with its obligation to re-absorb our soldiers into the economic fabric of our country. It is true that last session a great amount of money was voted for public buildings in various centres. If this work had been gone on with it would have been of very great assistance, particularly in our larger centres. A vote was passed for the erection in Calgary, for instance, of a post office, which we greatly need, but no work has been done on that yet. Had the contract been let I believe that to-day we would be able to employ two hundred stone-cutters in Calgary cutting the stone for that building. We have stone-cutters who came out from the Old Country to Calgary on account of the quantity of stone we have in that vicinity. If the contract had been let many of these men would to-day be employed, and many more still next summer. So I think it is the duty of the Government, if no other solution offers, to afford work of this nature in the various centres in order to relieve the unemployment which I believe is coming. I am not saying that there is a great deal of unemployment in Calgary or other cities in Canada to-day, but I would point out that a large percentage of our men in Western Canada are now at work in the harvest fields and in a very few weeks they will be coming into the cities. While I do not wish to assume the role of prophet, I do believe that thirty or at all events sixty days will not elapse before we will have in Calgary and in every other city in Canada a large number of soldiers who have been back from overseas but a short period, and who, through no fault of their own, and in spite of their best efforts to get employment, will not be able to get a job this winter. I need hardly say that we are responsible. These men are still the wards of the state until they are re-absorbed into our economic life. The proper note was struck here to-day when it was suggested that the comparison which these men must draw between their own position and that of those who have been financially successful during the war must aggravate the situation. All of us in employment in this country to-day and receiving some emolument know that it is hard to keep up with the cost of living, but what would be our position if we had been away from this country for several years and come back with a feeling that we had not the opportunity of getting into the industrial or commercial world of this country but were on the outside looking on, with a conviction that our country did not realize its obligation to us. Possibly the Government might assist by grappling more energetically than they have with the problem of the high cost of living. I believe that problem is being grappled with in the United States much more effectively than in Canada to-day, and this session should not come to a close until we have passed all enabling legislation that is required to enable our Government to deal with this problem as effectively as it is being dealt with in the United States. That might have its influence.

I think I have gone over the various schemes which have been suggested, and whether I have convinced you, Mr. Speaker, or not, I have at least convinced myself that the present schemes for the re-establishment of our soldiers are not adequate,

but that something further is required. What is required? This problem is much too complicated and intricate to be solved in one debate. It must be referred to a committee that will take evidence and make full inquiry into the matter, and on the facts adduced finally form their opinion. Some of the suggested remedies which will come before that committee will be the following: The cash bonus scheme which has been suggested; the Great War Veterans' scheme for such bonus as the country can afford to pay. I think they will also consider some such scheme as has been suggested by the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) here to-day, of a bonus during the winter months. Perhaps they will consider the question of unemployment insurance.

That is now a practical possibility in this country because the Labour Bureaus, which under recent legislation have been instituted from one end of Canada to the other, provide the machinery whereby we can ascertain clearly whether a man has had an opportunity to obtain work, and whether he is unemployed through no fault of his own. Perhaps they will consider the question of industrial loans which Australia is now grappling with and which have been discussed by the soldiers throughout the country. In dealing with the problem of the re-establishment of soldiers in civil life, one matter of importance which should be earnestly considered is the assumption by the State of that proportion of insurance premiums which will represent the amount of disability which a soldier may have sustained and for which he will be taxed by the insurance companies when he seeks insurance. Some men have returned with various disabilities, such for instance, as an impairment of the lungs or heart, and it is their right to insure their lives for the protection of their wives and families. They are willing to pay the ordinary premium which we are all ready to pay, but they may find that the disability which they have suffered in the service of the country is such that probably they will be called upon to pay two or three times the premium ordinarily paid. Surely that added proportion of the premium it is the duty of the State to shoulder. We have a responsibility to see that the man who has been overseas shall be enabled to protect his family by means of insurance at the same rate as before he went to the war. All these are questions which this committee should carefully examine into.

We should not come to a definite conclusion here to-day. Certainly we should not get the idea that there is nothing in this discussion but the alternatives of granting or refusing a gratuity of $2,000. In any event, we cannot arrive at a definite conclusion until the evidence has been submitted to the committee and we have had an opportunity of perusing it and very carefully weighing it. After we have done that we shall be in a better position to come to a proper determination in regard to these various questions that are involved in the problem which is now engaging the serious attention of all thinking and responsible citizens of the country. In all this discussion to-day if we do nothing but survey the question in a general way and come to the conclusion that some further substantial scheme of re-establishment is required we shall have done a great deal. We must realize that something further is required in order to constitute an adequate re-establishment of our soldiers in civil life. Something further is required before the State shall have fulfilled its obligations to the men who went overseas risking their very life for the national ideals and the national wealth, a portion of which may be required to adequately re-establish them now that they have returned. We should approach this subject, I think, from an entirely unbiased standpoint, unbiased by the voting strength of any organization which may make representations, utterly uninfluenced by the clamour which extremists may create, and solely with a view to ascertaining just what is required. When we have definitely decided what the requirements will demand in the way of financial aid, we should then undertake the raising of the money for that purpose with the same zeal and enthusiasm which characterized our efforts in securing the necessary money to carry us through the war, because the care of the returned soldiers, the proper and satisfactory treatment of the wounded, and the duty which devolves upon the State to see that full and complete justice is accorded the wives, and children of those who have suffered for us, are all equally as sacred a trust now that Peace has been consummated as was our duty during the heat of the struggle to put forth our greatest efforts to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion.

Mr. JOHN H. BURNHAM (Peterboro West): I think, Sir, that every member on such an occasion as this should express

as far as possible the feeling which prevails in the district he represents. I am not one of those who think that every question should be relegated to a committee, because I am convinced that this House has some brains and that its members are capable of imparting to one another the information which they severally possess and that, having a certain degree of judicial faculty, they are well able to exercise it. At the same time, of course, we must bear in mind that matters of detail are always referred to a committee and in that respect there can be no objection to that procedure. The soldier wants one thing and one thing only, and that is employment. To give him money is simply to postpone the evil day, if he has not employment. To give him money when he is unemployed is merely to attempt to cure a disease by administering a palliative. The soldier, I repeat, does not want money as much as he wants employment and the opportunity to settle down seriously to earn something for his family as he formerly did. Under the circumstances, therefore, when I heard on former occasions the ex-Minister of Public Works, the hon. member for Carleton lay down the dictum that in order to effect economy in this country we must realize that there was no necessity for engaging in public works, I felt that the death knell of the soldier had been sounded, and the soldiers thought so too. They said that they evidently were to fight the battles of the country and were to be compelled to pay for the war on their return. Naturally the soldier was very much irritated. It is apparent, Sir, that it is a short-sighted policy to leave any considerable proportion of the population without employment, for this is only to create another disturbing element in the community even if the soldiers are provided for. The country stands in a position exactly similar to that of the man who wishes to borrow money. If he goes to a money-lender and asks for money inevitably the question is put to him: What purpose is it needed for? If it is intended for improvements, then ten chances to one the money will be lent; if, on the other hand, improvements are not contemplated it will not be advanced. You can borrow the money in a country that has more money than it knows what to do with, namely the United States. This Government could and should borrow money for public works and give employment now and during the coming winter to the soldiers and every other idle man in the country. The Government can raise $350,000,000 more; for what purpose? To waste it? Not by any means. It is only using it as a medium of exchange, and we could have the soldier translating his work into buildings for the betterment of the country at the same time benefiting himself. I think that the Government did the worst thing in the world when it conceived the idea and gave expression to it that economy consisted in cutting down expenditures in necessary public works. I say we should go on with public works. Borrow money and proceed with public works which will be an enduring monument to the technical ability of the country and which will serve the very urgent purpose of giving employment to those who are in need of work, thus amply justifying the expenditure. Build good roads and bridges and erect buildings; do anything you can conceive of that will be of permanent benefit to the country for the future and that will give much needed work to those who are suffering, and you will render a magnificent service to the soldier who wants employment above everything else. That is the service he wants. He does not want a donation as a means of pacifying him; he wants work. He went to the war as a man and at home he desires to be treated as such, and it is altogether unfair to the soldier to portray him as a beggar. He is not a beggar. Give him work; give every honest man work and there will be no fear of rebellion or revolution.

Mr. CHARLES GAVAN POWER (Quebec South): Mr. Speaker, I find that most of what I had intended to say has already been stated during the course of this debate. I quite agree, as I hope to show later on, with the remarks of the hon. member who has just taken his seat (Mr. Burnham) and I also agree with the hon. and very gallant member from Calgary (Mr. Redman) who spoke before him. I say "gallant" member advisedly, because he must be gallant—and I am sure he showed his gallantry to-night as much as probably he ever exemplified it on the field—when, as a member from the constituency from which this demand for $2,000 arose, he was able to say to the voters who sent him here that he was not in favour of such an extravagant demand on the public purse of Canada. For this I congratulate him. I also agree with him that the gratuities as they have been distributed so far have not met with general satisfaction. For instance, we have at the present moment staff officers drawing staff pay with their war service gratuity. I think it is absurd, unreasonable, and unjust. There may have been a reason, but

hitherto I have not been able to ascertain it, for staff officers drawing increased pay. Since they have returned to civilian life at all events they should not receive a larger gratuity than is given the average soldier.

It has been said during this debate that we should all approach this subject from a non-partisan standpoint. Up to very recently, I too had been endeavouring to approach all subjects in reference to the soldier from a non-partisan standpoint. I was one who voted at the convention of the Great War Veterans, and in my own branch in Quebec, to keep the soldier out of politics. I am sorry to be forced to come to the conclusion that all questions relating to the soldier ought to be considered as partisan questions. Under our system of Government it is only through party politics that the common people have ever been able to achieve anything. We sit down supinely in this House, the members on the one side and the members on the other saying: We will not make this a party question; everything is lovely; we have done so much for the soldier; we are all favourable to doing everything we can for him—and the result is that the soldier gets nothing. I believe that such things should not be. Therefore, when anything is brought up in regard to the soldier, I am a partisan. I shall begin being a partisan by renouncing my own party in regard to the soldier. In the Liberal party platform there was a clause which advocated a cash bonus. I am absolutely opposed to any further payment of a cash bonus to any soldier. I am under the impression that the gratuity has been wasted, that we have already treated our soldiers generously in reference to gratuities and that we have done enough.

There is another reason why I am a partisan in this matter. The present Government—I call it the Tory Government—have been playing politics with the soldier. They have been endeavouring to take the soldier to their bosom for political purposes only. They have been endeavouring to control the soldier's vote throughout the country. Even before the soldiers were a force in this country, and whilst they were still a force in politics overseas, they sought to control the soldier's vote. Now the day of reckoning has arrived and it is for the Government to make good their promises to the soldiers. Let those who promised the soldiers everything during the election in 1917 make good. I have in my hand an extract from the minutes of a meeting of honourably discharged soldiers held under the auspices of the Grand Army of Canada, Vimy Post No. 4, at the Irish Rangers Armoury, 91 Stanley street in the city of Montreal, on August 1, 1919. This document is written on the paper of the Grand Army of Canada. The motto appears there—and I commend it to the Government—"We will not break faith."

It was moved by Comrade H. B. Jones, seconded by Comrade J. E. Lapointe, accepted by the majority and unanimously resolved as follows:

"Whereas the Grand Army of Canada, Vimy Post No. 4, in resolutions passed on April 30th, May 6th, and 13th, 1919, reminded the Government of various promises given, and

"Whereas among them was one previously given on behalf of the Government in December, 1917, before the election, of a peace gift to each soldier of $2,500, and

"That we honourably discharged soldiers gathered at this meeting (open to all returned men) remind the Government that as Peace is already officially proclaimed, and that it is now time to fulfil its 'You have a vote' pledges, and pay to all discharged men who served in France, $2,500 and to other pro rata,

"We ask the delegates of the G.A.C. to present this resolution in person to the Right Honourable Prime Minister in Ottawa."

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a true extract from the minutes of said meeting.

With reference to this resolution, I suggested to the soldiers that it would be well to collect the $2,500 from the people who had promised it—from the Unionist party—and that there was no reason why this money should be collected from the people of Canada who did not make this promise. This promise apparently was made in France by the Unionist party canvassers, and therefore I should think that the Unionist party, which had so much money at the last election, ought to collect this $2,500 and pay it over to these soldiers.

This Grand Army of Canada is a wonderful organization. It has a paper entitled The Grand Army of Canada Weekly Journal, and in it I find some most interesting things. In the "Open Forum," page 14, of the issue of May 14, 1919, we have a letter to Sir Thomas White from W. E. Collins, Secretary of Vimy Post Grand Army of Canada, Montreal. It is rather long and I will not tire the House by reading it all, but among other things he refers to the fact that when Russia had signed the Peace Treaty some difficulty was found in paying separation allowance to the wives of certain Russian soldiers in the Canadian army. The writer says that:

The Canadian Government opened an office at India House in London for Canadian Russian soldiers and placed same in charge of Major Yurkevitch, of Montreal, who was assisted by his own daughter and Lieut. Novitzky. It is claimed, however, that this office was incompetent and incapable of handling the matters under dispute.

It was not the only office overseas that was incompetent.

Before the last general election Major Yurkevitch and Lieut. Novitzky visited all camps and addressed all Russians. He told them that their duty was to vote for the Union Government; that the Union Government, if returned to power, would give each man 160 acres of land and $2,500 in cash to enable him to take up farming on his return; that all should vote not only for the Union Government, but (as was held out to them at Bramshott) their votes should be registered in Ottawa. The substance of the address of Major Yurkevitch was duly reported to the militia authorities by the Canadian Intelligence Service. No disciplinary measures were instituted against him. The promises which he made were not repudiated by the authorities whom he represented. Therefore, it can be assumed that the Union Government intends to keep the promises made to the Russian Canadian soldiers. If this is so, there should be no discrimination against other Canadians.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have shown, I hope, that this is evidently a partisan matter. I was in France until 1916, but I never heard anything about this $2,500. Probably the approaching elections later on had something to do with it. In any case, a large number of the returned soldiers and those who form the Grand Army of Canada—and I am sure the Grand Army of Canada is a powerful organization—feel that this was in the nature of an election promise and that the people who made it ought to fulfil it.

The action of the Government in regard to this matter, I think, should be rather severely criticised. First of all, we have the leader of the Government absolutely refusing a royal commission. The soldiers want to be convinced of the facts by the figures that the country could not afford to do this. No soldier worthy of the name would have insisted on obtaining $2,000 had he been under the impression that the country would be bankrupted by his obtaining it. I am quite sure that had the Government granted this commission and allowed the soldiers to look into the books of the country, explaining to them that it was impossible to give them the money, the average soldier—although we have been told by men in the House that the average soldier is not quite sane since his experience overseas—is no fool and he would have been able to see that it was impossible.

But what has the Government done? Instead of facing the matter squarely and saying: "We will give you a commission, we will give you figures," or instead of saying, "We cannot afford it. We know the figures and we cannot afford it," they have said, "We will give you a committee." Now the committee will deal with matters with regard to all branches of the Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, pensions, and other subjects of the soldier's activities. More than likely the matter of the $2,000 or the matter of the gratuity will be forgotten if the veterans allow it to be forgotten. To appoint a committee, to my mind, is a rather cowardly way for the Government to shift the responsibility on to the average member of Parliament. The poor member of Parliament has to face his electors and a large number of them in many cases are returned men or their sympathizers. I submit that the judgment of the member of Parliament—and after all he is only human and likes to be an M.P.—may be warped by the pressure brought to bear upon him by people in his constituency. The Government could have taken the responsibility of this and said: "We cannot pay this money and we won't pay it." They did not do so but they shifted their responsibility to a committee composed of poor human M.P.'s who are likely to be influenced, and we may not get the proper judgment of the House upon the matter and we may not get the proper sound judgment of the country. As for myself I do not expect to be on the committee, because I am against the gratuity anyway, so I could hardly be a member of it.

There have been alternative schemes urged but before going into those I would like to say a word with regard to our present system of gratuities. Had we, when we first decided to pay a gratuity to the returned soldier, given him a gratuity in a lump sum, what would have been the condition of affairs to-day? The waster would have spent his money long ago and by this time he would have either had to starve or get a job. We would have had the man who wanted to set up a small business, the man who wanted to establish himself in life, and he might have done so. Under the present system he has been getting his money in driblets, little by little. He has got to live on this money, he has never got enough of it to start him in business, and has no encouragement whatever to go to work. He is there with his $70 or $100 a month and he won't go to work as long as he can get that—at least the large majority of them won't; that is my experience, and I am quite sure it has been the experience of almost every member.

We have had a certain number of alternative schemes suggested. There was one that only the deserving should obtain a gratuity. I agree to that. I think the deserving should obtain a gratuity, but I see considerable

difficulty in administering any provision of that kind. In the first place, I would not very well trust the present Government with the actual administration in which the discretion of their officials was to be brought into question. But even under a government led by gentlemen on this side of the House, there would be some difficulty because, as I said before, members of Parliament and politicians, and even statesmen, are very human. Under an alternative scheme Bill Jones, who needed a certain amount of money to buy the tools necessary to his trade, would go to the gratuity board and ask for $1,000 or $1,500 as the case might be. If Bill shows a pretty good case, he might get it. Then comes Dick Smith, who has not got much of a case, but he has got some pull with the local member. Dick Smith is pretty sore. He goes to the local member and the local member has to meet the situation right there and then in his office, the returned soldier is a very insistent kind of a chap. He feels bound to telephone to the local representative of the board and to ask why Dick Smith does not get the money. The poor local representative, who is in deadly fear of losing his job, may listen to the local member and particularly if we have elections in sight. Oh, if we have elections! And we may have elections while this scheme is being put in force. Under the circumstances a large number of returned soldiers in a great many constituencies will be deemed very deserving cases, particularly at the hands of the Government in power. I have no doubt whatsoever that it will be quite possible for the candidates to make the cases such that the representative of the gratuity board would be unable to refuse the grant of $2,000 and the very object of the scheme would be defeated.

There is another proposition, that we might grant loans, but I very much fear that the banks, unless they had adequate security, would make some difficulty before loaning $2,000 to the ordinary average soldier; and if they wanted security I am afraid the poor member, the mayor, and the prominent people of the town, would be called upon again up to the limit of that security, and even that would not be sufficient, I imagine, for all the loans that would be required.

There has been a solution proposed that we insure those partially disabled by what is called, I think, sub-standard insurance I agree with my hon. friend (Mr. Redman) that we should look into the sub-standard insurance question, that a man who is disabled to such an extent that he is unable to obtain insurance at the ordinary rates, or unable to obtain insurance at all, should be helped by the Government to obtain such an insurance. But the scheme is a very, very large one and would require more careful study than we would be able to give to it before the troublesome times of this winter arrive. In connection with this insurance scheme it might be possible also to grant loans on the insurance, but that will have to be gone into and carefully studied.

I have a great deal of respect for the solution arrived at by my hon. friend from Red Deer (Mr. Michael Clark). To a certain extent I agree with him that we should see to it that our boys should not starve during the winter, but I would not give them any gratuity. I would agree with my hon. friend from West Peterborough (Mr. Burnham) as to providing useful public works. Make the men work. The question for the returned soldier to me is to give him an opportunity to work. If we are going to keep the returned soldier in idleness for a year, or a year and a half, he will lose the opportunity to work, he will lose the liking for, or the habit that he had of, work—that is all of them who did have the habit of work, and those who did not have it will go on in the same old way as they did before. We could give them public works and not do as suggested some time last sesion by the Minister of Railways (Mr. Reid), who wanted three million and a half dollars spent on the Trent Canal to employ 200 returned soldiers. No, I would not go that far. I would employ far more soldiers than that and if possible I would not employ them as pick and shovel men digging trenches either—I would give them good jobs, as good as there are in most of the Government offices. For instance in the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment the people who are at the head of it are not soldiers. I forget what the exact percentage of the soldiers employed there is, but they are messengers and that class of officials. So too on the public works which I hope we will construct; give the soldiers good jobs. Then with regard to the soldier who is a pick and shovel man, who was an ordinary labourer before the war, why not take the vocational training system and extend it? We now give vocational training in a new trade, in a new occupation, to the returned soldier who has been disabled. Why not extend that to all returned soldiers? Allow the returned soldier to better his position

if he likes, if he is able to do so, but have him under proper supervision, and see to it that he undergoes this vocational training, and that he does it conscientiously and does it well. In case he does not attempt conscientiously to learn a trade in which he can earn more money, he is not a good citizen and we should let him look after himself as he probably did before the war

I would solve the difficulties of the students in a similar way. The Vocational Training Branch of the Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Department could be extended to the students also in such a way that they could finish their university course, and their tuition fees, with perhaps some personal compensation, should be paid by the department. So that, in fine, my solution of the problem—take it for what it is worth; it may demand a great deal more study—is simply to have public works carried on by the Government in order to give employment to the men at fair wages and under decent working conditions, and to train in the vocational training corps those other men who cannot obtain such work.

Before closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to read an extract from a letter written some time ago by one of the men in the platoon which I had the honour to command at one time. He comes from Toronto —and he is a very good man in spite of that. He was looking for a job, and he says:

> Our Royal Canadian Army gave me my grand finale with a huge gratuity of seventy-five dollars.

I am glad to say that that is abolished now.

> I am back in the bank again and hate the damn place like poison. Also I can't live on the money they pay. Mr. Power, if you know of any position you think S.C. as you knew him could fill, you might let me know. Can't see how I can make enough to live on in the blooming bank, and I prefer outdoor work.

Then he proceeds:

> Do you ever feel a hankering for the billets in some old Belgic barn with all the boys lying around, scraping the mud off their clothes, etc., while waiting for the rum to come up? Sometimes, when I feel I should like to be with them again, I think how naked it would be with all the old boys gone. Army life surely has that miserable way of making a chap restless and giving him a great big longing for something, not definitely put forth in any way, shape or form.

That, I imagine, is one of the things wrong with the returned soldier to-day. He has been led away by agitators, until he has that hankering for something which he cannot put definitely into any shape or form. It is true that lately he has put his hankering into the definite shape of $2,000, but as a general rule he has not been able to give it any definite shape or form. He has been spoiled to a certain extent. Now we blow on him hot, now cold. We told him he was a fine fellow; the next thing we did when he asked for a job was to throw him down. He has been sent from pillar to post and has obtained no satisfaction. I am sorry to say that among a large number of our returned men this dissatisfaction has led to agitation, which must be stopped if the Government of this country is to be respected.

As an ex-soldier I, for one, must enter my protest most emphatically against those agitators who are endeavouring to stir up strife, to make out of the returned soldiers a militaristic class, and to force them to ask for something which we cannot concede; in fine, to make the returned soldier something else than the good citizen which he should be. According to the press despatches, certain returned soldiers prevented one of their own members from explaining his views in contradiction to theirs; and other soldiers, having invited the editor of a very reputable paper to address them, afterwards refused to listen to him and so ill-treated him that he was obliged to flee. I protest that soldiers such as these are not worthy of our consideration. If our men went over to fight for anything it was for liberty, and another thing which they also should have included was free speech. I deny to any man, be he a soldier or be he a member of the Government, the right to refuse the right of free speech to any citizen of this country. Our soldiers should learn—I think a large number of them have learned—that to settle down in civil life requires a certain amount of time. They had pure physical courage; in fact, in point of physical courage the soldiers of Canada yielded place to none in the world; but they will find when they return that to be good citizens they will require a higher kind of courage still—that moral courage, higher than the courage which made them carry Vimy Ridge, higher than that which made them assault Passchendaele—that courage to bear disappointments, ill-luck and the vicissitudes of the ordinary life of a citizen without grumbling, and taking upon themselves once more a spirit of sacrifice almost as great as the sacrifices which they made when they were fighting for us overseas.

Mr. CYRUS WESLEY PECK (Skeena): Mr. Speaker, I wish to detain the House but a very very moments to express my opinions upon this matter and to explain my position. I desire first to disassociate myself from that cheap despicable demagoguery which is playing to a certain class of returned soldiers. I have a different conception of the returned soldier than seems to be entertained by some people who describe him as an imbecile and in a shaken condition very much like that of a man after he has had a very good night, and that he is going to be a great charge on our hands. I had perhaps as good opportunities of seeing our soldiers at the front as any one. As I saw them leave the trenches on those gray battlefields on many a morning and charge against the best troops of Europe, I thought they were supermen, and that is what they were. While I maintain that a man cannot have gone through the war without a certain impairment of his mental and physical powers, at the same time I think when our men come back here they are not going to need these tears of pity that are showered upon them. All the returned soldier wants, Sir, in my opinion, is not to be molly-coddled and pampered, because, as has been already stated in this House, no money can recompense him for what he endured. Many a man must have endured at times sufferings which a million dollars a minute would not have induced him to undergo; but he knew his duty was to stand in that terrible hell-theatre of war and meet every danger. So when he comes back what I think the returned soldier wants is nothing but a square deal and a reasonable opportunity to make a living.

9 p.m.

I had the temerity to interrupt my hon. friend from Red Deer (Mr. Clark) to-day, and I want to explain my attitude. I do not intend to camouflage my position in any way. It seems to me that my hon. friend may not perhaps have understood the early stages of this movement. The executive of the Great War Veterans' Association came to Ottawa and approached the Government upon this question of gratuities and other questions, and they asked, as I understood it, that the Government should appoint a commission to examine the question of gratuities and all other questions that appertain to the returned soldier. The Government assured them that if they wished to do so, they might examine the records of the different departments, but such an examination was not necessary. Then some members of the House who are returned soldiers had a meeting. I do not think this is any secret; in any case, it should not be, because there is nothing to hide in these matters. So far as I am concerned, I do not want any camouflage. Then it was decided that these members should interview the Cabinet, and this was done. Many of these hon. gentlemen, like myself, took the position that a commission should be appointed. I do not desire commissions should be multiplied, because governments often answer a demand by appointing a commission. But a commission is one of the instruments of Government whereby we often obtain a scientific idea of public opinion. These members, therefore, asked for a commission, and I supported them in that request. But the Government did not agree to that suggestion; they wished to appoint a committee, and a Bill has been brought down dealing with the subject. I thought that a commission was the best means of obtaining this information, because it could go from place to place in the country and if its personnel was made up of good, honest men it would obtain more valuable information than could be obtained by a parliamentary committee.

My friend from Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark) who has such a mastery of debate in this House, rather reproached me as not being an old parliamentarian. I do not know that that is any very great disgrace; at any rate, his remark does not make me angry. But, Sir, I know enough of politics in this country; I have studied the politics of this country long enough to know that a parliamentary committee often involves a great deal of camouflage. I am not going to say anything against this committee; God forbid that I should, because I want to do everything I can to help in the attempt to deal satisfactorily with this question of the re-establishment of the returned soldier. But I say that a great deal of camouflage is often employed in these parliamentary committees; they are sometimes loaded, and it has been noticeable from time immemorial that parliamentary committees have brought in reports that were suspiciously favourable to the Government. So I thought that the appointment of a commission was the better way. I have to stand by my position and the Government may stand by theirs. However, I do not mean to throw up my hands, Sir. When the Government appoints that committee we should enter into the thing in the proper spirit. I hope that returned soldiers and all the

various bodies who are interested in the returned soldier will present before this committee their views concerning the objects which they have in view.

With regard to the question of a gratuity, I hope to explain my position in a way that will not be ambiguous. I do not believe that it is possible, having regard to the finances of our country, to grant all the extreme demands that have been made in regard to gratuity. I simply say that I think something might be done. Any man who has examined this question will certainly say that the gratuity should be readjusted, because it is a notorious fact that men who have suffered most and have served the longest have not received commensurate reward.

There is also the question of pensions—what we shall give to sustain the widow and the orphan. On three occasions in this House last year I took the stand that the pension to widows and orphans was not adequate. I take that stand now, and I intend to maintain it. What I say now applies also to pensions to disabled men, the wounded and the afflicted. As I explained once before, Sir, the question is one which does not so much concern those who have come back to Canada in the full possession of their physical strength; it affects those who have been left to us as a sacred charge by those men whose last thoughts on the battlefield were of their dear ones at home. So I say that these pensions to the widow and the orphan, to the wounded and afflicted, should be increased. I stand for that now and will always stand for it.

I associate myself with a great many of the remarks that have been made by hon. and gallant gentlemen who have preceded me, especially those of the member for Fort William (Mr. Manion) in regard to education. I think that a great deal might be accomplished in that direction. We might extend the work which has already been done so that it would include all young returned soldiers in the vigor of life who wish to obtain a professional or technical education or a training in the trades. If we did that, we should be doing just as much to increase production as we are doing under the land settlement scheme.

I agree with the hon. gallant gentleman from Quebec South (Mr. Power) that we should not introduce any party consideration into our discussion of or dealing with this matter. We should render our tribute—honest men will do it; the soldier will always do it—to those to whom credit is due; to the Government for the things that they have done for the returned soldier. Some people have sneered at the Soldier Settlement Board. I think that is most unfair. This country and the returned soldier owe a great debt of gratitude to the Minister of the Interior (Hon. Mr. Meighen) for the courage, the ability and the confidence with which he introduced the measure for land settlement, and for the manner in which the plan has been prosecuted. In my part of the country the land settlement scheme has been a splendid success; the returned men are entering into it and great results are being achieved. I look forward to its success with a great deal of hope and confidence. I am anxious, therefore, to render my tribute to the hon. gentleman who is responsible for that plan of land settlement. In all ways I want to render to the Government any credit that is due to them for what they have done—and they have done a great deal. Hon. members have said that the Government of this country have done more than the Government of any other country has done for returned soldiers—all the more credit to them. Canada had the greatest soldiers in the world; therefore she wanted to give them advantages and benefits very much greater than those which were offered to soldiers in other countries.

Although I differ from the Government in respect of the method of inquiring into this matter, I think that we should all go at it with a view of trying to achieve some definite results and of giving to our returned soldiers everything that can possibly be given, everything that the country is capable of giving them, not only to reward them for their great services, but also to re-establish them in civil life.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): Mr. Speaker, my only excuse for rising to take part in this debate is that my silence might be misconstrued. I may say at the outset that I agree with very much that has been said on the floor of this House to-day and to-night. We all agree that the soldier did not go to fight for money and that this country cannot pay him for the services that he gave. Furthermore, we should be thankful to the member for North Simcoe (Mr. Currie) for bringing to the attention of the House the subject which is now under discussion.

It is a subject on which I think every man ought to take a stand for the good of the country and for the good of the returned soldier. If we look for a moment at the causes of the dissatisfaction which exists in this country to-day, and it does exist I

think we shall probably get an inkling as to the remedy, if the Government only had the courage to apply it. The hon. member for Centre Winnipeg (Mr. Andrews) was right when he said this afternoon that the cause of the unrest among the returned soldiers is the fact that on returning they find the men who stayed at home while they were fighting, have become rich. They feel in consequence that they have been more or less victims of circumstances which were beyond their control. They see that men have been promoted and had their salaries increased and some have become rich, while the soldiers come back comparatively poor. They find out, which is absolutely true, that the Government has failed to get from the profiteers an adequate portion of their war profits, and I think if the Government had the courage, and some government will yet have the courage in this country, to take from the profiteers the undue profits which they made while the soldier was fighting to keep them and their families and their business in existence, they would hit upon the first thing to relieve the unrest in this country.

There are other causes, and they are not far away from the one I have just mentioned. I raise the question of insurance for the disabled. There are men in this country to-day crippled from wounds and disease, who see dissolution approaching in the not very distant future. They know they are going to leave their families unprovided for, and I say it is the paramount duty of this Government to look after these people, and to look after them at once.

Now I come to the different soldier establishments in this country. I said on the floor of this House last year that it was nothing less than an insult to suggest that there was not among 300,000 returned soldiers a man competent to become deputy minister of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. I have nothing to say against the man who occupies that position, but I say this—I have said it before, and I will continue to say it until these things are redressed—that in all departments pertaining to soldiers alone, such as the Pensions Board, and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, the officials must of necessity be men who have served at the front. Under no other conditions will the returned men have confidence that they are getting a square deal. I had read on the floor of this House a year ago a list of the higher-paid officials of the Pensions Board, not one of whom had seen service at the Front. These are some of the things that are agitating the men who fought for this country during the war. This Government will yet have to take hold of this mess and clean it up, and until they do, we shall have dissatisfaction; we shall have people coming to this House and demanding $1,000 or $2,000, not as their just reward, but in order that they may be into it as well, for they have a sense of justice and equality. I agree with the hon. member for Quebec South (Mr. Power) that the soldiers are fair and have the interests of this country at heart, but they must have a fair and square deal. We have seen too much of the military autocracy that stayed at home lording it over the people of this country. The day for that kind of thing ought to be past. I agree with my hon. friend that that has been a source of dissatisfaction to the returned men. This military autocracy that stayed at home received promotion and salary increases. They have been riding around in Government automobiles at Government expense. But what happens to the returned soldier when he comes home? If he is twenty-four hours' late he gets ten days' pay deducted. These things are bound to cause irritation and trouble.

This Government deserves considerable credit, but I do not think we deserve any credit at all for looking after the widows and orphans and the disabled, because that is simply our duty, and our stern duty. The war gratuity was an act of graciousness on the part of this Government which I think the soldiers have appreciated. If they have not done so, they should have.

I agree with the hon. member for Quebec South (Mr. Power) that the land settlement scheme has also been a good thing for the soldier. It raises a man's earning power from $1 or $2 a day to $10 or $15 a day, and if he has the necessary energy and ability it affords the soldier a ready means of re-establishing himself into the civil life of this country

One other thing that is irritating the people of this country is the fact that this Government have put out all their loans free of taxation. It is indisputable that that has been the avenue through which millions have been sunk away that were made by men during this war. The loans offered them excellent security at a good rate of interest, and enabled them to escape the taxation which they knew was bound to come. These are some of the things which the returned men are thinking about, and they are going to think about them until they are adjusted in a more equitable way.

As to the solution of this trouble, I say frankly I do not know what it is. I do not agree with the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. Currie) that this country can raise $600,000,000 or $700,000,000. I do not believe we can; I think it is impossible. If we are able to get $1,000,000,000 from Germany I might revise my ideas about giving the $2,000 gratuity, but at present I do not think we can possibly do it.

There are some things which must be done. I have mentioned insurance as one of them, and it is a very important thing. It might also be possible to give the men some other assistance in re-establishing themselves in civil life. The hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) to-day, in a very brilliant speech, suggested a possible remedy for this winter. These things must be considered. What the remedy is I do not know. But I do know that there is a great deal of discontent among the returned men of this country which has a just and righteous foundation. They did not enlist for money, and I repeat their great demand to-day is not for money. That is only the outward expression of a dissatisfaction which they feel at the conditions they have found on returning. I am very glad this matter is going to a committee of the House. I think that nothing pays like the truth. Let the light of day in on this question and let us see where we stand. If we cannot do anything, let us tell the people so, and give our reasons, but if we can do anything it is up to this country to do it.

I hope that some men either in this House or out of it will be able to furnish the necessary ability, intelligence and good judgment to guide this country safely through the troublous times which are undoubtedly ahead of it during the coming winter. As the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) said to-day, we have a hard and rigorous climate. We know that work is going to be scarce, and it is imperative that these men shall be looked after. I heartily agree with the hon. member when he expresses the opinion that the country will not allow these men to go in want during their first winter after the war, and I trust, Mr. Speaker, that some solution will be found that will satisfactorily settle this question in a peaceful and amicable way.

Mr. J. W. EDWARDS (Frontenac): I have listened with close attention and great interest to every speech which has so far been made in this debate, and I will pay this tribute to every gentleman who has spoken, that whether or not his views agree with mine, I can freely give him credit for sincerity in the expression of them. I may frankly say at the outset that I do not agree with some of the opinions which have been advanced this afternoon and evening by hon. gentlemen who have preceded me. It is true we owe a great debt to the Canadian soldiers who went to France, not only those who are sleeping their last sleep there, but those who have been fortunate enough to return to Canada. They acquitted themselves in a manner which has brought undying honour and fame to the name of Canada. They did their whole duty as soldiers on the battlefield, and it is for us as men occupying responsible positions in the gift of the people to realize our responsibilities and do our duty as fearlessly as did the men who fought for us across the seas. The easier thing for a man to do on an occasion of this kind is to fall in line with the clamour, and agree with those who are demanding this, that or the other thing. That, however, is not fulfilling one's duty as a public man, at any rate, not as I conceive that duty. We require in this country to-day, more than at any other time in our history, men who will exhibit in public life the fearlessness which characterized our boys overseas. We require men who will have courage enough to face any issue, however unpleasant it may be, to face perhaps even unpopularity in the expression of their honest convictions, and when necessary to say "no" in the interests of their country.

I wish to commend very highly indeed the excellent speech which was made by the hon. member for Fort William (Mr. Manion). It was thoughtful; it was carefully rendered; it was a sincere expression of the opinion of a man whose interests in the returned soldier no one will question or doubt for a single moment. And when that hon. gentleman concluded, I for one had no misgivings as to where he stood on this question. I was therefore sorry to hear the expression which fell from the lips of my hon. friend from Red Deer (Mr. Clark), charging the hon. member for Fort William with duplicity in this matter, and accusing him with facing both ways. I do not agree with the member for Red Deer in that opinion. I say that at the conclusion of the speech of the hon. member for Fort William I was left in no doubt as to his position on this question, and in regard to the remarks of my hon. friend from Red Deer, until the last ten minutes of his speech I certainly felt that he was

going to agree in principle with the member for Fort William. It came therefore very much as a surprise to me when the hon. member for Red Deer took a right about face on the matter and seemed to favour the granting, if not of $2,000, at least of a portion of it. Mr. Speaker, the hon. member or Simcoe (Mr. Currie), in bringing this matter before the House, has expressed opinions which I dare say will find approval on the part of very many soldiers in Canada, but I have sufficient confidence in the intelligence and fair-mindedness of the returned soldiers to believe that a great many of them will not approve of the attitude and the words of the hon. member. The hon. member for Simcoe, for the purposes of his speech, divided the soldiers into three classes. The demand was made for $2,000 for every man who had gone to France; $1,500 for the man who got as far as England; and $1,000 for the man who had enlisted but did not leave Canada. He gave his approval to those demands on the part of certain soldiers in this country.

Mr. CURRIE: That is the Calgary resolution.

Mr. EDWARDS: Just so. That is the Calgary Resolution and not that of the hon. member for Simcoe. Very true, Mr. Speaker, that was the Calgary Resolution entirely until the hon. member gave it his endorsation and then it became his as well. I think I am not misstating the position of my hon. friend when I say that he gave his endorsation to the resolution passed at Calgary to which I have just alluded. I do not wish to misrepresent my hon. friend, and if he does not give his approval to the position taken in that resolution passed in Calgary I shall be most happy to pause and allow him an opportunity to state his views.

Mr. CURRIE: I approve of it; I said so. The hon. member tries to make out that I engineered or fathered that resolution. That is not the case.

Mr. EDWARDS: Not at all. My hon. friend from Simcoe is congratulating himself to a greater extent than I had any intention of doing. I did not credit him with having fathered the resolution. I said that my hon. friend from Simcoe endorsed the resolution. He has acquainted us with the fact that he was not responsible for the resolution, and if I had allowed this matter to pass at that, I suppose the impression might have been created in some minds that he did not endorse it. I thought, therefore, that it was as well to clear the matter up, and the hon. member now says he does endorse the position taken in that resolution. Now, my hon. friend has a perfect right, if he sees fit, to endorse that resolution, but I will say from my place in the House that I do not endorse it, nor do I approve of the position taken in it.

The proposition contained in that resolution is one which is impracticable and which could not possibly be carried out in this country without serious loss and damage. It is a proposition which I believe the majority of returned soldiers, when they fully understand the situation in Canada, will themselves agree was unreasonable. I asked my hon. friend from Simcoe (Mr. Currie) when he was discussing this matter if he would give the same amount to a man who had been in France only a week as he would give to a man who had stayed there for three years, but he made no distinction; he said one should get the same as the other. Well, I have in mind a certain gentleman in this country who went over to England. He took a Cook's tour as far as France, was there four or five days and came back to Canada. While I am speaking I have in my mind's eye a gentleman who for twenty years or more attended annual drill twelve or fourteen days in the year, paraded around with all the gold braid and feathers he could put on himself, and was a big man for the time being, and was elevated to the rank of Colonel.

When the war broke out he did not offer his services until public sentiment became so strong against him that he did join up with the army and went overseas as second in command. He went as far as England with his battalion. It was broken up and he had his choice of reverting to a lower rank and going to France to fight or taking a Cook's tour, going over to France for the purpose of observation for four or five days, then back to England and then home. He took the second course. He went over to France for four or five days, came back to England and then came back home. Under the proposal contained in the resolution which the hon. member for Simcoe endorses, that gentleman would receive $2,000. I feel fairly safe in the county of Frontenac. I do not intend to boast of my majority or of my personal popularity there. It was not my popularity that got me that majority; it was the popularity of the Government I supported. Although I had pretty nearly 2,000 of a majority at the last election, if any such course were pursued as that which the hon. member for Simcoe would endorse, or if a man of that kind was given $2,000 of the money of this coun-

try, I do not believe I could get elected again in Frontenac. I pay that tribute to the intelligence of the people of Frontenac. I do not believe they would endorse any such proposal as that. Nor do I think it would be reasonable or fair to give the same consideration, in the matter of paying $2,000, to every man who has set foot on the soil of France whether he had been there for twenty-four hours or four years. Yet that is what the resolution which my hon. friend (Mr. Currie) endorses calls for.

The other class to which my hon. friend refers is the class of soldiers' dependents, the widows and children of those who gave their lives in the Great War. Mr. Speaker, I want my position in regard to this portion of our population to be defined as distinctly and clearly as my position in regard to the grant of $2,000. I, for one, am willing to mortgage this country, if necessary, to the hilt, in order that the dependents, the wives and children of the men who gave their lives in France, shall live as comfortably and as well as they did before their sons or husbands went overseas. I am willing, and I believe the people of this country are willing to go the limit in looking after the dependents of those who are sleeping their last sleep in Flanders' fields. There should be a full endorsation in the Dominion of Canada by its people of anything the Government may do along that line. Our treatment of these people cannot be too generous.

Let me come to the other class—the student class. I gathered from the remarks of the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) that he rather favoured this Government giving assistance to students to complete their course with the exception of theological students who would not get much consideration from him.

Mr. M. CLARK: Will my hon. friend permit me to correct him in what he gathered? I made no distinction in regard to students at all. I made a statement about the kind of student I admired and that was the student in all faculties at the Scottish university, at which I got my own degree, who went, supported by the slender means of his parents, carrying a bag of oatmeal, and in many cases became a professor. I did not refer to any faculty whatsoever. I want to correct my hon. friend's false impression.

Mr. EDWARDS: I am very glad to be set right in the matter and I will do myself the honour of entirely agreeing with my hon. friend in regard to the class of people to whom he has referred. I was under the impression that he rather favoured the idea of Government assistance in the way of a grant to students to enable them to complete their course in Canada. But in that he has corrected me. There are quite a number in my own county who have approached me in regard to this matter and who think that the Government should put up money to enable them to complete their courses at college. Whom are you going to define or designate as students? Is it just those who are fortunate enough to be able to attend the universities? Are these the only ones who should be classed as students? Every person who is acquiring knowledge from those who have had the advantage ahead of him deserves to be classed as a student whether or not he goes to a university. Therefore, the apprentice to the plumber, or the carpenter, while he is learning his trade and getting little or nothing in the way of wages is entitled to be called a student. The returned soldiers in that class would be excluded from any of the benefits that you would give to the boy who had been attending a university. The boys who gave up their university course, made great sacrifices to go overseas. There are thousands and tens of thousands of others who also made great sacrifices but who could not qualify as students for any grant of public money. The objection I have to any such method as that is that you could not discriminate, that if you made a grant to certain of the returned soldiers who had partly completed their courses you would be discriminating against others who had perhaps never entered a college but who could not qualify under the definition of student and who would have just as good claims as the man who had attended college for one or two terms.

But some say: There is discrimination any way under the Land Settlement Act. I think it was the hon. member for Red Deer who said that he believed that that Act was not passed with the primary idea of assisting the soldiers but rather with the idea of assisting to get men back on the land. I do not take that view of it myself but let us consider that for a moment. We have passed an Act which gives certain assistance to men who proposed to take up farming. Is the returned soldier who asks for assistance to enable him to open up a corner grocery in the same position? I do not think so. The Government in the case of assistance given to the man who goes on the land, takes a first mortgage on the land as the Government's

security. They would not be dealing fairly with the people of this country if they did not endeavour to secure them for every dollar which they loaned on land or loaned on any other thing. In regard to an amount of money put into a grocery store, what security could that man give? He gets the money from the Government, buys goods and puts them on the shelf. They are perishable; they are easily convertible into cash.

If his books show him that he is going behind there is great temptation for that man to avail himself of the privilege of disposing of what goods he has and getting out. The Government has got to have security. But there is another reason which is worth mentioning; every man whom the Government might assist in opening up another line of business, such as storekeeping, is adding one more to the army of consumers in this country, whereas every man whom the Government might assist in placing on the land is adding one more to the army of producers, and to that extent in the latter case is attempting to solve in a practical way the high cost of living by greater production, just as our difficulty in that regard would be increased in the former case by opening up positions for people in cities and towns. I, therefore, do not agree in that respect with an editorial published a few days ago in the Toronto Globe from which, however, I wish to quote just a few words. I do not agree with that part of the article which says that:

"The Government should try to do for men in the cities and towns who are unfitted, or have no inclination for agriculture, what it is doing for men going on the land."

I do not think the Government would be warranted in following that line and for the reason I have attempted to give. But because of certain remarks which were made by one or two hon. gentlemen this afternoon in regard to the Land Settlement Act, I shall place on Hansard a few figures published by the Toronto Globe quite recently. I think it was the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. Currie) who rather made light of the Act and of the Government's loans to men going on the land, arguing that such men were being loaded up with a debt. I think there is a very great advantage to the man who avails himself of the terms of that Land Settlement Act, and I think the Government is deserving of very great credit indeed in having put that Act through. The Globe says:

The exact number of applications received by the Soldiers' Settlement Board up to August 23 was 30,903. The applicants wished to be located by provinces as follows:

British Columbia	5,313
Alberta	7,672
Saskatchewan	6,932
Manitoba	4,720
Ontario	3,027
Quebec	1,282
New Brunswick	864
Nova Scotia	709
Prince Edward Island	384

Of these, 23,087 had been approved.

That is to say of the 30,000 applications for loans to go on the land, 23,087 have been approved.

The number who actually received loans up to 23rd August was 9,691, and the total amount of money advanced was $29,038,901, an average loan of $2,996.

It may be of interest to follow those figures just a little bit further.

The $29,038,901 has been divided among three classes of loans: (1) on purchased land; (2) on Dominion (free) lands; (3) on lands already owned by soldier-settlers. Most of it has been advanced on purchased lands—$15,627,579 for the land itself, $2,027,139 for buildings and other permanent improvements, and $5,387,339 for stock and equipment.

You will see from these figures that of the $30,000,000 in round numbers which had been advanced up to the 23rd of August in loans to those who want to settle on the land, the majority of those taking advantage of the Act are prepared to buy farms rather than go and get free grants of land. Over a million acres have already been handed over in free grants to soldiers, but the majority of them prefer to buy improved farms, and I take it one reason for that preference is because they have a certain amount of money to put into the proposition themselves. As a matter of fact, the $15,627,000 which has been advanced as loans on lands purchased indicates that the soldiers obtaining that money put in one-tenth of that amount themselves, or over $1,500,000, because under the Act, as I understand it, they have to put up one-tenth of the amount of their loan on lands purchased.

Now, Sir, I noticed from my reading of the statistics just quoted the pretty general distribution of the soldiers so far as the provinces are concerned, and that it seems to me is a good thing for this country. It indicates that not alone in the western provinces, but in the older provinces in the East as well, the returned soldier has availed himself of the provisions of this Act, and many thousands of them are going to the land. I believe, Sir, that if no more of them went on the land than have gone up to the present time, there has been ample justification for the Act which has been passed. No hon. gentleman in this House, I am sure,

will question that it has been something which has added materially to the permanent assets of this country, that these thousands of men already have shown an inclination to go on the land, have applied for this loan, and are in a fair way, not only of making a good living for themselves, but assisting in greater production by themselves becoming producers in this country. Therefore, it seems to me that those who make light of this Act are not taking the broad view of it that I think the measure warrants.

I would like to ask one or two questions before I take my seat. Several hon. gentlemen have made comments on the suggestion made by the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark). I fully agree with the motives behind the suggestion of that hon. gentleman. I am sure every member of the House will agree with him in his statement that we must not see any of our returned men in want during the coming winter; but I question very much, indeed, the wisdom of the suggestion the hon. gentleman has made. He would hand out to the returned soldier, beginning with the first of November, a certain amount which he did not mention, but which I presume would be along the line of the gratuity which was granted to them, for a period of five months.

Now, let us take one or two cases. John Brown arrives at Halifax this morning from overseas. Some days are required before he is finally discharged. He is under pay, of course, until he is discharged. We will say he gets his discharge the last day of September. Immediately that happens he starts to draw seventy dollars a month for six months. I am, of course, assuming that he has been overseas for three years or more. So far as John Brown is concerned, he will draw seventy dollars for October, November, December, January, February and March. But the suggestion of the hon. member for Red Deer would mean that, in addition to drawing that money, he would also draw a further seventy dollars a month, beginning with the first of November of this year, for five months. I do not think you can argue that in his case he needs the other seventy dollars a month in order to keep him from starving this winter. Then we will take the case of a man who got back here on the first of January. He was discharged on that date. Up to that time he was drawing pay. He then started to draw his gratuity and drew it for six months. At the end of six months his gratuity stopped, but during that period he has had an opportunity of supplementing his pay in other ways in order to put him through the coming winter.

How are we going to justify ourselves in making a grant for five months to carry men through the winter of 1919-20, and not make a similar grant next year to carry men through the winter of 1920-21? What better reason can we offer for saying that the public generally must take it for granted that that ends the gratuity business than we can offer in regard to the gratuity which has already been granted? Is it not conceivable that a year from now there will be soldiers who have just got out of hospital, who have been kept going for all those months, gradually getting stronger and stronger, looked after by the Government of course until the time came for their discharge from the hospital, and who when they get that discharge are told: You are now recovered and you must get out and make a living for yourselves? If those men are unable to find work, what are we going to do with them? I do not see, Sir, how it will be possible to do otherwise than treat them in the same way as the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) suggests we should treat the returned soldiers now.

Those are cases which I have put in the form of questions, and I would like some hon. gentleman who may discuss this matter further to give me their opinions thereon.

Mr. M. CLARK (Red Deer): May I intervene? I had given some thought to the considerations which my hon. friend raises. I would like to point out to him in the first place that the number of men drawing the double gratuity under the cases which he has portrayed would be extremely limited, and that there would be a certain rough justice in the men who are last in getting their release having a little extra money to afford them a little extra chance to get on in the world. I do not think there is a man in this House or in the country who would grudge them that extra chance, especially as those cases are limited in number. If it offered a chance of a final settlement, the number being so small, I do not think any one but my hon. friend, who is a very close and clever reasoner, but whose reasoning is very fine sometimes, would really grudge the little extra in what would be exceptional and limited cases.

Mr. EDWARDS: My hon. friend has a very unfortunate habit, I may say, Mr. Speaker, of always concluding that when he expresses an opinion upon any matter the last word has been said upon it, and that any person who has the temerity to

differ from him is in a class by himself. Now, the hon. gentleman is so sure of his position that he includes with himself every other hon. member of the House except myself. I am extremely unfortunate, of course, in that regard, and I appreciate the unfortunate position in which I find myself; but notwithstanding that, I have on many occasions—and I say it with extreme regret—followed the arguments of my hon. friend very carefully and found what appeared to me, with my limited intelligence, very serious defects in his line of reasoning; and there are defects in his present argument which appear to me, and which I venture to think may suggest themselves to other hon. gentlemen, despite the evident assurance of my hon. friend that he has everybody else thinking his way.

Now, Sir, I take exception to one word which my hon. friend has used, and I take exception to it in the very strongest terms. He has the right to differ from me in opinion, as I have the right to differ from him; but he has no right to assume, nor has he any right to imply to this House that I stand as one who would grudge to the returned soldier any sum which he in his generosity would give him. I wish to tell my hon. friend that I will go just as far as he will in generous treatment to the returned soldier, but in pointing out what I think are defects in the suggestion which he makes, I believe I am taking a course which though it may not appeal to returned soldier voters—it will not be popular in that regard—is more in line with the welfare of this country than is the course taken by my hon. friend. He had no hesitation this afternoon in speaking very strongly in opposition to the idea of acceding to the demands of the soldiers for the $2,000 grant, and, if I recall his words correctly, it was in his estimation something which would bankrupt this country. He said that we did not have the resources to make such a payment. I wonder where the length of our resources comes in to provide the hon. gentleman from Red Deer with the money to carry out his proposal. To meet the $2,000 grant would mean an expenditure of $750,000,000 or $800,000,000. If the suggestion of my hon. friend were adopted it would cost this country about $250,000,000. If we are justified in asking in all seriousness: Where are you going to get $800,000,000 to meet this demand of $2,000 each, I think, without being accused of grudging the soldiers what is due them, I have a right to ask: Where does my hon. friend propose to get his $250,000,000 which would be required if his suggestion were carried into effect?

The hon. member for Red Deer has not told us in definite terms where it is to come from, nor has the member for North Simcoe (Mr. Currie). The member for North Simcoe suggested that it would come from Germany, but that suggestion was repudiated, and very properly so, by the member for Red Deer. Just as properly we might repudiate the suggestion made by the member for Red Deer, because his was just as indirect as that of the member for North Simcoe. I submit that the member for Red Deer should follow up his suggestion by stating definitely how this money is to be obtained. Of course, it would be entirely wrong, from his point of view, to get it from the tariff. The hon. gentleman in one breath denounced such expenditures as those involved in the housing scheme and the good roads proposal, and he very kindly enunciated a great economic principle when he told us that the way to get rich was by making all the money you could get and not spending any. He told the Government that the way to get rich was to raise revenues by direct taxation and so on, and not spend the money. But in the next breath he deviated from that economic principle by advocating the expenditure of $250,000,000, without even telling us where the money was to come from.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: I should like to follow the Scotch practice of answering my hon. friend's question by putting one to him. If war had lasted another year—I do not doubt for a moment that my hon. friend agrees with me this time, that we should still have kept in it—where would the money have come from?

Mr. EDWARDS: That is a question which I cannot answer; I doubt very much whether my hon. friend could answer it. We did not have to cross that bridge. I think we would have found the money, though.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: Hear, hear.

Mr. EDWARDS: But it is to be remembered that money was coming into this country while the war was on that is not coming into it now. Hundreds of millions of dollars were flowing into Canada for the purchase of munitions and supplies which are not coming into the country now. That suggests to me, as it does, no doubt, to my hon. friend, that had the war continued another year, sources of obtaining money would be open to the people of Canada at

the present time which are not now open to them because of the conclusion of the war. But merely to ask where the money would come from if the war had continued another year does not tell us where the money is to come from to meet his suggested expenditure of $250,000,000.

As one who represents a farming constituency, I point out to those who advocate this expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars that they are advocating a course which, if adopted, would compel the Government to place a federal tax on every farm in Canada. If that should happen, farm values would immediately tumble. I was talking to a man the other day, a farmer who had returned from overseas, and he asked me what I thought of this proposed gratuity of $2,000. I said: "The Government will not do it; they cannot do it." He said: "Don't you think they should do it?" I said, "I certainly don't think they should do it." I added, "How would you like it if in addition to your municipal taxes you had to pay a federal tax of $50, $75 or $100 on your farm?" "Well," he said, "I would simply sell the farm." I said, "To whom would you sell it? I suppose you would sit up at night watching for some fool to come along who was eager for an opportunity to pay taxes that you were running away from."

Mr. Speaker, I am willing to go as far as any person in this House in doing what we can for the returned soldier. Our first duty in that regard is to the wives and children of the men who lie buried in France, and I will go the limit, and then some, so far as they are concerned. Our second duty is to the men who are partially or totally disabled; I will go the limit so far as they are concerned. I am willing to mortgage this country in order to assist these two classes. But I should not be doing my duty as a member of this House if I were to support a proposal to meet the clatter coming from certain men in this country, without giving due consideration to what burden we were thereby placing upon the people. That, I say, I will not do; whether or not that course causes me to obtain support is a secondary matter and one which I do not think I or any other member of this House in a similar position should consider.

Permit me to refer, Mr. Speaker, to a remark made by the member for Muskoka (Mr. P. McGibbon) with which I do not agree. He criticised the Government very strongly in respect of the non-taxable feature of the Victory Loan. Well, that condemnation goes to me as well as to the Government; it goes to every member of this House, including the member for Muskoka, for we all allowed the measure to go through in the form that it did, and we were silent at the time it went through. I do not feel like kicking myself in that regard, nor do I feel like taking any kicks from any hon. gentleman who is in the same position as I am so far as that is concerned.

I wish to express my entire agreement with certain sentiments which have been voiced by hon. members of this House in regard to pensions and gratuities to returned men. Gratuities were given to these men not in recognition of their services, but in order that they would not have to take the first job that came along; in order that they might have the choice of a position in getting back into civil life. Moreover, the private soldier is entitled to just as large a gratuity as is the major, colonel or general; I would have made no distinction whatever. And when it comes to fixing pensions for the widows and children of dependents of those who were killed overseas, I see no reason why the wife and children of the officer should receive any more consideration than the wife and children of the private soldier. Speaking as a medical man, I know that the wee babe of the poor man will suck just as much milk out of the bottle as the babe of the millionaire.

It will cost just as much to feed it, and I do not see any reason why more dollars should be allowed for feeding the child of the rich man than the poor man is allowed for feeding his child of the same age.

I believe that this debate has resulted in good. There has been a candid expression of opinion, and we will arrive at correct conclusions by criticising one another's views, doing it kindly, and I hope, courteously. I believe that it was the wisest course to appoint a Parliamentary committee rather than a commission to inquire into this matter. No matter who may be chosen to sit on that committee, whether from this side of the House or the other I believe they will sincerely try to do their duty regardless of politics or anything else. A Parliamentary committee in touch with the people and the soldiers will enable the returned men to place their views before this House through the committee, and I believe will result in great good.

Mr. W. K. BALDWIN (Stanstead): Mr. Speaker, many members have expressed the opinion that we should all take a hand in this debate. I shall endeavour to confine myself strictly to the question. There is

one question that requires to be dealt with perhaps more urgently than the question of unemployment among returned soldiers, and that is the land settlement scheme. This work was commenced early in the spring. I saw the man in Sherbrooke who had charge of it, and he had then found forty-three farms, but he had not found a single soldier to go on the land about the beginning of haying, because he could not get title to the farms. The men who sold these farms had not planted any crops, had not cultivated a garden, and had no potatoes in the ground. Things were generally running loose. He did place one soldier on one of these farms; this soldier was a bachelor. There were no crops on the farm. In another instance a man who sold his farm to the Government had planted no potatoes or crops of any kind. I will guarantee that this Government in three or five years will own a considerable number of farms because the soldiers who go on them will be starved out. I know a farm that cost $900 four or five years ago that was sold with four cows and a double wagon to a returned soldier for $4,500. Before Christmas he will have to work by the day to feed his family or else abandon the farm. That is an abominable state of affairs. The Government could have found practical farmers who would have not asked a sou marquee to find farms of producing value for the soldiers that could have been purchased at a reasonable figure, and on which the soldiers could have made a living. A senator has said, not in the Senate but outside of the Chamber, that it was simply criminal the way things were going in connection with locating soldiers on the land.

I think the returned soldiers who have spoken in this debate have been the most moderate of all the speakers. They have not endeavoured to exact anything from the Government, because they know the country's financial condition. But there is something in this country that we could give to the soldiers who are deserving. We have enormous areas of land in the great West which, in my opinion, should have been bought in large blocks for the use of the soldiers, who could have been put under an instructor, just as in the United States many counties have farm instructors They would then have had a chance to make a success of farming.

I think it is absurd to suggest that the soldiers should be paid a flat bonus whether they have been in the service only a week, a month or a year, and regardless of whether they went to England or Scotland or France. Men have crossed the seas who have never heard the sound of a gun, and they have come back deep-chested, rugged fellows. Their families have taken care of their money and have perhaps $700 or $800 saved up. Probably seventy-five per cent of the Great War Veterans believe in doing right and have got positions. I had the pleasure of speaking at a Great War Veterans' meeting in my county, at the county seat some time ago. I went there without hesitation not knowing what to say. I heard two young men speak, one from this city and one from Montreal, and it would be unparliamentary for me to use the language they used in flaying the twenty-five per cent of the Great War Veterans who are slackers, who would sell the last stitch they own to get money to get drunk on paregoric or Jamaica ginger to keep them in a state of inefficiency. Give them a flat rate. Why, as the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) said this afternoon, some of them would soon see London again, and go ahead destroying themselves as long as the money lasted.

I agree with the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) that we cannot do too much for the returned man who is suffering from disabilities, or for the widow and orphans of one who is lying in France. We received in our boxes to-day a paper showing that the Canadian married soldier gets $600 and the single soldier something less than $500, whereas the United States gives only $60. It is true that the United States has insured her soldiers, but when the men get back they have to keep up the insurance themselves. From time immemorial soldiers have been looked after by a pension system, and that is what I advocate. Let a pension be paid in accordance with the years of service and the degree of disability sustained. That is the system in England and in the United States. After the great Civil War in the United States the rate was $4 a month to commence with, and a few years afterwards it went up to $20 and $30 a month. They gradually paid more until now practically all the veterans of that war have passed to the great majority. The annual total pensions paid in the United States on account of that war amounted to only $42,000,000, whereas in Canada we have practically reached that amount to-day.

I do not see how in all reason we can give to the soldiers much more than we are giving, and the advocacy of this enormous grant is altogether incomprehensible to me. We have a tremendous debt, and I am con-

vinced that the soldier has as keen an interest in the future welfare of the country as any other citizen in the land. I do not believe that the better part of them, from what I have heard in the House to-day, have any real desire to burden the country with a debt which it will be altogether unable to discharge for generations to come, and which will impose a heavy direct taxation on the people and destroy our future prospects of building up a great nation. The returned soldier is a man of energy, a man of grit and enterprise, and I believe that we shall be doing the best thing possible in his interests and in the interests of the country at large if we help him to settle on the land. It is fatuous to suggest, as the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) does, that we should begin on the first of November to pay men a salary for five months, unless they are going to do some beneficial work in consideration of this expenditure. Where is the money to come from? If we have to support the soldiers let us put them to employment on public works. Let them work for every dollar we pay them, and let us afford them the opportunity of proving their worth as men in civil life, as they have shown their sterling and magnificent worth as defenders of their country. If we supported men in unproductive idleness we should find a condition as bad as that which obtained years ago in England, where a certain class was supported by the alms of the people. The result of this state of affairs was the development of an indolence on the part of these people, while Germany was giving evidence of just the opposite. The people in Germany were thrifty while England was supporting a certain class of people by charity. Canada cannot stand that. This vigorous climate and this vast country demand qualities of vigour and ambitious enterprise. We want captains of industry. When men from the rank and file came back from the Civil War and entered once more into civil life, scores of them within my knowledge became millionaires because they grappled with the situation that faced them, seized hold of the resources of the nation and endeavoured to develop them. Our soldiers are just the class of people to grasp great questions and satisfactorily deal with them if they are encouraged and helped in the right direction. They can develop our agricultural lands, our timber lands, mines and fisheries and our great water-powers and help considerably in developing the country. We do not want molly-coddles. One man from Winnipeg grumbles because, when he takes his uniform off and resumes his civilian garb, the ladies no more pay him admiring attention. Well, I believe our soldiers are not men of that calibre; they scorn such weak vanity. They are men who, I believe, are ready to take hold of the resources of the country and exploit them; they are prepared, I am of the opinion, to be pioneers in industry. But to take the farms that are managed by experienced and capable agriculturists thoroughly conversant with their business and hand them over to men untrained in this line of labour, soldiers who in many cases will not produce sufficient to justify the exchange, is a great mistake, because the people who sell such farms go over to the United States. This is deplorable. I put a question last year seeking for information as to how many people had left Canada to settle in the United States within the last three years and also how many had left the United States to settle here. The answer was readily forthcoming as to how many had come in but not as to how many had gone out. We can obtain that information by reference to the statistics at Washington, and I will venture the opinion that the eastern provinces are losing far more people than there are Mennonites and others who are coming in. It is extremely regrettable that the experienced farmers of our country should sell out and emigrate. I have no intention to prolong the debate, but I must emphasize my position. I am in favour of helping those who need help. If there is a limbless man in the country or a young man who desires to continue his university course I think they should be put in a position to help themselves. Let them occupy the best positions in the Civil Service as soon as they become qualified to fill them. These places should be filled by legless and armless men. This is the course that is being followed in the United States, and it is the course that we should adopt in Canada. These incapacitated men should receive the best treatment at our hands, but every able-bodied man should work for every dollar he gets beyond what he is at present given. The situation is grave and calls for wise and serious action. Yet the Government is supine and does not tackle the situation. It will take days and weeks for it to obtain the findings of committees, and I think that the Government should make an earnest effort to solve the problem.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON (Algoma East): I do not wish to detain the House at any

length at this hour but I deem it my duty to put myself on record clearly with regard to this question. I agree with the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) that it is easier to swim with the stream than against the current. It would be a simple matter for any man to put himself in front of a mob and be carried off his feet, but when the question with regard to gratuity to the returned soldiers comes up it is not quite so easy to take the right course. For my own part I conceive it to be my bounden duty to inform the returned soldier when I think he is wrong, and I think that the returned soldier is wrong in the attitude that is ascribed to him in regard to this question of gratuity. I think, too, that those who have presumed to represent the returned soldiers on the floor of the House as being in the aggregate advocates of a gratuity as large as that which has been suggested are also wrong in their conception of these men's views on the problems the country has to face. Before proceeding I might call the attention of the House to the enigmatic part which has been taken by the official opposition in this House on this question. From certain things which we read in the newspapers recently I expected to have the privilege of witnessing a very definite stand on the part of the official opposition in this matter of bonus payments to returned soldiers, but the only hon. gentleman I have heard from that side of the House to-day has repudiated that particular plank in the platform of the Opposition, which, if the reports are correct, gave us to understand that the only solution for the returned soldier problem was a system of cash bonuses. Perhaps the official opposition is in the position of the hon. member for Queens and Shelburne (Mr. Fielding) when he announced a day or two after the so-called Liberal convention that the platform was made to get in on but not to stand on. Hon. members of the Opposition, when this most vital question is before the House, are silent. So far as I have been able to hear, there has not been one word to indicate what position they take with regard to the question.

Mr. COPP: What does the Government say?

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: If I recollect rightly, the Prime Minister gave a very definite statement on the matter. I secured from the Great War Veterans' Association a copy of a letter written by the Prime Minister that seemed to me to leave no ground for the question which the hon. member has asked, as to where the Government stands. If I can comprehend the English language the Prime Minister pointed out very clearly where the Government stood. Every man in this House or out of it will agree that it is our duty to do everything in our power for the returned soldier. We must do everything possible for him for his good and for the good of the country. But to say that you should establish a system of cash bonuses to keep him in idleness, is to contradict yourself when you express the conviction that you should do something for his good.

I agree, as I believe most men will who have studied this question, that there was a necessity, and that there is a necessity, to provide for the returned soldier during the transition period from military to civil life, to give him an opportunity of getting his feet, so to speak, and to provide him with an opportunity for getting back into civil life. The next thing necessary for the physically fit returned soldier is to provide him with an opportunity for getting back into civil life and if the Government and the country can do that they will be doing the best thing they can for the returned soldier. To continue the system of cash bonuses beyond the time actually required to enable him to provide for himself is to begin to pauperize the returned soldier and you cannot have a virile man and a pauper in the same suit of clothes.

There is, however, a class of returned soldier, outside of the physically fit, that we can never lose sight of, and that is the class represented by those who have come back maimed in any degree whatever. There are also the dependents of those who will never come back. I cannot put my position any more readily than by saying that if any disabled returned soldier, or if the dependent of any soldier who will not return, is ever permitted to suffer in this country after the service that they have given in this war, the country will not be doing its duty to the men who upheld the honour of Canada, as they did, in France and Flanders. My judgment is that the country will never permit them to suffer. Canada, as has been said so well and so many times on the floor of this House and throughout this country, has done, and is doing, more for her returned soldiers and her soldier dependents than any other country that went into the war; she is doing almost double as much as Great Britain, the United States, Australia and New Zealand.

There are, however, some other problems in connection with these men that will have to be faced. There has been pointed out the problem of the men who during this coming winter, or during the next winter, may find it impossible to secure adequate employment and it will be necessary to find some means of taking care of that class of men. With the suggestion put forward by the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) that we should grant a flat rate to all returned soldiers for five months during this winter, I cannot agree.

There are two bases upon which payment of any description might be made to returned soldiers. The first is: Do they deserve it as a class? Can we by any system of cash payment compensate a man for the sacrifices that he has made in going over to fight for us in France? I say we cannot. To even suggest that you can compensate a man by a cash payment for his services in this war is to offer insult to the men who were over there. The next basis is that we must as a matter of necessity do something to provide against the contingency which has been suggested this afternoon—the possibility of returned soldiers, or the families of returned soldiers, suffering during this, the first winter they are back in Canada, due to lack of employment. That is another question altogether. That is dealing with a situation that becomes a matter of actual necessity on the part of an individual and does not apply to a class. It does not include the majority of returned soldiers. I believe that I am within the mark when I say that the great majority of returned soldiers who have come back home, and who are physically fit, are to-day in positions equally as good as those which they occupied before they went overseas, if not better. I meet a considerable number of returned soldiers I know a number of employers of labour and I know hundreds of returned soldiers who will tell you that they are in better positions than ever they had before and that they have better incomes than they ever had before as a result of those positions.

There is a point in connection with that to which I would like to refer briefly. The hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. Currie) this afternoon, in dealing with this subject, consciously or unconsciously, left the impression on my mind that there was an attitude of mind on the part of a large number of people in this country antagonistic to the returned soldier and that there were a considerable number of employers who were not treating their ex-employees who had gone over and given service in this war fairly when they returned. I have made it a part of my business during the past year and a half, since the men began to return, to see if I could find one such case on the part of any employer. I have written to the Great War Veterans' Association in different parts of the country and up to date I have still to find one case of an employer failing to give his ex-employee on his return a position not only as good as he had before but as good as he would have had if he had remained. I do not say that there are no cases to the contrary, but what I do say is that when any general statement is made that would imply that there are such, the case should be cited in order that returned soldiers and the country as a whole will not be under the impression that all employers of labour are in that class because to my personal knowledge they are not.

There are one or two classes of returned soldier to which I would take the opportunity of briefly drawing the attention of the Government in connection with this whole matter. One belongs to that class of Canadian citizen who went out of this country voluntarily, paid his own transportation to Europe, joined up with one of the Allied armies in France or Flanders, served during the whole period of the war, as in many cases he did, paid his own transportation back to Canada and then finds himself stranded practically without one cent of consideration and without any recognition notwithstanding the fact that he, a Canadian citizen, fought side by side with other Canadian citizens practically in the same army and for the same cause.

There is another class, the reservist, whether he be British, French or Belgian, who was called home at the outbreak of the war. He comes back to Canada now and finds himself in a similar position. I commend to the judgment of the Government the advisability of dealing with these men exactly in the same way as they would have been dealt with had they been in the Canadian army. For my part I fail to be able to discriminate between the man who fought with the Canadian army and the man who fought side by side with the Canadian army whether in the British, French or Belgian army. They will not be a very large class; yet there are many individual cases of actual hardship as a result of the fact that these men are not getting the treatment that the Canadian soldiers are getting. Not only is it a case of actual

hardship, but there is a sense of inequality that must always rankle in the heart of the man who feels that he has done exactly the same as other men did but who, because he was doing it in a little different way, or under different auspices, finds himself discriminated against. I do not believe that the Government has been doing that from anything else than a sense of its duty to the country but it is worth while in my judgment considering whether these men should not be treated as Canadian soldiers have been.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me just conclude by saying that in so far as I am concerned I am in identically the same position as the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards). It may not be a popular position to take, but it is the position I conceive to be right in the interest of this country and in the interests of the soldiers—and that is that a system of cash bonuses under which we would undertake to compensate men in dollars for their sacrifices and services at the Front, is an insult to the men themselves. Apart from that my judgment is, that this country cannot conceivably meet the demand that has been placed upon it. When we talk of finding $800,000,000, and when we hear people suggest that we might have found it if the exigencies of the war had made it necessary, had the war gone on for a year or two or three years more, it seems to me that there is an utter lack of appreciation of what the whole subject means. I have not any doubt whatever in my mind but that should conditions develop during this winter which will bring about hardship or suffering, or anything nearly akin to either one of them, a means will be found to alleviate that distress and to make it possible for the returned soldier to get back on his feet—those of them who are willing to get back on their feet as the majority of them are.

I had the privilege of meeting a command of the Great War Veterans' Association on Sunday night last, and they told me to a man: "We do not want anything in the nature of a gratuity to the returned soldier whatever; we feel that the people of Canada, through the Government, has dealt most generously with him; they are doing everything in our judgment that the country can afford on behalf of the returned soldier, and that is all that we can legitimately ask."

Mr. FREDERICK F. PARDEE (Lambton West): I intend to occupy only a few minutes in expressing my views upon this subject. It appears to me the first thing we have got to realize is that amongst a certain percentage of the returned men there is a very considerable amount of unrest. That has been voiced in various public meetings that have been held, in the deputations that have waited upon the Government, and in other ways. We know that amongst that percentage there is very considerable dissatisfaction. It always appears to me, Sir, that when a crisis arrives —perhaps the present situation cannot be dignified with the name of a crisis in so far as the returned soldier is concerned—but when any great question arises before the people the surest and best way to get over it and the surest and best way to give satisfaction to all concerned is that each party should speak its own mind and should come out fully in public discussion. Therefore, I think at the present time it is very fit and proper that the members of this House, being the people's representatives, and representatives as well of the soldiers that have come back from overseas, should discuss this matter very frankly. Speaking for myself, I am in favour of the appointment of a committee. I am in favour of the committee taking up the various questions that have caused this unrest and this disquietness and looking at them in all their phases, and if possible bringing down some recommendations to the House that would be best in the interests of the country and in the interests of all the people. I am, however, just in this position, perhaps through no fault of the Government, that I am not quite certain what this committee proposes to do. Some of us served last year and the year before that on a Pensions Committee. That committee gave much time and much thought to the matter of pensions, and so far as I can see, having been a member of it, having regard to our means the provisions brought down in the Pension Bill enacted as the result of our recommendations were just and generous. Is the committee which is now suggested to look into the question of the $2,000 payment? Is it to look into any further gratuity to the soldiers? Is it to look into a further increase in the pension? Or is it generally to look into the complaints that the soldiers have made and that have been spoken about here to-day? I may say very frankly at the moment, and I have no hesitation in doing so, that in my opinion a gratuity of $2,000, or $1,500 or $1,000,

that has been spoken of by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. Currie), is purely without the question. I cannot think for one moment that the great majority of the men who went overseas, as was so eloquently put by the member for Fort William (Mr. Manion) to-day, feeling that they were doing a man's work and that they were doing their full duty to their country—they went and served in that respect and under those auspices—or at least a very small percentage of them only, are coming back here to-day and asking the country to put up dollars and cents for the services they have performed. Those men I know, and I have the pleasure of knowing a great many returned soldiers do not look upon the matter in that way. I think we are very safe in saying that the great percentage of the returned men do not so regard it; I feel certain that the great percentage of the people at large are not in accordance with any such demand as stated. But, Sir, I do think that it is the bounden duty of the people of Canada that they should take this into consideration: The returned man who to-day has come back lessened by a great percentage of his earning power, lessened by a great percentage in the joy that he gets out of living, lessened in a great percentage in the pleasure he can get out of his home life and his family, is to-day entitled from this country to more than a pittance in the way of a pension—he is entitled to something that will put him at least on an equal, if not a better, footing than on the day he enlisted for service overseas. I think with regard to the returned men who have come back disabled, I think further with regard to the dependents of those men—the wives, the mothers, and the children—that it would be a standing disgrace to the people of Canada—no matter to what extent we would have to go in the way of financial aid and in the way of incurring financial obligations—that we should permit those people to become charges upon this country or in any way to suffer for the loss that they have sustained in the latter case by reason of the fact that their own men and their own support gave up their all in order that we might enjoy the benefits of peace and prosperity. To those classes of people I say the very utmost consideration ought to be shown. As to the men who have come back in health and strength, I admit that to me they are all they ought to be. They are men who were prepared to make the great sacrifice, who were prepared to give their all if necessary, in the defence and in the saving of the country. To them every honour should be due, and every honour is due. But I say, and I do so knowing that the vast percentage of them agree with every word I utter, that those men who thought this country was good enough to go and fight for, and if necessary die for, fully realize the responsibility that is upon them and know that this country is good enough to again fight for in the arts of peace and make it a country worth living in. Those, I am satisfied, are the ideas that the vast majority of the returned men hold. Those ideas are the ideas they ought to hold. Those ideas are the ideas that influence the greatest manhood that a country could possibly have, and which must necessarily make this country go on and prosper and grow great, as she ought to. I say again that a $2,000 gratuity to all the men who have served overseas is financially an impossibility. I say that so far as appointing a commission to inquire into the financial position of this country would be a surplusage. The financial condition of this country was disclosed last session in the Budget speech. We know our assets and we know our liabilities; we know our income and we know our outgo; we know as well as any private corporation possibly could exactly where we stand. Canada to-day to my mind—although far from being bankrupt with our great resources and our splendid people—has reached the position in which we have got to say that a halt must be called, and to-day is the day that a halt should be called.

There should be retrenchment in every way. There is no question that there have been extravagances, and those extravagances must cease. We must cut our coat according to our cloth, and, as a nation, we must live accordingly.

In closing, Sir, let me say simply this: That to the disabled men and to the dependents of the men who, as I said before, fought and died that Canada and the Empire might live—to them the greatest consideration must be given. Failing to give that consideration, the people of Canada will fail to do their full duty.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Acting Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, this debate has taken an exceedingly wide range—a wider range than, perhaps, the motion justifies. However, I am not saying that in any regretful or critical mood, for I think that we have had a debate of very great value. We have had expressions of opinion—not all of them in accord—upon a very wide range of subjects, very many of those opinions, in-

deed, being entitled to our most careful consideration. But I think it is well that I should come back to the motion which is before the House and confine myself to it.

The question of urgent public importance to debate, which is the purpose of the motion before the House, is "the claim of the Gratuity Association of Returned Soldiers and the interview of its representatives with the Government." I am not clear that beyond the mention of the existence of that association we have heard anything in particular about it in the debate, and I do not recollect—I may be mistaken—that we have heard anything about the interview, save, indeed, some observations which were made about the slamming of doors in these peoples' faces. Let me say at once in connection with this whole matter that there has been absolutely nothing in the nature of the slamming of doors in anybody's face. Whoever has approached the Government upon this subject has been received with perfect courtesy by the members of the Government, and I am quite satisfied that none of the gentlemen who called upon us will state that any doors were slammed in their faces.

It is quite true that when the delegation from the Gratuity Association of Returned Soldiers waited upon this Government they got a perfectly frank answer. The question of the granting of a gratuity indiscriminately, without regard to the needs of individuals, with no connection whatsoever with affording a means for re-establishment, this Government very carefully considered and reached the conclusion that neither the financial condition of the country, nor the best interests of the men themselves properly understood, would justify the granting of such a gratuity. And the Prime Minister wrote in frank terms and announced that conclusion. That was the question that had come before the Government in the first instance. The statement of the Prime Minister is contained in the correspondence which the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) read to the House a day or two ago, and certainly that statement left nothing to be desired in the way of clearness.

The representatives of the Gratuity Association of Returned Soldiers asked for an interview on Saturday last, which interview was granted, and we heard most fully what they desired to say. The only answer that could be made, and that it would be fair to give to that deputation, the Government having looked into the question as carefully as it was capable of doing, was to tell them perfectly frankly that so far as the Government was concerned it had reached its conclusion that there was no way out—if I may use the expression—in the direction of granting the additional gratuities such as were proposed in the resolution of the Calgary gathering which has been read to us and which the deputation was pressing for.

As regards the question of a Royal Commission, the position of the Government was equally clear. The facts which led to the conclusion that the Government reached seemed to us so palpable that no Royal Commission could add to or detract from them. But it was made a ground of complaint, and it was stated, if I followed more than one of the speakers rightly, that there was a grievance in this; that the refusing of a Royal Commission implied the refusal to put before the soldiers the facts on which the conclusion was based; and it was stated that if that had been granted and the facts referred to properly established, why, the soldiers would have had no cause for complaint. It is perfectly true that the Government declined to appoint a Royal Commission, but in the letter of September 5 conveying that refusal it was clearly pointed out that the means of information were absolutely at the disposal of the representatives of the soldiers or of any committee that they might choose to appoint. These are the words of the Prime Minister in that letter:

> You will realize, I hope, that it would be undesirable to establish a commission or appoint a committee to inquire into facts which are within the knowledge of members of the Government. We are quite ready, however, to place all available information on the subject at the disposal of a committee to be named by your association. If such a committee is designated to me, I will see that it is put in touch with accredited representatives of the Department of Finance, the Department of Militia and Defence, the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment and the Department of the Interior, which are those chiefly concerned with the matters in question.
>
> I trust that this suggestion may commend itself to the judgment of the Executive Committee.

I think I have made it clear that there has been nothing in the nature of closing doors in the face of any representation of soldiers or anybody claiming to represent any section of them; that they have been received, their representations have been heard and we have put absolutely at their disposal every source of information that would enable them to appreciate the facts bearing upon this question. I take no credit to the Government for that; that is

a courtesy that we owe to the public of Canada generally and a courtesy that we certainly do not owe in any less degree to the soldier who has deserved so well of Canada. But I point that out because I understood it to be suggested—or at all events I gathered that it was felt in some quarters—that there has not been a perfect readiness to receive and listen to and consider representations coming from any source, more especially representations coming from the soldier, and to put at the disposal of those interested every information under our control.

There are two perfectly distinct things. One is this proposal for a system of gratuity based merely upon the fact that a man has served in a military capacity, having no connection with what that man needs, the gratuity to go equally to the man who is in the enjoyment of large wealth, to the occupant of a position—a position under this Government, even; a position in any walk of life—that gives him ample revenue, that makes of him even a wealthy man; and to the soldier who may be in absolute need. I am not going to elaborate an argument in support of the view of the Government that that is an impossible way out. The gentleman who has just resumed his seat (Mr. Pardee) has put it very forcibly. The member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards), the member for Fort William (Mr. Manion), numbers of hon. gentlemen, have made perfectly clear to this House that the one request with which this correspondence was concerned is one that can not be entertained. That, at all events, is the settled view of this Government.

But side by side with that view there is the totally different question of soldiers' civil re-establishment. A good deal has been said about the committee that is to be appointed. It is well that there should be no possible misunderstanding; certainly the statement of the President of the Council (Hon. Mr. Rowell) the other day left no room for misunderstanding. Side by side with this question of additional gratuities—or, rather, occupying the field alone, because there is, in our judgment, no room for this question of additional gratuities of the kind that I have referred to—occupying that field alone, then, is the question of possible improvement in our methods of dealing with the matter of soldiers' civil re-establishment. Now, the great bulk of the suggestions, if not all that we have listened to this afternoon, have had to do with a possible improvement in our method of dealing with the question of soldiers' civil re-establishment. With regard to that matter the President of the Council announced that a Bill was to be brought down, and that Bill has been introduced. When that Bill reaches the proper stage it will be referred to a special committee and there these suggestions will have opportunity of being made and being supported by such arguments or such proof, if necessary, as gentlemen interested may think it wise to adduce. It has been said that there is nothing extraordinary about this; that that is what is done with every Bill. It is not contended that there is anything extraordinary about this; on the other hand, I hardly think it is correct to say that that is what is done with every Bill. It is proposed to submit this Bill to a special committee, which will afford the opportunities that I have mentioned.

Mr. CURRIE: Will the Government widen the scope of the Bill so as to enable this question of the gratuities that have been referred to—gratuities to returned soldiers, the widows and mothers of the fallen, and students—to be discussed by that committee? We want that clearly understood, because as it stands the chairman of the committee can bowl that out at any time.

Mr. DOHERTY: It is from both our points of view desirable that the scope of the committee should be clearly understood.

Mr. CURRIE: The hon. gentleman will pardon me, because I am very anxious on this point——

Mr. DOHERTY: That committee will not be concerned with the question of the adoption of a system of gratuities such as I have described. That I have tried to make perfectly clear. Whether its judgment be right or be wrong upon that subject, the Government has reached a definite conclusion for which it must assume responsibility before this House and before the people—a definite conclusion that there is no way out, as I said before, in the direction of the system of additional gratuities that has been proposed.

Mr. CURRIE: As I understand it, then, this committee cannot—and the Government will not give it power to do so—discuss the question of gratuities such as those which have been referred to? If that question is to be discussed, then, and if the matter is to be dealt with by this House, there will have to be a motion for a special committee for that purpose?

Mr. DOHERTY: It is, of course, open to my hon. friend or to any other hon. member who wishes to have a further dis-

cussion of that question, to take steps to do so in accordance with the rules of the House.

Mr. CURRIE: The Government do not intend to initiate any method of having the members discuss that question further?

Mr. DOHERTY: The Government does not contemplate initiating any proceeding calling for the discussion of that question. My own impression is, judging from the discussion we have had this afternoon, that the sense of this House endorses the view which I have expressed on behalf of the Government. However, if any hon. member thinks it desirable to have further discussion of that specific question, it is for him to take such steps as the rules of the House permit him to take with a view to having that discussion.

But I was going on to say that there is open in connection with this Bill the whole question of anything that properly pertains to soldiers' civil re-establishment. I am not going to go over all the suggestions that have been made in that regard. It is not impossible that in connection with suggestions which may be found acceptable and which in the judgment of this House ought to be acted upon, it may be necessary to provide for some additional expenditure. But that is quite a different thing from this precise system of gratuities to which I have referred.

Mr. REDMAN: When the minister mentions this "precise system of gratuities," does he mean the straight $2,000 bonus? Or would it be possible for the committee to consider some monthly payments or the payment of some sum which would naturally come under civil re-establishment?

Mr. DOHERTY: Anything that comes under the heading of soldiers' civil re-establishment will naturally be open for discussion in connection with the Bill dealing with soldiers' civil re-establishment, and as I said a moment ago, it may involve the expenditure of money. What I hope I have made clear is that there is no intention to provide a committee to look into this question of the system of gratuity as a gratuity. The gratuity that has been already granted, it might be well to point out, was not granted as a gift or reward for services rendered. It was granted because it was thought that it was a fair thing to grant a reasonable time for returned men to look around for employment, and that was the sole idea with which the gratuity was granted. It was not in any sense a payment for services rendered. Certainly nobody imagined it was an adequate reward for the services rendered.

Having then, perhaps, made the position clear I might leave the subject here, but so much has been said in the way of criticism of what this Government has done, or rather, of what they have not done, that I think it is perhaps worth while to correct some of those observations at all events, and to point out some of the existing conditions which do not seem to have been brought to the knowledge of hon. members generally. Before I proceed to that might I say that I gathered from the address of the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. Currie) that he coupled with this demand for a cash gratuity the question of gratuities to widows and mothers, and gratuities to students. So far as the suggestion of gratuities to widows and mothers is concerned, the question it raises is whether or not the pensions provided are adequate. Now the subject of pensions was dealt with most fully and most carefully by a committee of this House last year, and we have as a result the pensions provided in the present statute. Of course, nothing in this world is perfect. It is perhaps open to question whether in some respects these pensions might not be modified or increased, but that is a distinct and separate question by itself unconnected with this question of gratuity. As regards a gratuity for students, that I think is a question that bears directly and pertinently on the question of soldiers' civil re-establishment. I am not going to express an opinion at the present time whether it ought to be granted or not, but it may be looked upon as a question pertaining to soldiers' civil re-establishment, and is therefore a question that may come up for consideration in connection with the Bill.

My hon. friend from Simcoe (Mr. Currie) pointed out the source from which he said this money could be got. I think I can satisfy the House in a moment that there is no source there from which we are going to get additional money to pay these additional gratuities if we ever did determine that they should be paid. Under the Peace Treaty Germany will pay every dollar that Germany can pay, and she will pay every dollar that she can pay whether we pay these gratuities or not. The fact of our paying additional gratuities will not increase Germany's paying power.

Mr. CURRIE: The hon. gentleman is not quite fair with the House. Germany's indemnity is a fixed sum of $100,000,000,000.

Mr. DOHERTY: The hon. gentleman will forgive me for putting it in a blunt way, if I say he is entirely mistaken. If he will look at the provisions of the Treaty he will find that there is no fixed sum payable by Germany, and that the system is this: Germany, having acknowledged her responsibility for the entire cost of the war, the Allied and Associated Powers on their side recognized that Germany was unable to pay the entire cost of the war, and that it would be worse than useless to try to collect it from a country absolutely denuded of means to pay that large sum.

Mr. CURRIE: What was that large sum fixed at?

Mr. DOHERTY: They did not fix the sum because the best financial experts that the different countries could command reached the conclusion that with the evidence before them it was impossible to establish precisely what the damage was that called for reparation.

Mr. CURRIE: How much did this country claim?

Mr. DOHERTY: We never got to the position where countries made claims.

Mr. CURRIE: The hon. gentleman knows what the Bill is?

Mr. DOHERTY: What Bill?

Mr. CURRIE: The Bill of this country. How could these gentlemen arrive at that conclusion unless they had some figures before them?

Mr DOHERTY: Nothing has been decided as to what Germany is to pay. There was a very long discussion upon the question of what was the nature of the claims that could be advanced with the hope of their being paid, not the particular amounts that were claimed by each nation, but what was the nature of a claim that could be entertained. Having compelled Germany to acknowledge her responsibility for the entire cost of the war, the Allied and Associated Powers acknowledged that it was impossible to collect that amount. But they did not proceed on the basis of fixing a particular amount. They went on then to enumerate the kind of claim which Germany should be compelled to pay, and speaking roughly—I do not suggest this as covering everything—that claim is the claim for damages of different kinds and classes done to the civilian population of the different countries. I can safely say that the cost of the war does not figure among the things that may be claimed, with this exception: that you may include in the claims that may be made the pensions and the allowances which are made to soldiers and their dependents, which are to be capitalized. But let me point out that they are to be estimated at the rates allowed by France.

These claims are to be put before a commission which is to hear the parties with regard to them, determine which are to be allowed and which are to be rejected, and, according to those determinations, to establish a sum total amount,—not an amount for France and an amount for Great Britain or for Canada—but a sum total amount by adding them all together; and then to provide means as to how Germany shall pay and in what instalments. That sum total so paid is to be divided among the Allied and Associated Powers in accordance with an agreement to be arrived at by them. The hon. gentleman will see therefore that we are not dealing with any fixed sum, and when we get reports from Australia that they will receive $400,000,000 I can only say that I have great respect for the statesmen of that country, and I presume they have figured out what they anticipate, but they are not making a statement based upon any settled amount which anything that can be found in the Peace Treaty, has ever determined as being due to Australia.

Mr. CURRIE: The hon. minister is directing his remarks chiefly to me, and I think a question and an answer will help matters. Is it a fact that no effort was made by the representatives of this country at the Peace Conference to make representations to the various Governments and authorities that we were entitled to a certain indemnity? It is not a matter of the cost of the war; it is indemnity according to Treaty. The Germans did not take ten minutes to decide how much they wanted from France in 1870 and they got it.

Mr. DOHERTY: They decided how much they wanted from France and they got it. That is true.

Mr. CURRIE: And you would have got it from Germany if you had said how much you wanted.

Mr. DOHERTY: I suppose the hon. gentleman was there and knows of the procedure and is aware of everything that happened. However, let me say that no country demanded any specific amount or

received it. Once the unanimous conclusion was arrived at that you had to limit your demands to certain classes of claim; once the most competent people that could be found to deal with the subject had determined that Germany could not pay more than would meet, without fixing a specific sum, the full amount of claims of the classes referred to, it became useless at that time to discuss any definite amounts because a commission was appointed to determine what those amounts were.

Mr. McGIBBON (Muskoka): I understood that the first levy on Germany was to be twenty-five billion dollars.

Mr. DOHERTY: There have been discussions in regard to various suggested amounts and twenty-five billion dollars was spoken of as being the maximum that by any stretch of imagination Germany could possibly pay; but it never took the form of a claim. No man could say to-day what is the amount of damage done to Northern France and Belgium by the German invasion. That is a matter that must be most carefully gone into. As I understand it, all these things are to be determined by the commission appointed, and it will be open to us to put before that commission all the claims that we may have that are of the nature covered by the Treaty. As I mentioned a moment ago, the unanimous view was that you could not include the entire cost of the war in that sort of claim, because it would be utterly futile to do such a thing.

Mr. CURRIE: The minister will pardon me, but I do not want any misapprehension to exist in regard to his words. He states that the sums that are to be payable to those who took part in the war are to be in proportion to the damage done to the civil population. I presume therefore that the only amount which Canada could get would be compensation for the trawlers destroyed off the coast of Nova Scotia, and that we shall be debarred from receiving other remuneration, by reason of the fact that our civil population have not suffered in the sense in which the people in the war zone suffered.

Mr. DOHERTY: I said I was speaking generally. I did point out that there was to be included an amount to represent pensions, and allowances to dependents of soldiers, because that is treated as damage to the individual. But I also pointed out that that was not necessarily to be based on our scale of pensions or allowances. To secure uniformity the French scale was agreed to.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to take up so much time, but I was led into this discussion by questions. I will point out that whatever may be the amount that we get, we shall not receive any more by reason of these gratuities, so that there is no way of getting the money in that direction. We shall get our share of all that Germany can pay and we will have to make that go as far as we can. If we assume an additional burden of eight hundred million, whatever we do get we may devote to the liquidation of that sum, but we shall not have it to meet pensions with, nor to meet any of the other things that are necessary, and we shall have to go to the people of Canada in the last resort to raise that money, including of course among the people of Canada all of the returned soldiers, all of their friends and their connections and relations, who I suppose would amount to twenty-five or thirty per cent of the population. They will have to pay this money if it is to be paid. That, therefore, is the answer I make to the suggestion that we have only to go to Germany to get this money.

We have had criticism from one side and the other. We have been criticised because we did not carry on sufficient public works in order to give employment to the returned soldiers. We have been severely condemned by the hon. member from Red Deer, amongst others, because, on the other hand, we did a great deal too much in the way of public works. Witnout trying to settle which parties to that discussion are right, may I point out that there are some things that have been done? It is said that these men are entirely out of employment, and the suggestion has been made that the Civil Service Commission, which makes the appointments, have not fairly treated the returned soldiers. I hold in my hand a return from the Civil Service Commission showing that some sixteen thousand returned men have been placed in public employment. The return is up to the 29th of August, and in the last five weeks of the period we were placing them at the rate of over fifty a day in the public service, and in the period preceding that, at about forty a day. I have not been able to secure such figures as the hon. member for Red Deer requested, showing what has become of every demobilized soldier and how many have been re-established in civil life, because it has not been found possible for us

to trace the soldier after his demobilization and, above all, to trace the one who finds permanent employment and is absorbed in the civil life of the country. But I have some figures that are significant. Of 30,000 applications for employment made to the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, eighty-nine per cent have obtained employment. Out of 6,000 re--trained men, that is, men who have been injured and have been given training, ninety per cent have been placed. These are the people we have under our eyes, and when you find such percentage in employment among those of whom we have knowledge, it is not unfair to assume that similar conditions prevail throughout the country. The member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) himself told us that in his neighbourhood all of the returned soldiers had been absorbed into civil life.

I am sure we all, in our respective neighbourhoods, know of many and many returned soldiers who have been absorbed into civil life and who are in the enjoyment of good positions. It was suggested that it was only the inferior Government positions that went to the returned soldiers. The credit is due to the Civil Service Commission and not to the Government and the responsibility is with the Civil Service Commission and not with the Government; but we find amongst the 16,000, men occupying such positions as those of Pension Commissioners and other positions whose designations show on their faces their importance.

It is not well to run away with an exaggerated idea of the position in which returned soldiers as a whole find themselves. Certainly it is not well to assume that the Government is indifferent to the position in which the returned soldier finds himself. We have suggestions as to particular things and as to particular classes of soldiers. For instance, there has been the suggestion in regard to insurance for disabled men, that we pay the difference, as I understand it, in the premiums resulting from the condition in which they find themselves. That is a matter that might very well be considered in connection with some phases of soldiers' civil re-establishment.

For the benefit of those who have complained that we did not have sufficient public works to provide employment, let me say that we had sufficient to bring down criticism upon us last year. Provision was made for public buildings at London, Hamilton, Toronto, Montreal and Calgary, work on the Welland canal, shipbuilding in which very large numbers of returned soldiers have been employed; road building, which afforded work not only directly to the returned soldier but to others; millions have been spent in railway construction and we have endeavoured to make provision for housing which has been referred to. It would take too long for me to go through the enumeration in addition to the statement which has already been placed upon Hansard showing what has been done. As I have said, if there be room for improvement in connection with Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, in that field we are absolutely open to suggestions. Of course, that statement implies that any such suggestions will have serious and real consideration and there should be an opportunity for such consideration in connection with the Bill that I have referred to.

In conclusion, let me congratulate the House on the manner in which this debate has been carried on. I was a little bit surprised—I do not know whether I understood him correctly or not—to hear the hon. member who brought up this subject make some reference to introducing this disagreeable question. Let me say from the Government's point of view there is absolutely nothing disagreeable in a discussion of how best we can do our duty.

Mr. CURRIE: The hon. gentleman is mistaken. I said that it was made disagreeable for me; not that the question was disagreeable.

Mr. DOHERTY: I am sure the hon. gentleman will never regard as disagreeable the discussion of a question in which he is so thoroughly interested. Neither to this Government is the discussion disagreeable of anything that may open to us a way that is practical and feasible of being of real service to the soldier. May I add just one word? I think the tone in which this discussion has been carried on is an example to others who may be interested in discussing questions of this kind. I think we all want to be on our guard in the discussion of questions of this kind, and questions that affect the soldier, in whom we are all interested, to avoid urging claims that may present themselves in such a way as to create a false and exaggerated idea in his mind as to what it is possible and feasible to do for him and what it is fair and reasonable for him to expect.

Above all, I am sure every hon. gentleman in this House will join in deprecating anything in the nature of an appeal to the soldiers urging them on to the making of

claims because it is believed that they are strong enough to force their granting. I saw that a gentleman who was here with a delegation the other day—I sincerely trust that he is mis-reported—is reported to have urged persistency in pressing this claim for a gratuity because, as he said, they are afraid of us down there in Ottawa. Let me say to the gentleman who makes that statement, or to anybody else who may be labouring under that delusion, that while we are anxious to do that which the resources of the country will permit us to do and that which may be of advantage and assistance to the soldier in restoring him to civil life, we are not open to be led into any course of action by dread or fear, or by anybody's threats whether those threats take the form of suggested possible violence, or whether they are confined to the threat of dealing judgment out to this Government through the vote at the polls.

We are, of course, in the judgment of this House, in the first place, and we are, through this House, and ultimately directly responsible to the whole people of the country and, of course, we fully recognize the right of these returned soldiers, or others, who may think we are wrong on this particular question, to exercise their judgment in the regular way and through their franchise. But though we quite realize that, we realize also that our duty is to follow that policy, which, after giving the most careful thought to this very important question, we think is the policy that our duty to the people of Canada as a whole requires that we should adopt and follow.

Mr. DANIEL D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, I have very little to add to what has been so well said in connection with the question that is indirectly before the House. The discussion which we have had this afternoon and this evening must necessarily be more or less of an academic character because the real motion before you, Sir, is whether or not this House shall adjourn. Whichever way the motion is decided, it will not settle any question, it will not establish any policy, it will not sustain or refute any position which the Government may have taken upon any public question. Therefore, I do not wish to go at any very great length into what may be the policy of the Liberal party on this question of soldiers' civil re-establishment, or what is the policy of the Liberal party in dealing with the returned soldier. It is not necessary because the question is not before the House.

I observed with great satisfaction, indeed, that the hon. member for East Algoma (Mr. Nicholson) is showing signs of coming into the proper faith. Although holding on pertinaceously to the Tory party, he finds that there is no light or leading there, he finds there is no unction for his soul there, and he wants to turn to the Opposition to see if there is any light or leading here. Well, Mr. Speaker, we shall be glad, indeed, to offer any consolation that is possible to the hon. gentleman in order to lead him along proper lines and to give him proper ideas on public questions.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I am afraid it will be very meagre.

Mr. McKENZIE: I did not catch the observation of my hon. friend and therefore I am afraid that his statement, whatever it may be, must go without answer as far as I am concerned.

This question, before discussing it very much further, seems to take a very strange position. We were told by the President of the Council that there was no necessity to press for a royal commission, when he spoke at great length, in placing figures upon Hansard the other day, showing the reason why the Great War Veterans' Association should not be looking for this commission of inquiry. He wound up with a statement that a special committee was to be appointed to deal with the Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Act, but incidentally, and as an incident of the work of that committee, it would deal with the question of the gratuity, or the granting of money, to the returned soldier as asked for by the War Veterans' Association or by the committee that has recently been appointed in the city of Toronto. I presume, Mr. Speaker, that we will not be permitted to refer to any discussion that took place recently in this House, but Hansard will show what the President of the Council said, and Hansard will show what the hon. member for Fort William (Mr. Manion) asked. The latter distinctly and clearly put the question to the President of the Council: Is it a fact that this committee, which the minister says he is going to appoint, will deal fully with this matter? The matter that we were discussing was whether or not a commission should be appointed.

Mr. MANION: If the hon. gentleman will allow me to say one word, I know he is not intentionally misquoting me, but what I asked, according to my recollection was, if it would be permissible for the war veterans to appear before this committee, and

it was distinctly understood they would be able to appear before it.

Mr. McKENZIE: That is exactly what I am saying. That is what the hon. member said, and I would ask you, Sir, what was his purpose in putting that question? What did he put the question for? Was it not for the purpose of ascertaining whether the object of the Great War Veterans' Association's committee would be accomplished just as well by going before that Parliamentary committee as if they had been granted a commission? I contend that was his purpose. If I am mistaken in that contention I want the hon. member to put me right. What further evidence does he require? The hon. member for Calgary (Mr. Redman) had a notice of motion on the Order Paper. Clearly that motion was for the purpose of giving the war veterans a royal commission. Clearly that is what he asked for by his motion; but, Sir, the Rules of the House were suspended this afternoon to enable the hon. gentleman to withdraw his motion because it is no longer necessary for the reason that the President of the Council had declared this matter was to be dealt with before a committee. Nothing can be clearer than that. Now, what do we find? The Minister of Justice, tells us flat-footedly that the matter is not to be dealt with before that committee—nothing of the kind. We have been in a fool's paradise all this day listening to this discussion and on the point of going home satisfied with the declaration of the President of the Council that his committee was to deal with this matter absolutely. In dealing with the matter, following observations of the President of the Council, we went even so far as to ask how the witnesses would be provided for—that is how the veterans coming from different parts of the country were to be provided for in coming before the committee.

Mr. ROWELL: I am quite sure my hon. friend does not wish intentionally to misrepresent what I said, but if he will turn to page 255 of Hansard he will find that I distinctly stated what the Bill provided for and that it would be referred to a committee—that was the Bill dealing with the re-establishment of the soldier in civil life, and relating to disabled soldiers and the matter of employment. When the question was asked by the hon. member for Fort William my answer was:

> What I stated was that the Bill would be referred to a Committee of the House just as the Pensions Bill was referred last session, and I would anticipate that the committee thus appointed would give the same full facilities for any representation that might be made in reference to matters referred to it as the Pensions Committee gave last year. They will be empowered, of course, to hear all parties as the committee was then.

Mr. McKENZIE: Certainly. Absolutely does the President of the Council mean to say that he is using language with a double meaning? Does he mean to tell this House that while he was satisfying the hon. member for Fort William that the war veterans would go before that committee, have their case presented and be heard and dealt with in every particular, that he did not mean that?—that he was guarding himself with language which would silence the hon. member and at the same time safeguarding himself so that no evidence would be given? If he says that that was his position, we can understand it. Does he mean to say that he used language that caused the hon. member for Calgary (Mr. Redman) to withdraw his motion this afternoon because he was led to believe by the language of the President of the Privy Council that there was another court provided and another avenue opened which would give the Great War Veterans greater facilities and enable them to go fully into this matter? Does he mean to say that he did not mean that, and he allowed that hon. gentleman to lose his opportunity of going into this matter and moving his motion under a misconception of the real situation, intending when the real time came to put another construction entirely upon his words? I am sure that when the President of the Council made his speech there was not a man in the House that had any other understanding than that this committee was to deal fully and solely with every phase of the question which the Great War veterans could present before it. Now, we have a different position entirely; the President of the Council says he meant nothing of the kind, that no evidence is to be taken, and the hon. member for Calgary (Mr. Redman) finds he withdrew his motion without anything to show for it, and the war veterans are entirely shut out. That is the situation and I submit, Sir, that while I realize the gravity of dealing with a subject of this kind, and while I recognize that every member, whether in opposition or supporting the Government, should with the greatest possible care approach a question of this kind and say nothing that would tend to create difficulty or dissatisfaction in this country, it appears to me it was not absolutely square to tell the representatives of the War Veterans' Association the other day that they were to

be heard before the commitee, and now for the President of the Council and the Minister of Justice to declare that there is to be nothing of the kind.

If they go there they have to confine themselves entirely to the terms of this Bill, nothing else, because the Government has delivered its judgment, and there it is. If I were a war veteran and had been given to understand that I was to receive a hearing, and were told afterwards that I was not to receive a hearing, I do not think I would be pleased. That is exactly the position in which the Government puts itself and its friends in connection with this matter, and I would be disposed to describe it as not dealing in good faith with a question of a most serious character.

If the letters which passed between the Prime Minister and the representatives of the War Veterans are read—they were put on Hansard by the President of the Privy Council—it will be found that one of them is dated the 29th of August, 1919, and is signed by the president, W. P. Purney, the vice-president, R. B. Maxwell, the second vice-president, S. Stalford, and also by a committee consisting of seven or eight members, who style themselves Members of the Dominion Executive Committee; that letter demanded a Royal Commission. The Prime Minister replied that he did not think a Royal Commission was necessary. The secretary, Mr. C. G. MacNeil, writes on the 3rd of September renewing the demand, and on the 5th of September they are again told that they cannot get that Royal Commission. Then the heather is afire and news comes from every quarter that something must be done. Thereupon the resourceful and ingenious President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) comes forward with about three thousand yards of tables containing no end of figures, and in presenting them he explains that a Bill is to be introduced and in connection with it there will be the fullest possible inquiry. That allayed the trouble, and the War Veterans, I suppose, were willing to take what they could get, and if it was not the best it might be good enough, for they would be able to give their story to the Government and to the public, and it mattered not so much in what form it was put. Let me repeat, Sir, that that is all off now, and there is no avenue left open for them to put their story before the Government or before this House.

I listened with a great deal of attention to the discussion, and I thought that the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) and the Acting Prime Minister (Mr. Doherty) were going to adhere to their former position, that this question of what should be done in the way of further gratuities to the soldiers was to be heard by the committee referred to, and I did not think it was necessary that either myself or any other member, on this side of the House at all events, should express any opinion, because I am sure the training and experience of the Acting Prime Minister and that of the President of the Privy Council would lead them to conclude that when a case is to be submitted to a properly constituted court it is not only unnecessary but highly improper to comment on what the findings of that court should be. I was sitting here happy and contented that the facts, so far as the soldiers were concerned, were to be submitted to a properly constituted committee, that they would deliberate on the matter, and that we would then adopt, amend, or reject as the case might be, the findings of that committee. But now really there is nothing at all to be expected from the Government except a blank refusal, as appears from an alleged interview with the Acting Prime Minister which appeared in the Globe on September 14, and is as follows:

> Asked to give a further statement of the position of the Government on the question of $2,000 gratuity to veterans, Hon. Judge Doherty, Minister of Justice and Acting Premier, said:
>
> "Sir Robert Borden had already given the war veterans his decision on the point, and it is the decision of the Cabinet Council as well. Clearly it must be adhered to. We want to be sympathetic with all the demands and aspirations of the returned men, and do all for them that is humanly possible. But there must be some place where we have to make a stand.
>
> "As I pointed out to them yesterday, it is the people of Canada who would have to pay the extra money if it were given, and there is some limit to what they can pay. The figures given by Hon. Mr. Rowell in the House show that we have done very much better by the returned men than any other country engaged in the conflict has done.
>
> "I am sure that the demand made upon us does not represent the view of the great body of the returned men. Most of them are well able to gauge the situation and understand the impossibility of adding to our debt the immense amount that would be involved."

That is the decision reached by the Government, and that is merely a repetition of what is contained in the Prime Minister's letter bearing date the 5th of September. If the President of the Privy Council had stood by that decision and had not suggested that the question would be considered by this committee, I presume that the hon. member for Calgary

East (Mr. Redman) would have gone along with his notice of motion and the question would have come squarely before the House. Now, Mr. Speaker, there is evidently nothing on which an opinion can be expressed. Nothing is to be done by this committee, the hon. member for Calgary East has withdrawn his notice of motion, and there is nothing before the House of a practical character as to what shall be done in respect to the demands of the War Veterans' Association.

I think, Sir, that as far as we on his side of the House are concerned, we should wait until something practical is brought forward by the Government, which alone can move in matters of this kind. The hon. member for Algoma East (Mr. Nicholson) and others may find fault with the Opposition for not doing anything, but we have no control over the finances of this country at present, and anything we might bring in here by way of legislation dealing with public moneys would be ruled out of order by you, Sir, because it is impossible under our rules for the Opposition to bring in any money Bill. It is therefore without the slightest foundation that fault is found with hon. gentlemen on this side of the House.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: Might I ask the hon. member a question? I have been waiting anxiously for some of the light he was going to bestow on me as one of the benighted members, and I can assure him it will not cost the country a cent if he will be good enough to answer my question and tell the House what his own position is in regard to paying a gratuity of $2,000 to the returned soldier.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: I am a Liberal. A resolution was passed by the Liberal Party at a convention attended by hon. gentlemen of this House and delegates from all over this great country. I stand by that resolution, and if my hon. friend will have a better sleep because of my making this statement, he is welcome to it. He might know very well that I, who have always stood by my party, who am not a wobbler or a shirker, would stand by the resolutions and doings of that party. I hope that that will satisfy my hon. friend. Now I would like to know from him where hon. gentlemen opposite stand, with their various resolutions and their various motions, with one member withdrawing a resolution, another submitting one, and so on until they do not know where they are. I would like to ask the member for Calgary (Mr. Redman) who is not in the Chamber—that bright young soldier who is a credit to this House and to his country and who came to the aid, as he thought, of the War Veterans by his motion—I ask him when he reads the speech of the Acting Prime Minister (Hon. Mr. Doherty) blocking out the inquiry that he has been looking for, what will he think of the situation in which he finds himself? What does he think of the attitude of his party toward the returned soldier?

Mr. THOMAS FOSTER (York East): Mr. Speaker—

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: If the hon. gentleman (Mr. McKenzie) will pardon me, I should like to put another question.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. gentleman has already spoken. The member for East York has the floor.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I simply want to ask the leader of the Opposition a question.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: With his consent.

Mr. McKENZIE: Certainly.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I fail yet to understand the leader of the Opposition's attitude with regard to the proposal that a gratuity of $2,000 be paid to returned soldiers. Will he be good enough to tell the House where he stands?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. member is obliged to accept the answer which has already been given to that question by the Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. THOMAS FOSTER (York East): Mr. Speaker, the member for North Simcoe, (Mr. Currie) was right in bringing this question before the House in order that hon. gentlemen might express their views in regard to it. I do not, however, agree with all that the hon. gentleman has said; nor do I concur in the demands which he has made in this connection.

It is well, however, that the matter has been brought to the attention of the House and that hon. gentlemen have had an opportunity of discussing it; it will clear the air, so to speak, to a great extent throughout the Dominion. Although the discussion has taken the whole of the day and has lasted well into the night, I think it has been well worth while.

A few days ago a deputation waited upon the Prime Minister to ask for a commission or a committee to consider the matter of a gratuity to be paid to the Great War

Veterans. The Prime Minister did not accede to that request. I had a telephone message from one of the Great War Veterans informing me that they had been unsuccessful in securing the appointment of a committee to meet representatives of the Great War Veterans' Association. My reply was that I thought a committee should have been appointed to hear their grievances.

It is apparent that while many of the Great War Veterans were asking for a gratuity of a certain amount, they were not, I think, disposed to confine themselves specifically to that demand. They feel that they have certain grievances with regard to pensions and re-establishment and they would like a committee of the House to straighten them out. I think it is right that a committee should be appointed and that they should be heard. I am very glad that the Government changed their mind on this question, because while a few days ago they were not disposed to appoint a committee, they subsequently decided, upon second consideration, or, perhaps, in view of further pressure, that a committee of inquiry should be appointed.

Mr. CURRIE: The hon. gentleman is entirely mistaken. The hon. gentleman who is leading the House (Hon. Mr. Doherty) has stated within the last half hour that the Government will not refer this gratuity question to a committee.

Mr. THOMAS FOSTER: Well, if they do not allow the Great War Veterans to appear before a committee of this House, I would say that they are very undiplomatic. We are servants of the public, and if any section of the public feel that they have a grievance and ask that they be given an opportunity of presenting those grievances before a committee of the House, I say that it is the duty of the Government to accede to that request. Surely the Government cannot refuse to hear any grievances that the Great War Veterans may have.

It has been said by some hon. gentlemen that if we do not accede to the request of the Great War Veterans there may be a great deal of hardship this winter. If there is any hardship to any of the returned soldiers or to the widows or children of those who gave up their lives at the front, the matter should be investigated and the grievance remedied. If the returned soldiers cannot receive a further gratuity and there is hardship this winter, I feel sure that the Government will not allow any returned soldier or any soldier's family or the widows and orphans to suffer. This country, with all its wealth and resources, is patriotic enough to see that there shall be no suffering on the part of these people this winter or any other winter.

The demand has come, not from all members of the Great War Veterans' Association, but from a large number of them, that further consideration should be given to the returned soldier in the form of a further gratuity of a specific amount. I do not think the financial condition of the country is such as to permit of the payment of a $2,000 gratuity. But if there is any exceptional hardship among the returned soldiers or among dependents of deceased soldiers, or if any hardship should develop this winter, it should be adjusted and relief given. Possibly the Government might set aside a fund—not a charitable fund but an emergency fund—which could be drawn upon if necessary in special cases in order to prevent suffering among these people.

I made a suggestion in this House last year whereby a large revenue might have been collected that could have been used to relieve cases of hardship among the war veterans and their families. I said then that there were thousands of aliens in this country who had been earning from $8 to $10 a day, that they were here to-day and gone to-morrow, and that we should levy a tax upon them. I told of cases in the city of Toronto where these men were carrying practically a small bank around with them in their belts, from $1,000 to $2,000 or $3,000. They would not trust this money with the bank, but it would be discovered that they had these large amounts on their person when there was an accident and they were taken to the hospital. We might have raised a couple of hundred millions in that way that could have been used at this time to relieve cases of hardship, and it would not have effected any hardship on the aliens themselves, because in view of their mode of living they are able to save very large amounts. I saw by the press recently that there have been thousands of applications for transportation both in Canada and the United States from these aliens who wish to return to their own country. They are carrying with them hundreds of millions of dollars and we have not received one dollar of benefit.

While I wish that our financial condition had been such that we could have met these

demands of the Great War Veterans it must be recognized in view of the financial condition of the country to-day and our sparse population that we cannot stand the pressure. The alternative is an investigation, so that we may relieve any cases of hardship that may exist to-day or may arise in the future.

Mr. ROWELL: I have but one observation. I am afraid I cannot congratulate my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition on the illuminating character of his address to-night, at least as indicating his own views on the matter under consideration.

Mr. McKENZIE: They could bear only one meaning.

Mr. ROWELL: The difficulty with my hon. friend to-night was the difficulty he experienced last week, and that was in distinguishing between things that differ. Last week he failed to distinguish between legal authority and constitutional right. To-night he failed to distinguish between a general war service gratuity and the question of the re-establishment of the individual soldier in civil life. If my hon. friend would turn to the statement I made the other day he would see the distinction I made between the two. In the opening statement I said:

> Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Prime Minister I desire to make the following statement with reference to the position of the Government in the matter of a further bonus or war service gratuity to returned soldiers.
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> The position of the Government is set forth in a statement prepared by the Prime Minister on Saturday last for submission to the House in answer to a question placed on the Order Paper by the hon. member for West Edmonton.

Then I went on to give the Prime Minister's statement, as set forth in the letters I read to the House. I made the position of the Government perfectly clear in reference to the two points, namely, the war service gratuity of $2,000 (the Calgary resolution), and secondly, in reference to a royal commission to investigate the financial ability of the country to pay it. That position was that the Government could not accede to either of these requests, and that is exactly the position which the leader of the House here to-night (Mr. Doherty) has taken. I pointed out on that occasion that the Government had already introduced a Bill in the Senate dealing with the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, that the work of the department was covered by certain Orders in Council under the War Measures Act, that it was the intention of the Government when the Bill received its second reading to refer it together with all Orders in Council relating to the matter to this Committee, which would have full power to hear witnesses and to summon witnesses if it saw fit. That Committee will have before it everything that relates to the re-establishment of the soldier in civil life, and I am quite sure that it will hear whatever representations may be made on that important and vital question. That includes the questions mentioned by the hon. member for East York (Mr. Foster). The question of making provision for returned men out of employment is one of the very points enumerated. Representations may be made on all these points by the Great War Veterans' Association or any other association that chooses to come before that Parliamentary Committee, and I am sure that the committee will give the same generous and sympathetic consideration to representations that may be made to it as did the committee appointed last year to consider pensions. My hon. friend's difficulty is that he fails to distinguish between things that differ.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queen's): If we were asked to vote upon this question of a $2,000 gratuity, I certainly would not be able to record my vote in favour of it. It is well for us to remember that the Great War Veterans' Association, while they began by asking for that gratuity, modified their claim later and only asked for an investigation. Of course, I presume they had in mind ultimately the same thing, but we must take their request as they made it. Even their request to the Prime Minister, I understand, was not for a specified sum, but for an investigation. Now, it is always a difficult thing to refuse an investigation to any large body of men, and when we consider those who compose the Great War Veterans' Association and the services which they have rendered I think we should go a long way towards meeting them to the extent of giving them a hearing whenever they demand it on any question.

I regret that the hon. member for East Algoma (Mr. Nicholson) imported a party question for a moment into this matter. I do not think it is necessary. The general tenor of the debate has been excellent, and I think it has served a good purpose. It has been illuminating in the way of eliciting opinions from all sides, and to that extent I think my hon. friend who introduced the motion has served a good purpose. Yet, perhaps, it was not necessary, because there has been a change of attitude on the part of the Government, which has to be recog-

nized. I find no fault with the letter of the Prime Minister, but it is a fact that the attitude of the Government at that moment is not their attitude to-day. I am not complaining of that. I think they were wise in modifying their attitude so far as to say they would give an inquiry to the war veterans.

Mr. CURRIE: The hon. gentleman has been in the House and has heard the statement. They would not allow that.

Mr. FIELDING: I have heard most of the debate, and I suppose we may all interpret it in a different way. I understand that while the Prime Minister at first refused a commission, he has, through the Minister of Justice and the President of the Privy Council, offered to give an investigation before a committee. That is the whole situation.

How far that committee may go is a question to be considered, but we cannot alter the fact that the refusal which the Prime Minister gave—and I am not finding fault with that—has been modified; but instead of granting the commission he has intimated that he is willing to have an investigation before this committee. I understand through the public press—the ministers can correct me if I am not right—that the representatives of the Great War Veterans waited upon some of the ministers in view of that change of attitude and said that they were content with what was then proposed. I do not know whether that is correct or not. I am merely stating what appeared in the press, that the leaders of the Great War Veterans' Association were satisfied with the situation, and if they are satisfied I am not disposed to complain. I take it for granted that while the commission is not to be granted, this committee to be appointed will afford the War Veterans an opportunity to make out the best case they can, and to that extent I commend the attitude of the Government to-day.

Mr. CURRIE: To what committee does the hon. member refer?

Mr. FIELDING: I refer to the committee mentioned by the President of the Privy Council.

Mr. CURRIE: He has not stated that any special committee will be appointed.

Mr. FIELDING: I think it has been stated repeatedly that the Bill to be referred to the committee appointed for its consideration will afford the opportunity incidentally—that is the word—of discussing the whole question of gratuities. It is with that understanding, I believe, that the War Veterans have expressed their satisfaction. I do not think that any of the statements made to-night have been so emphatic as to prevent an inquiry by that committee into the whole matter. At all events, the impression I have is that the War Veterans are satisfied with the position of affairs, and if they are satisfied with it I have no disposition to find fault. I am not advocating a gratuity of $2,000. The matter appeals to me as a grave and serious one, and I am glad that the Government have so far modified their attitude as to be willing to give the War Veterans a hearing; and whether this is done through a commission or a committee the principle is not altered.

Mr. CURRIE: I do not wish to detain the House very long in closing this question. First of all I desire to refer to the speech of the hon. member for Fort William (Mr. Manion). His utterance was brilliant, but he assumed an attitude altogether beside the question. In the first place, he endeavoured to impute certain motives to myself and other people with reference to this matter. Now, it is a very bad thing for any man, especially a member of Parliament, to impute motives to anybody, and I leave the hon. member to the Great War Veterans of Fort William, who will doubtless attend to him. As regards his position in the House and the way in which he got in here, I shall say nothing.

Mr. MANION: Mr. Speaker—

Mr. CURRIE: I have the floor. I think, Mr. Speaker, that it was Burke, the famous Irish orator, who repeated the story that Addison used to tell about a man who lived at the time of Addison and who amassed a great fortune by the sale of bread pills to people in order to prevent earthquakes. So far as the speech of the hon. member had any effect as an appeal on behalf of the Great War Veterans or of any of the returned soldiers, I can only say that in my opinion it is a case of bread pill. The hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) also wandered far afield, making uncalled for remarks about a gentleman who went to France on a Cook's tour. A number of gentlemen from this House enlisted and raised regiments. They went to England and, owing to the fact that they were over age were not permitted to go to the front but were allowed to go to France for a time to see a little of the show. I think, Mr.

Speaker, that we should have heard the last of this matter of Cook's tourists. As a matter of fact, only five members of the House got into the trenches, but these other men, many of whom were far over age, served their country well, and they did their duty when they took their units to England. The hon. member for Frontenac, whom I am sorry is not present now, did not make an attempt to go to the front, but many of those who endeavoured to go were older than he. Now, Sir, the position is this: It has been assumed in the press and even by the hon. member who has just resumed his seat (Mr. Fielding) that the Government is going to appoint a committee for the special purpose of considering these gratuities, but the minister, who spoke frankly has told him that this Bill would be referred to a committee like any other Bill, and that the Government were not going to initiate any kind of movement to enlarge the scope of the committee which would discuss it. But all along it has been assumed that the Government is going to appoint a special committee to deal with this question. The Government has absolutely refused a commission, and it has also refused to appoint a special committee, as it might well do in regard to this question which is one of supreme importance and is attracting a great deal of attention. There is a certain word in use among the Tommies at the front in regard to matters in which there is any shuffling, and that is the word "wangling." There has been a great deal of wangling about this question, when nobody seems to understand the position of the ministers and no one can give a clear statement concerning the exact position of affairs in the House, except to make speeches assuming that the Government is going to do this, that, and the other thing and that everything is highly satisfactory. Nothing has been given by the Government to satisfy the demand of the Great War Veterans. They asked for a commission or a committee of the House to discuss this question and the Government has absolutely refused to grant this request. The minister can correct me if I am wrong. I assume from his silence that I am right in this statement. What, then, is the use of evasiveness? We must face the facts. I advocate a gratuity for the returned soldier, a gratuity for the widows and children and mothers of those men who have fallen, and a gratuity for the student. To listen to some of the speeches of hon. members, especially the hon. member for Red Deer, who I regret is not in his place, one would think that the returned soldiers could be satisfied with mere temporizing and fine words. It is a helping hand that the soldier needs. So far as the hon. member for Red Deer is concerned, free trade and work seem to be all that occupies his mind, and it seems that we are going to send the returned soldiers to work houses if they have no money. I do not assume that position. The men who went to the front served for a very small sum daily. They did their duty for a meagre remuneration, looking at the matter from a purely commercial standpoint. It is eminently unjust to suggest that a man who has done his utmost at the front and has made great sacrifices for his country should be asked to continue sacrificing. Are we to say to the men who cannot get food and clothing: You sacrificed your all in the trenches and though it is true that within twenty-four hours a coffin may have to be provided for you we will ask you to continue sacrificing in the interests of your country. Is that the position which this country is to assume? These men went overseas and served for a dollar and a dollar twenty-five a day, and now they come home to find that during the whole period of the war their comrades who did not go to the front but were given exemption by the Government have been working in munition factories making four times as much money as they did before. These are the stern facts which the returned men are putting forward, and we must honestly face them. The returned soldiers are not making threats against this House or the country and it is absurd to make that suggestion as an argument. There are no people in the country who will support Parliament and the Constitution more than the soldiers and their dependents. I do not think there is any other question raised that is worth while referring to. We have reached the end of the debate. The speech of the hon. member for Calgary has been wiped aside by the Acting Prime Minister (Mr. Doherty), and the hon. member for Fort William has the consolation of knowing that he made a brilliant argument in support of a position which the Government has not assumed and does not intend to assume. All the other speeches, as the leader of the Opposition has said, leave us faced with the bare fact that nothing tangible is offered the returned soldier. The Government has nothing to offer to these men who have asked for a fair consideration of the matter of gratuities. If they belong to the category of the sick or are in want of a hand out they can go to the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment

which finds them jobs but as far as granting them a gratuity, or discussing it, is concerned, they cannot discuss it before that committee. The President of the Privy Council after spending a number of days trying to ward off the Great War Veterans and trying to make everybody believe that it was all right, that there was going to be an investigation, thus endeavouring to create a fool's paradise, reverts to the cold facts as I have stated them. Fortunately I read the statement of the President of the Privy Council, and I was not deceived by it. I read it in cold print and I asked myself the very question that seems to have fooled the leader of the Opposition: Is there any committee granted, or is there any promise of a committee in that statement? I found that there was none and that is one of the reasons why I would not back down or withdraw my motion. I wished the whole question to be brought up plainly here so that the House would understand the situation and that none of the members would go home and place themselves in a false position without knowing what had been said or done here. I did not believe in that moonshine and I hope the leader of the Opposition will not be influenced by any more of this moonshine because politics are politics, and things are going on.

I have endeavoured to present the arguments of the returned men on this question whether they are my own views or not. I confess to the House that at first I was of the view that this country had done as much as possibly could be done for them and that it was impossible to raise this vast sum of money. But my attitude on that has changed and it has changed because I feel that there are ways and means by which this amount or a similar amount can be obtained. It is not a new thing for a Government to remunerate its returned soldiers, after coming back from a victorious war such as this. If they had not won the war we might have had some excuse. Anybody who reads history will know that after every successful war from the days of the Romans down the country has given grants in money and land to the soldiers who have come back. Why should we single ourselves out and take the attitude that such a thing is a new idea and that the soldiers are not entitled to this money? It has been the custom for ages. I think it was a Biblical custom, was it not? The leader of the Opposition will tell us that it was an ancient Biblical custom dating from the days of Moses. Why should we assume an attitude of alarm, and because the soldiers make a demand for land and money, slam the door in their faces, as the leader of the Government has said? I do not say that the Government have slammed the door in their faces, but apparently they have no money for them. Such being the case, having heard all these arguments, having discussed the question here, I am sure that the discussion being academic has not suffered by reason of that fact or by reason of the fact that under these circumstances the arguments can be presented pro and con on a question of this kind because there cannot be any party division. That is why I brought the question forward in this way. Anybody can take part in the discussion, the question can be discussed by ministers quite freely, and members behind them and on the Opposition side can state their views upon the matter. We have heard a great many opinions expressed. But one thing has come out of this discussion and that is that this House wants a committee to discuss this matter with the returned soldiers, and we will have this committee if it is possible before the end of the session.

There has been no argument advanced against my view that we can get the money. I say we can. That argument was advanced against the first home loan that was proposed in this country. The bankers who surrounded the late Minister of Finance, when he said that we must have a domestic loan, of the large amount decided upon, pulled enough whiskers out of their grey beards to stuff a sofa. They said that it would put the country into bankruptcy. But the Minister of Finance assured them that after the money subscribed to the loan was got in, the bankers would have more money than ever before, and that turned out to be true. I would not take the responsibility, after this experience, of saying definitely that I thought the money could not be raised. Any man who suggests that is entirely wrong.

A question has been raised as to whether we can get it from the Germans. I am sorry that a more practical attitude was not assumed towards the Germans by those who took part in the negotiations of the Peace Treaty, especially if we are going to get damages to the extent of the damage done to our people and our land. The only people who can claim any damages to their property, if the Minister of Justice is right, will be the owners of the trawlers sunk

off Shelburne and Halifax. We have had no bombs dropped in Canada. I believe there was an attempt to blow up a bridge or two, and possibly damages will be allowed for that. But over and above that there should have been a very sharp decision made and our representatives should have placed the question of damages in such a light that they could come home like Mr. Hughes of Australia, and say that Canada is going to get $100,000,000, $200,000,000 or $300,000,000 in round figures. In so far as I could see, the argument of the leader of the Government to-night was to the effect that we were not to get anything. But I assume that is not quite correct. We are entitled to a share of the indemnity just as much as any other country that fought over there. A share of the indemnity could be given to our soldiers first and to the country second. The navy is getting prize money. When a vessel is captured it is taken into the prize court and the prize money is awarded to the soldiers and sailors. Our position is the same and we should be entitled to share in the indemnity. We should not have haggled too much with the Germans as to what they are able to pay. They are able to pay far more to-day than the people of Canada are able to pay proportionately.

The hour is late and I would be presuming very much upon the good nature of the House if I were to ask for a division on the question to adjourn. I do not regret that I have brought this matter before the House because, although it may be unpopular, I am not unmindful of the maxim of the aged statesman Pericles, that he judges rightly who chooses the unpopular side of a great cause. I am quite willing to take the unpopular side and I am quite satisfied that after the arguments that have been advanced in this House, and the arguments that will be advanced outside of it during the next few weeks, the House will take a more mellow view of this question and will see its way to unanimously appoint a committee to discuss the whole question of gratuities as proposed in the remarks which I have addressed to the House. I ask leave to withdraw the motion.

Mr. MANION: May I ask the hon. gentleman to what he referred when he spoke of the manner in which I have entered this House?

Mr. CURRIE: The hon. gentleman was elected up there without having been named a candidate. If he had to go up against a party fight he never would have come down here, and he will have a party fight—I can assure him of that.

Mr. MANION: The hon. gentleman has another guess coming about my coming back here.

Motion (Mr. Currie) withdrawn.

Mr. Doherty moved that the Order for resuming the adjourned debate on the motion of Mr. Whidden for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, in reply to his speech at the opening of the session, have precedence over all other matters, excepting the introduction of Bills, until the debate is closed.

Mr. SPEAKER: The motion at this stage would have to be by unanimous consent. Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion.

Motion agreed to.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty, the House adjourned at 12.50 a.m.

Wednesday, September 17, 1919.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Vercheres): Before the Orders of the Day are called, Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask the Government a few urgent and important questions regarding the National Industrial Conference now in session. I may say that I have already submitted these questions to the leader of the Government, the Minister of Justice (Hon. Mr. Doherty), having left them in his office at twelve o'clock to-day.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: I regret to say that they have not yet reached me.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I may read the questions now. They are:

1st. Why the national labour unions of the province of Quebec and the circles catholiques who represent a very large number of employees and who, according to the report of the Commission on the Industrial Relations in Canada, are an important labour factor in the province, were entirely ignored by the Minister of Labour in issuing invitations to the National Industrial Conference?

2nd. Why the evidence taken before the Commission of Industrial Relations in Canada has not been printed and is not available for the instruction of the members of

the National Industrial Conference who have asked for it?

3rd. Is it the intention of the Government to have this evidence distributed before the end of the conference?

4th. Is it the intention of the Government to have this evidence printed before any legislative action recommended by this conference is considered?

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: On behalf of the Minister of Labour I shall take cognizance of the hon. gentleman's questions and endeavour to answer them to-morrow. It is not possible to answer a series of questions of the character of these at the moment. Further, no notice was given to the Department of Labour in connection with the matter.

RUMOURED SALE OF WEST INDIES TO UNITED STATES.

On the Orders of the Day:

Brigadier General GRIESBACH (Edmonton West): I beg to draw the attention of the Government to a matter of great national importance. The newspapers of yesterday contained a despatch from London reporting a proposal in England for the sale of the West Indies to the United States. Has the Government any intimation of this proposal, and in view of this report does it consider the desirability at this time of taking steps to effect Confederation with the West Indies?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: The attention of the Government has not been called to the despatch, and we have no official information on the matter.

CANADIAN GOODS ORDERED BY GREECE.

Mr. W. D. EULER (Waterloo North): I desire to ask the Government a question based on a newspaper report which says that Greece has placed in Canada a new order for twenty-five million dollars' worth of manufactured goods, chiefly woollens, I understand. Is this order being financed by the Canadian Government, and is it the intention of the Government to continue to pledge the credit of Canada for the promotion of the foreign export business of Canadian manufacturers?

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: The Government is not aware of any such order having been placed in Canada by the Government of Greece, and no financial arrangements have been made in that connection.

$25,000,000 CREDIT TO ROUMANIA.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Some days ago I called the attention of the acting Prime Minister to a newspaper report to the effect that the $25,000,000 which this Government had voted for credit to Roumania had been all used, but that the Canadian Government had no satisfactory security of any kind for the money. The Leader of the Government then told me that he would give the matter his consideration, but evidently it escaped his memory. I should like to know if the Leader of the Government can give us any information now as to whether this money has been all spent and, if so, what kind of security the Government has for it?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: I shall give the answer to-morrow. I did communicate with the department but I have not yet received the information.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH.

ADDRESS IN REPLY.

Consideration of the motion of Mr. Howard Primrose Whidden for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General in reply to his speech at the opening of the session, resumed from Monday, September 15.

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Vercheres): Mr. Speaker, I concur with what is said in the remarks made by the previous speakers on the Address in offering sincere congratulations to the mover and seconder, who have made excellent speeches. Indeed, Sir, it would be a misfortune if I should not speak in a eulogistic strain of my hon. friend from Nanaimo (Mr. McIntosh), whose speech was one continuous congratulation to every one he thought of.

I do not desire, Sir, to discuss at great length the matters included in the speech from the Throne, but I will rather discuss the omissions from that speech. The welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was fittingly placed in the opening passages of the speech from the Throne. I humbly and heartily join in the welcome which has been given in this country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to the most valiant, the most popular Prince who has visited our shores and who has endeared himself to the hearts of the Canadian people.

I might remark that His Royal Highness must have scandalized many of my hon.

friends on the other side of the House by his knowledge of the French language and the pride he had in using it. Of course, I am referring to those hon. members on the other side of the House who have such a horror of the French language that if God Almighty was French they would be atheists.

As to the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations, we have had resolutions on the matter and a long discussion; therefore I will defer my remarks on this question until Bill No. 3 is before the House. The next item of the Address relates to measures and legislation necessary on the advent of peace. Until these measures are brought down I will refrain from making any statement except to express my sincere wish that they will be real peace measures; that we will return to constitutional government by majority through the representatives of the people duly elected; that we will re-establish the sanctity of our courts as the protectors of individual rights, and that we will re-introduce liberty now that peace has come.

I may say that we in Canada, as well as the people of Great Britain, have been at peace with Germany for a long time; even during the last session we were said to be at peace with Germany. If I refer to an Order in Council dated June 23, 1919, I see that persons resident in Canada are allowed to resume trade with Germany. Mr. Speaker, in my humble opinion, we are either at peace or at war. There is no middle ground and if we are not at peace and if this Government has allowed persons resident in this country to resume trade with Germany, they are guilty of trading with the enemy and are subject to a severe penalty.

Now, Sir, although it is not included in the Address, may I be allowed to discuss the high cost of living? I might have waited until the House had been moved into Committee of Supply but I have read in the newspapers that our ministers intend to return to England very soon for the Imperial Conference and I am most anxious to bring this matter up while the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) and his travelling colleagues are on a visit to Canada.

This session has been called especially for ratifying the Peace Treaty. On arriving here we were practically told by the hon. the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) that it is already ratified, that it is already signed by the King and signed by our representatives, but that unless we give it our approval it will not be dealt with in Paris and we will have to start all over again. Why not say in this House what everybody outside of this House says, what everybody knows to be the truth, that this session was called by the Government to placate the ire of some of its supporters who were disappointed because the Prime Minister did not agree to increase the sessional indemnity? The calling of this session is outrageous in face of the financial status of our country, but we are here, and now that we have been called to attend it—and it is our duty to attend—why not get down to some real work? Why not earn our indemnity by taking up questions of interest and trying to solve problems that are vital to the welfare of Canada? It is with this desire that I will offer a few considerations on the high cost of living and its most obvious cause, the profiteers.

First of all I wish to state that outside of profiteering there are many other reasons, for the high cost of living, such as lack of production, diversion of production of the necessaries of life to the production of luxuries, strikes, the increased cost of production, high tariff, etc.

But as I am convinced that profiteering in its most aggravated form exists in Canada, I will confine my remarks to this special cause. At the last session I gave the House some figures regarding the profits made by the millers—I am now able to add a few more. I told the House then that the Ogilvie Flour Mills Company for the year previous to the outbreak of war, had made $470,000 profits. But their profits for the year ending August 31, 1917, were $2,100,000. This increase is enormous. Yet, Sir, the profits of 1918 were $3,551,821 consisting of net profits for dividends, after payment of bond interest and war tax of $1,955,414, and a special contingent account of $1,596,407. This special contingent account, according to the president of the company, was set aside to take care of a sudden change in the value to meet a post war slump. This was camouflage, Mr. Speaker, because according to the company its total stock on hand on August 31, 1918, was valued at $1,462,916, or $1,174,900 less than in August 1917. Therefore, the company provided $1,596,407 to meet a possible decline in value of stock, valued at $1,462,916. Besides the company had its old contingent account of $2,501,000 now termed a rest account, making a very respectable reserve of $4,096,407. The total invested capital of the Ogilvie Flour Mills Company at the beginning of last year being $7,200,000, the net profits of $3,500,000 are

equivalent to fifty per cent. Therefore the company which up to 1916 earned a dividend of eight per cent, now earns a dividend of fifty per cent. The Lake of the Woods Milling Company is in the same position. Again the amount of common stock issued by the St. Lawrence Flour Mills Company was $1,200,000. Of this $150,000 was paid in assets—the rest is water. Up to 1917 there was no dividend on the common stock. In that year the profit on actual invested capital was 16.2, and in 1918 it was 29.6. Instead of a debit of $61,000 in 1913 a surplus profit account is now shown of $251,154; and the manager of the company, who is a stalwart supporter of this Government, makes the statement that the millers are making far less than those engaged in any other industry.

An Order in Council passed by the Government, dated March 9, 1918, limited the profits of all meat-packing companies to 11 per cent on the invested capital, all profits above that percentage going to the State. I wish to draw the attention of the House to this point: had the Order in Council in question been made applicable to the milling companies, the Ogilvie Flour Milling Company would have had to pay an extra tax of $2,750,000 to the treasury, a very interesting amount you will admit. You have seen how great the profits of the principal milling companies who turn out the basic product of bread, have been.

Now what about the textile companies? The Dominion Textile Company last year made $1,559,888 or 31.2 on its common stock against 21.9 in 1917 and 15 per cent in 1916. If the Order in Council applied to the packers had been made applicable to them, and if the Government had seen fit to collect the extra dividends, this company would have added $1,006,380 to the treasury. We had an inquiry into the high cost of living last year and amongst other things it was shown that a certain clothing company had made 72 per cent, and the Dominion Textile 300 per cent on the capital invested.

It is impossible for me to give you the exact figures respecting the packing industry, I could not obtain accurate data, but let me remind you of certain facts. The Prime Minister last session when discussing the high cost of living stated that most drastic taxation had been imposed by Order in Council on those engaged in the packing industry—so drastic that the companies affected came before the Government and implored them not to go so far, that their business would be absolutely ruined; but that the Government was firm and passed the Order in Council under which the State collects all profits above 11 per cent, which legislation was still in force. Now let us see what the President of the Privy Council said on the same matter. As reported at page 3521 of Hansard of last session, the hon. gentleman, whom I am very glad to see in his seat, said:

> Take the question of the profits of packers and cold storage men which has been so much discussed in this House. What was done under the administration of my hon. friend the ex-Minister of Agriculture? Regulations were imposed which, in the first place, limited the profits on the turnover of the leading cold storage men and packers. They were required under regulations, which were administered by the Government, and under license issued by the Department of Agriculture, or the Food Board, —I forget which—to so carry on their business that their profits should not exceed two per cent on their turnover. Notwithstanding that, if they earned a profit on the capital invested in the business of over 7 per cent, and up to 15 per cent, one-half over 7 per cent went to the Government as revenue, and the other half went to the packer. All over 15 per cent went to the Government. The result was that no packer could earn more than 11 per cent on his total actual capital invested in the business. The packers very strongly resisted these regulations and protested against them. . . . . The Canadian packers protested against our regulations. . . . . In no country at war have such stringent regulations been imposed upon the packers and cold storage people as have been imposed by the Government on the packers of this country.

Well, Mr. Speaker, I remember the hon. member for Victoria (Sir Sam Hughes) telling us one day last session that this Government was owned by Sir Joseph Flavelle. He probably knows more about that than I do. But what I do know and what every other member knows is that the Right Hon. the Prime Minister and the hon. President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) never let an opportunity escape to make a brotherly defence of this most deserving titled profiteer. Early last session the President of the Council was in the House the "chevalier servant" of this notable food king, and related the martyrlike sufferings of the packers under the drastic Order in Council of the 9th March, 1918.

In the face of all these declarations every hon. member has been under the impression that these poor cold storage companies, —which according to the O'Connor report constituted a monopoly and made enormous profits,—have contributed a tremendous amount of money to the Treasury by giving away all their profits above 11 per cent, especially as the price of bacon instead of declining has been making a skyward

jump, and has now reached an altitude of 65 to 70 cents a pound. But, Mr. Speaker, please do not forget the fact that when the Order in Council touched their very close friends they lavishly indulged in the policy of laissez faire. What huge sums have been collected from the cold storage companies since that Order in Council was issued? What fortunes, large enough, I might say, to jeopardize their existence, have these companies been forced to contribute to the public Treasury? The answer of the Government to a question which I put to them on the 28th of May last will enlighten us. It will be found at page 3008 of Hansard of last session, and I beg permission to read it:

1. What sum has the Government collected from cold storage warehouse companies since the Order in Council limiting the profits of the said companies to 11 per cent has been passed?

2. What amounts have been collected from each one of said companies, and what are the dates when said amounts were collected?

Sir Thomas White: 1 and 2. Persons, firms and incorporated companies engaged in the slaughtering of live stock or the manufacture of products therefrom liable to taxation under the Order in Council of 9th March, 1918, are assessable for all profits in excess of 15 per cent upon capital and one-half profits in excess of 7 per cent up to 15 per cent upon such capital. Regulations under the said Order in Council were in effect from 1st January, 1918.

And listen to this:

The Commissioner of Taxation has been engaged in investigating the business and accounts of all persons, firms and incorporated companies who might be liable to assessment under the Order in Council. These investigations are not completed, but so far as they have proceeded they do not disclose profits in excess of the amount exempted by the Order in Council. Many firms and companies engaged in the business concerned, sustained heavy losses during 1918 calendar year, which year was most unfavourable to the packing industry.

The President of the Council, who is more prone to defend profiteers than to defend himself personally, has shown more grit in defending a profiteering company than he did last year when the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Murphy) made precise accusations against him. I read from Hansard at page 3525 what the President of the Privy Council said:

Let me mention the case which the hon. member for Marquette mentioned yesterday about the Dominion Textile Company and the large profits they had earned. Yesterday, by a strange coincidence, Sir Charles Gordon, president of that company, happened to be in my office, before my hon. friend had spoken. Some question came up about this announcement in the paper showing their large profits, and Sir Charles told me that more than 50 per cent of the profit was made owing to the increase in value of raw cotton and other raw material they had on hand during the year. In other words, they had bought at a fortunate time; they had exercised good judgment in buying.

Yes, Sir, they had bought at a fortunate time; they had exercised good judgment. Very well. I admire the foresight of traders—especially when they do not use that foresight against the people in order to extract their life blood. But what the Textile Company did is the principal cause of the unrest in this country. Why, Sir, the buying of the necessaries of life in huge quantities at a low price and the holding of those necessaries until an artificial scarcity is created and the price goes up, is the essence of profiteering. This company made 300 per cent on money invested in the handling of an essential necessity of life, and my hon. friend, the President of the Privy Council, approves, protects and encourages such methods, and he cites this instance as a clever and keen piece of commercial intelligence. Was there ever a more glaring defence of the profiteer?

Sir, when the Kaiser left Germany after his defeat he carried with him a huge sum of money. I fail to see any other reason for the behaviour of the President of the Privy Council than that, realizing the rapidly approaching debacle of the Union Government, and that the people armed with whips are only waiting occasion to flagellate the Pharisees, he wishes to carry with him into private life the gilded friendship of the Flavelles and the Gordons.

Another reason for the high cost of living is that there is no restriction on exportation. Charity begins at home, but before permitting the unlimited exportation of foodstuffs the Government should see, first, that there is enough left in the country for the Canadian consumer; secondly, that the foodstuffs which are now filling the cold storage plants to their capacity should be put on the local market, and, thirdly, that the consumer should not, on account of unrestricted exportation, be made to compete with the markets of the old world, now at abnormal heights. It is absurd and criminal that in a country like ours, with its abundant production, a sham, and artificial scarcity should be created under the benevolent and paternal eye of the Government.

I have said that charity begins at home. But if the people of Canada had been deprived of their foodstuffs to prevent friendly Allies from starving, such a course might have been improvident, but at least it would have been generous. But, Sir, instead of feeding the Allies, or instead of

feeding any one, Canadian foodstuffs are rotting in the warehouses of Europe. Let me read an extract from the Montreal Star of September 4. It is a despatch from Paris:

A tremendous drop in food prices in the United States may be expected in the next few months, Herbert Hoover said in continuing his testimony yesterday before the committee investigating war expenditures.

The speculators have reached the end of their powers, Hoover declared, and are no longer able to maintain corners in stocks, owing to Europe's inability to purchase America's over-production.

"Warehouses in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Copenhagen and Stockholm are now full of foodstuffs from America," he said, "but no outlet exists, as the countries needing food are unable to pay for it at present prices."

On that same day certain statistics were published with regard to Canadian exports of foodstuffs. I quote:

Ottawa, Sept. 3.—Statistics of Canadian exports of foodstuffs in the twelve months ending July 31 may tend to substantiate the theory of H. C. Hoover that a factor in the cost of living is European imports for speculation in such commodities, many of which, according to him, have not reached the market.

Canadian exports in the period mentioned include 16,202,320 pounds of butter, 145,208,450 pounds of cheese, 55,486,266 bushels of wheat, 181,819,455 pounds of bacon, 131,246,513 pounds of beef, 12,414,976 pounds of canned meats and 33,572,004 pounds of pork.

Now, the Government was not only permitting, but encouraging these accumulations. During the month of May last Mr. Henry B. Thompson, Canadian Trade Commissioner, was sent to Europe by the Administration, at the expense of this country. The Government, therefore, are certainly responsible, if, as a consequence of Mr. Thompson's going to the other side, prices soared to heights inaccessible to the Canadian consumer. In a despatch published in the Ottawa Citizen of May 25, Mr. Thompson makes the following interesting statements, among other things:

The prospects for Canadian bacon, he thinks are especially rosy. In a characteristically racy phrase, he says: "Canadian bacon has the chance of its life. Producers can sell all they can make for the English trade as fast as they can get it over."

Mr. Speaker, the prospects for Canadian bacon are rosy, I admit that. Canadian bacon has, indeed, the chance of its life, but what about the prospects of the Canadian people? The prospects of the father of a large family are not so rosy when starvation is facing him every day. Notice, Mr. Speaker, the paternal solicitude of the Government for the hog. "Canadian bacon has the chance of its life"—but the Canadian people have no chance at all, except those people who, like the bacon, are closely related to the hog, the profiteers.

Of course, there are certain of our products which are not rotting in the warehouses, but these are sold to bankrupt countries like Roumania and Greece. The producers of these foodstuffs are not paid by these countries—oh, no; that would involve too much risk for the friends of the Government. The moneys are advanced by the Government of Canada with no sound guarantee of repayment; the profiteers are paid and the Government will have to do the best they can to recover these amounts from countries like Roumania, which is already disobeying the order of the Allies by marching on Budapest.

These accumulations of foodstuffs exist not only in European warehouses, but also here in Canada. The cold storage warehouses of this country are overflowing with goods. Not later than Friday last, Mr. O'Connor, of the Board of Commerce, made the following statement to the press: "All the cold storage houses are bursting with goods." The Montreal Gazette of Thursday last stated also that it was understood that a large quantity of cheese and other products were accumulating in Montreal, awaiting a favourable opportunity for export.

On the first of May last there were in cold storage in Canada 2,381,151 dozen of eggs, 35 per cent more than the previous year; 35,995,954 pounds of beef, 80 per cent more than the previous year; 2,619,097 pounds of mutton, 86 per cent more than the previous year. Now, what about the food which is rotting in the warehouses of Canada? I need not recall the disclosures made last year with regard to the antediluvian chickens which rotted in Winnipeg, the property of the William Davies Company, or the carloads of potatoes which were dumped in the fields. Let me cite more recent figures.

Between January 1 and August 22, 1919, enormous quantities of food were confiscated in Montreal as unfit for human consumption: 215,667 pounds of meat, 884 pounds of fowl, 60,076 pounds of fish, 1,147 pounds of fruit, 3,383 pounds of vegetables. In the city of Quebec 95,813 pounds of meat were confiscated during the same period and for the same reason, namely, being unfit for use.

Mr. McMASTER: Shame.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I charge that the Administration is responsible for this state of affairs. It is in possession of the information. Its Cost of Living Commissioner,

Dr McFall, has been making monthly reports to the Government, but these reports are not always made public because that would start a revolutionary rush to the warehouses by the people. The Government practically refuses to lay these reports on the table of the House, As early as the 6th of May last I made a motion to have them tabled, or rather I put a question on the Order Paper. That question remained on the Order Paper from day to day, until the end of the last session, the attention of the Acting Prime Minister, of the Prime Minister, and of the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce was called to the fact that the reports were not forthcoming. After a few evasive answers, I was promised that they would be forthcoming before the end of the session, and on June 26 the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce said, very nicely and courteously: "I will table these reports for my hon. friend this afternoon." But nay, nay, Sir, they were probably too instructive, and I did not receive them. Right at the beginning of this session I made a motion for their production and it stands as No. 2 on the Order Paper. I received from the Minister of Labour a letter stating that my request would involve an immense amount of clerical work and he would be glad if I would mention which reports I desired; I answered the minister that I wanted them all. The matter came before the House last Monday when the hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntington (Mr. Robb) made the motion to have these reports tabled. The answer was: "Stand." When these men who allow foodstuffs to rot are caught, they either receive an apology like the one made by the Minister of Labour to the William Davies Company, or are fined three or four dollars, while in other countries there is a penalty of a stiff fine and imprisonment attached to the very act of allowing meat to become putrid in one's store.

Let us see what other countries are doing to stop this hoarding and profiteering and to reduce the high cost of living. In France there is a fixing of prices by the municipalities every week, and any one who sells at a price higher than that fixed, is fined or jailed; exportation of foodstuffs is absolutely prohibited. In Great Britain the prices are fixed and heavy penalties, such as £100 for transgressing orders on a small scale, have been imposed. The British Government also buys foodstuffs and

3 p.m. resells them at a fair price. Only this morning I read in the Citizen the remarks of Mr. Charles McCurdy, Parliamentary Secretary to the British Food Minister, who declared that "the Government classes the profiteers with rats and other vermin and is determined to stamp them out."

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Which Government?

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: The English Government, of course, not this Government. Great Britain has always looked after the welfare of its people in a generous way and has always enacted laws against profiteering. May I be permitted to read a very ancient piece of legislation which, in its simplicity and fairness, is a credit to the Mother Country? I quote from a very old statute enacted in 1349 in the reign of Edward III, namely the Statute of Labourers:

> Likewise let butchers, fishmongers, hostlers, brewers, bakers poulterers and all other vendors of any victuals, be bound to sell such victuals for a reasonable price, having regard for the price at which such victuals are sold in the adjoining places; so that such vendors may have moderate gains, not excessive, according as the distance of the places from which such victuals are carried may seem reasonably to require; and if any one sell such victuals in another manner, and be convicted of it in the aforesaid way, he shall pay the double of that which he received to the party injured, or in default of him, to another who shall be willing to prosecute in this behalf; and the mayor and bailiffs of the cities and boroughs, merchant towns and others, and of the maritime ports and places shall have power to enquire concerning each and every one who shall in any way err against this, and to levy the aforesaid penalty for the benefit of those at whose suit such delinquents shall have been convicted; and in any case that the same mayor and bailiffs shall neglect to carry out the aforesaid, and shall be convicted of this before justices to be assigned by us, then the same mayor and bailiffs shall be compelled through the same justices, to pay to such wronged person or to another prosecuting in his place, the treble of the thing thus sold, and nevertheless, on our part too, they shall be grievously punished.

In Belgium, prices are also fixed, and, furthermore, foodstuffs come into that country free of duty. Recently, I had occasion to meet the Hon. Philippe Roy, Canadian Agent at Paris, who assured me that foodstuffs in Brussels were selling 30 per cent lower than in Paris, on account of their free entry. Besides, as I said before, prices are fixed and every infraction is punishable by jail and fine, not an alternative punishment, but both, and the goods are seized, confiscated and sold by the State.

Let us see what has been done in the country to the south of us. The real campaign started on the 28th of July last. On August 9, the President of the United States

delivered his message to Congress, and in that country—with which it was a crime in 1911 to have any truck or trade, but from which this administration, after being safely seated in the Government benches, has borrowed many ideas and suggestions—the campaign, effective, in earnest, without any sympathy or any back-door escape for friends, started at full speed, and is rapidly bringing to their knees the gamblers in human distress. First on the 9th of August, stringent legislation was passed, and an appropriation of $1,500,000 was voted to enforce the anti-profiteering law.

Orders were flashed from the Capitol at Washington to hundreds of special detectives of the Department of Justice all over the United States, instructing them to co-operate with Federal district attorneys in the profiteer hunt. Instructions were given to open warehouses and to put stored food on the markets in order to force down prices. Then the ball started. The five big packing companies were indicted by the Grand Jury, namely, Armour, Swift, Morris, Wilson, Cudahy. On August 14, $55,000 worth of butter was seized in Chicago. At Toledo eight houses were seized and a retailer was fined $500 for having sold a pound of sugar for thirteen cents when the price had been fixed at eleven cents. Instructions were given to prosecute nineteen large companies. On the 15th, 2,400,000 pounds of meat were seized in cold storages and prosecutions were commenced against thirty companies; 13,000,000 dozens of eggs were seized in St. Louis. The Sugar Equalization Board was formed by which all the sugar either produced in the country or imported, was bought by the Government and sold to the refiner. On the 16th, Commissioner Drennan, of New York, assigned 375 men to inspect warehouses and several other arrests were made. In Detroit on the same day, 442,762 dozens of eggs were seized. On August 20, proceedings were instituted against all the big cement companies. These companies were: Atlas Portland Cement Co., Allentown Portland Cement Co., Alpha Portland Cement Co., Bath Portland Cement Co., Coplay Cement Manufacturing Co., Dexter Portland Cement Co.. The Edison Portland Cement Co., Giant Portland Cement Co., Glens Falls Portland Cement Co., Hercules Cement Corp., Knickerbocker Portland Cement Co., Lawrence Cement Co., Lehigh Portland Cement Co., Nazareth Portland Cement Co., Penn-Allen Cement Co., Pennsylvania Cement Co., Phœnix Portland Cement Co., Security Cement and Lime Co., and Vulcanite Portland Cement Co. I could go on and cite many more drastic and effective measures that were taken, and if I were asked what the results were I would read from the Montreal Star of August 12, the following:

American wholesale food dealers making heavy cuts in prices.

Wholesale food dealers have begun to make big reductions in prices of vegetables, dressed meats and fruits, Government reports showed to-day.

With the campaign to reduce the high cost of living in full swing, comparison of quotations of July 28 with those of August 11 showed a marked decline, which set in after the attack on unjustified prices began.

Potatoes have been cut from 50 cents to $3.40 a barrel since July 28, according to quotations collected by the Bureau of Markets.

Slashes in the price of dressed meats range up to five cents a pound for pork loins.

The cutting also has been extended to beef, the figures show.

Big drops are noticeable in quotations for Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. A few price increases are shown for some grades of meat. The figures indicate the downward trend is general and that increases are exceptional.

Let us see, now, what the Canadian Government has done. Although receiving reports from the High Cost of Living Commissioner, and aware of the enormous profits that were being made, the members of the Cabinet who perchance were in Canada last year went strenuously to work and did nothing until the last days of the session when, realizing, after the strike at Winnipeg, that the high cost of living was the primary cause of the unrest in this country, they named a Parliamentary Committee which after many sittings, in which profits as high as three hundred per cent were disclosed, presented a minority report, accepted by the supporters of the Government, stating that there were no profiteers in Canada, but advising the people to eat less and be more economical. Pressed by public opinion, however, and a threatening cloud of unrest, two days before the end of the session the Government introduced a Bill creating a Board of Commerce. I may be excused if I use an expression which I have used before, and describe this Bill as mere camouflage, because sections 41 and 47 take all the sting from the other sections which look formidable enough in the rest of the Bill, and for which reason we protested against the Bill in committee. These two sections, 41 and 47, practically nullify the effect of the Bill. Section 41 reads:

The Governor in Council may in his discretion, either upon petition of any person interested, lodged within one month after the

making of the order, decision, rule or regulation, or within such further time as the Board under special circumstances may allow, or of his own motion, at any time, and without any petition or application, vary or rescind any order, decision, rule or regulation of the Board, whether such order or decision is made inter partes or otherwise, and whether such regulation is general or limited in its scope and application; and any order which the Governor in Council may make with respect thereto shall be binding upon the Board and upon all parties.

It seems to me that if the Board should take stringent action against the friends of the Government, the Government might be very apt to step in and stop the proceedings; and the profiteers, who are aware of the protection afforded them by this section, are going on merrily raising their prices. Section 47 reads:

1. The costs of and incidental to any proceeding before the Board, except as herein otherwise provided, shall be in the discretion of the Board, and may be fixed in any case at a certain sum, or may be taxed.
2. The Board may order by whom and to whom any costs are to be paid, and by whom the same are to be taxed and allowed.
3. The Board may prescribe a scale under which such costs shall be taxed.

This means that the complainant must take his chances of being condemned to pay the costs. The costs may be high; it may run up into hundreds of dollars. Can you imagine a poor consumer, who is robbed of five cents on a pound of butter by his grocer, laying a complaint and taking his chance of being condemned to $300 or $400 in costs? He will naturally lose his five cents, and be perforce a victim without any redress. As we may say in French: "Il prendra son mal en patience." Instead of naming the Board of Commerce commissioners immediately and gettting down to business the Government waited until the end of August, when they named two commissioners out of three. One of these commissioners is Mr. Justice Robson, who I am aware possesses all the necessary qualifications for the position. The second is Mr. W. F. O'Connor who, you will remember, Mr. Speaker, was formerly High Cost of Living Commissioner. His appointment reminds me of the story of a young detective in Chicago who entered the force imbued with an earnest desire to fulfil his duties and who being assigned to a district where gambling was prevalent, immediately laid a complaint against the gamblers but lost his job. because the head of the department was in league with the violators of the law. Later on the detective was re-engaged and, after awhile, put on the same beat. He noticed the same state of affairs, but he made no report because he had learned his lesson before. Now, Sir, far be it from me to cast any reflection upon Mr. O'Connor, but I would feel safer, the consumers of this country would feel safer and the whole institution of the Board of Commerce would appear more like an anxious endeavour to bring the profiteers to the ground and make them disgorge if one of the commissioners had not had the experience of losing his job before because he had made an honest report regarding the highway robbery of some of these profiteers. He has been appointed to an analogous position after he has received a good sound flogging for having acted honestly.

What about the third commissioner? Oh, there are some very interesting and amusing facts to put before you, Mr. Speaker, regarding the nomination of the third commissioner. You are aware that the third position is not filled yet and that an officer of the Government, Mr. Acland, is acting temporarily. What is the reason of the delay in nominating this third commissioner? Is it possible that no man in the district of Montreal—because it is understood that he will come from the district of Montreal—has the ability to fill the position or is it possible that no friend of the Government is willing to accept it? No, Mr. Speaker, the reasons for the delay are of a much nobler character than the mere trouble of finding the best qualified man. There is a political boss in Montreal who opened a sort of Government employment commercial agency and who has rented a luxurious suite of offices in a most luxurious building. He had a candidate for the office of third commissioner—a very respectable and well qualified gentleman, I may say. The agent I spoke of brought his candidate to Ottawa, and, being expert in securing patronage, he was so successful in his disinterested effort that both gentlemen came back to Montreal with flying colours after having won the day, so much so that the candidate had his picture in the Montreal papers labelled "Mr. So-and-So, the probable choice of the Government." That was his downfall, Mr. Speaker. It happened that the probable choice of the Government is supposed, rightly or wrongly, to have Liberal tendencies. Enough said. Torrents of protest began to flow to Ottawa. Then insidious attacks upon the boss appeared in the papers and, permit me to read a delightful piece of anti-patronage literature which appeared in a French Conservative paper in Montreal—the same paper which had the honour of being mentioned lately in this House by

the hon. member for Temiscouata (Mr. Gauvreau). I read from La Minerve, not of sixty years ago, but of the 6th September, 1919:

"Le représentant de la province de Québec dans cette commission n'est pas encore nommé."

M. A. R. McMaster (Brome): Traduisez.

Mr Archambault: I will translate the article later on in order to show to the House that I am a product of the illiterate separate schools of the Province of Quebec.

"Le représentant de la province de Québec dans cette commission n'est pas encore nommé, bien que le tribunal siège depuis huit jours. C'est une autre étrange anomalie. Pourquoi ne pas avoir nommé ce représentant en même temps que les autres? On dit que M. Borden est encore bien ennuyé à ce sujet. Il y aurait beaucoup de rivaux. C'est une haute fonction que d'être membre d'un pareil tribunal. Chacun des membres reçoit $8,000 de salaire, et le président $10,000.

La difficulté chez nous, c'est toujours le manque d'entente. M. J. A. Beaudry, un libéral fieffé, qui a combattu, avec violence, le gouvernement unioniste, voulait avoir la position, et son organisation a eu l'habileté de payer...."

Et ceci est entre guillemets:

". . . . . un petit "boss" pour essayer de faire accréditer son candidat auprèès de sir George et M. Blondin. Mais les conservateurs unionistes ne l'entendirent pas de cette façon, et ils ont proposé en opposition M. J. O. Dupuis, ancien marchand, un homme d'affaires de longue expérience, un brave homme. D'autres conservateurs ont proposé M. J. A. Lamarre, un jeune homme intelligent, un bon conservateur, un financier qui a donné des preuves de compétence. Il y a aussi le colonel Laflèche et un chef ouvrier, M. Martel. On dit que M. Lamarre a l'appui de chefs ouvriers et du président de l'Union des cultivateurs de notre province.

Que va faire le gouvernement? Que va faire sir George Foster? M. Beaudry va-t-il être préféré à tuot autre? On dit qu'il est le choix de nombreuses associations de commerce du Canada. On connait comment ces approbations s'obtiennent, M. Beaudry étant secrétaire d'une association commerciale. Il s'agit, non pas tant de répondre aux désirs du commerce, qu'au besoin du public consommateur. Il faut des hommes de jugement et justes. En se hâtant pour faire la nomination, le gouvernement aurait-il évité bien des commentaires et une autre anomalie regrettable? Mais il faut dire aussi que certains conservateurs de notre province qui, pour des considérations bien petites, ont appuyé M. Beaudry, sont une des principales causes de ce conflit.

Now I translate:

The representative of the Province of Quebec on this commission has not yet been appointed, although the tribunal has been sitting for eight days. It is another strange anomaly. Why has not this representative been appointed at the same time as the others? It is said that Mr. Borden is much annoyed at this. There are many rivals, it is said. To be a member of such a tribunal is to occupy a very important position. Each of the members receives a salary of $8,000 and the President get $10,000.

The difficulty always is that we cannot agree between ourselves. Mr. J. A. Beaudry, a Liberal to the core, who fought with violence against the Unionist Government, wanted to be appointed and his organization was clever enough to pay a little "boss" to try and have its candidate to get into favour with Sir George and Mr. Blondin. But the Conservative Unionists did not want that and they suggested as an opponent Mr. J. O. Dupuis, a former merchant, a business man with long experience, a financier who has given proofs of his ability. There also is Colonel Laflèche and a labour leader Mr. Martel. It is said that Mr. Lamarre is supported by the labour leaders and the President of the Farmers' Association of this province.

What will the Government do? What will Sir George Foster do? Will Mr. Beaudry be chosen in preference to all the others? It is said that he is the choice of many commercial associations of Canada. We know how such approvals are obtained, Mr. Beaudry being the Secretary of one commercial association. The question is not so much to grant the desires of the commercial world as to relieve the consuming public. We need men of good judgment and just men. In expediting this appointment, the Government would have avoided many comments and another regrettable anomaly? But, we must also add that those conservatives of our province who, for very petty considerations, have favoured Mr. Beaudry's appointment are among the principal causes of this conflict."

The battle is going on merrily, and while these petty politics are indulged in and great interest is taken in the race, the Board of Commerce is not yet fully constituted, the profiteer behind the scenes enjoys the combat to the full, and we read in newspapers incidents, like the one I read a few days ago, where an unfortunate woman shot herself because she could not buy the necessaries of life for her family. Sir, Nero fiddled while Rome was burning.

These are the remarks I had intended to make with regard to the present situation. Now that we are assembled here, I make this appeal, Mr. Speaker, to every member of the House whether he sits to your right or to your left. Let us tackle the problem with courage and sincerity. Let the Government introduce legislation that will stop the ascending cost of living. Let us enact a measure to encourage production. Let us take off the duties on foodstuffs and on the necessaries of life. Let us nationalize the cold storages of the country. Let us fix the prices of food. Let us limit and stop for a while the exportations of foodstuffs. Let us establish street markets. Above all things, let us tackle the profiteer and run him to earth. He is the worst criminal that can be found. He is a murderer—a clever and a keen murderer—who slowly but surely gets his victim. His heart is a stone and the voice of his conscience is dead long ago. He knows that the more famished the people the more money he will make because he will sell

his products dearer. I read lately in a Montreal newspaper that the profiteer is ten times, nay a hundred times, more guilty than the common bandit who waits in a dark corner to kill and rob his victim; the bandit kills one man but the profiteer takes, or endeavours to take, the life of the whole population by starving them. He takes the life of the hard worked labourer who, as things are, cannot recuperate his strength, after his day's work. He takes the life of the labouring man's wife and family for whom the husband cannot procure nourishing food. The profiteer is also the worst of parasites. He has cultivated nothing, he has sown nothing—he has not taken care of the herds—but he lives and thrives on the work of the toiler. He comes between the consumer and the producer. He buys everything before it is ripe; indeed he is the worst of criminals because he allows food to rot in order to obtain a higher price and he is diverting these products from the purpose for which God created them. The profiteer is the primary cause of unrest in this country. What the Government should aim at is the common good and the comfort and the happiness of all the people in this country. Society is a contract entered into by all the people under which they consent to abandon part of their privileges and part of their rights for the benefit of all and those who fail to realize the truthfulness and put into action the principles of this definition are blind to the approach of a conflict which will completely put in the shade all the horrors of the last war.

Mr. MICHAEL STEELE (Perth South): Mr. Speaker, for a very few minutes I shall endeavour to draw the attention of the House to some of the statements that have just been given utterance to by the previous speaker. With one statement he made I am in hearty agreement—that the problem of the high cost of living must be tackled with courage and sincerity. I regret, however, to have to criticise the address of the hon. gentleman in that his suggestions for the solution of the problem with which he dealt, display, to my mind, neither courage nor sincerity.

The hon. member (Mr. Archambault) suggests as a remedy for the high cost of living the taking of the duties off foodstuffs, and I have no doubt that he was speaking for the Opposition in making that suggestion, because we know that on one or two occasions during the past three or four years they have half-heartedly put forward that policy. But in addition to and coincident with that suggestion he proposes what is also another remarkable remedy, the stopping of the exportation of foodstuffs.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Will my hon. friend allow me a remark? I said the limiting of the exportation of foodstuffs; not the stopping.

Mr. STEELE: The limiting of the exportation of foodstuffs of course is a very general term. I presume the hon. gentleman would mean by that limiting their exportation to the extent of providing first for the needs of the people of Canada.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Hear, hear.

Mr. STEELE: I am not aware that in any part of Canada the people are suffering from a lack of foodstuffs. I would like to know from the hon. gentleman what he would propose to do with the 150,000,000 or 200,000,000 bushels of wheat which we produce over and above what is needed for our own consumption. Is his proposition that the export of our wheat, our beef, our pork and our dairy products must be limited, so that we may reduce the cost of these articles here?

What is the first necessity, Mr. Speaker, in reducing the high cost of living? What is the situation to-day? All over the world the granaries are empty and the food shelves are bare, due to the five years conflict, during which time the energies of 50,000,000 men were diverted from productive into destructive effort. The condition does not exist in Canada to nearly as great an extent as it does in Europe, but even in Canada we find a scarcity of the necessaries of life. During the five war years the army needed heavy woollen clothing and blankets, and the woollen supply of the world was utilized to provide those articles; the cotton of the world was used in manufacturing explosives instead of being turned into clothing for the people; linen was used for aeroplanes to such an extent that there was scarcely any available for any other purpose; leather was used for artillery, cavalry and transport harness and army boots, and as a result there is not a sufficient supply for domestic purposes at the prices that formerly obtained. Every article that is needed for the housing, clothing and feeding of our people has increased in cost because of the extra demand for the purposes which I have enumerated.

Now, the hon. gentleman apparently would suggest, notwithstanding that 100,000,000 people are starving in Europe, that Canada should limit the exportation of her foodstuffs. In fact, if I am not mistaken,

my hon. friend did suggest, during the war, that Canada should refrain from assisting in the fight for freedom, and now he comes forward with this suggestion to refrain from helping the starving people overseas.

It is not remarkable that a condition of unrest should exist at this time. After every great war in the world's history a similar condition has existed, and it will be found that the statements made regarding the social condition of the people after the Napoleonic wars would fit in exactly in describing the condition that prevails in the world to-day. That will always be so after war, especially a war of such a world-wide character as the conflict which terminated last year. I think very little of the prevailing unrest is due to the high cost of living. It may be one of the superficial causes, but we find people complaining because they have to pay sixty cents a dozen for eggs, and the same people will walk into our first class hotels and pay thirty cents for two eggs without the slightest complaint. The fact is that to meet the high cost of living to-day our people have more money than they ever had at any previous time in the country's history. If they did not have such an abundance of money the high cost of living would come down very rapidly; and in my opinion it will not come down until we are producing more and are economizing more on our expenditures. The statement that I heard made in this House, and which was quoted to-day, that we must produce and save, to my mind describes with absolute accuracy what is necessary for reducing the high cost of living.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Archambault) also made some reference to the Board of Commerce. His statements are rather amazing when we reflect that last session the appointment of this board was bitterly opposed by the Opposition, including, I have no doubt, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Archambault). But it was no sooner decided to establish this board than the cry went up: Why is the Government delaying, why doesn't it get the board at work? And this session we have heard a good many complaints, not that the board is appointed, but that the board was not appointed sooner—taking an absolutely contrary position to that taken by the Opposition last session.

The hon. gentleman made some reference to a subject which I do not know that I should reply to, and yet I wish to do so briefly. He spoke of the charges made by the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Murphy) against the President of the Privy Council. I believe I am stating what is absolutely the fact when I say that the reply which the President of the Privy Council made to those charges—he could not reply at the time because he was not in the House—satisfied the people of Ontario, where both men are known, that the President of the Privy Council was absolutely innocent of the charges, and satisfied as well the man who instigated the charges and who was sitting in the gallery listening to the hon. member for Russell. The people of Ontario are satisfied that the President of the Privy Council was right and that the hon. member for Russell was wrong.

We have at this time agitators abroad, just as we have had after former great wars. We have the agitator in the House of Commons. We have him in the country; we have him in all communities; we have him in all spheres of life. The last place where we should have the agitator, the man who is trying to stir up strife in this time of stress in Canada, is in this Parliament. We have heard on the floor of this House too many statements that are not accurate; there have been too many attempts to stir up the feelings of the people to indignation and to opposition to everything that the Government is doing. In speaking of the Government here I speak not of the Union Government in particular, but of the present Government of Canada. What is needed to-day is not the voice of the agitator, but the efforts of the labourer—and in the term "labourer" I include not only the manual labourer, but the brain labourer. Canada needs industry to-day; Canada needs labour. We cannot increase our production until every man gets busy and produces. Instead of the voice of the agitator, we should have temperate speech, sane thinking and restrained action. That is what the people of Canada are looking for; that is what they need. If the public men of this country, if the reading and thinking people of Canada one and all make an effort to alleviate this agitation, this unrest—which, after all, is largely mental—if they will endeavour to alleviate this condition instead of stirring it up, the people of Canada will be vastly benefited.

Reference to demagogues was made yesterday by the member for Fort William (Mr. Manion). Self-seeking demagogues and irresponsible newspapers are responsible for the condition that exists to-day. They are stirring up the worker against the employer, the country against the town, the farmer against the manufacturer and merchant, the consumer against the pro-

ducer; in fact, they are stirring up everybody against everybody else. Capital is represented by them as being against the people, as robbing and plundering the people. Every manufacturer and merchant is represented as a conscienceless profiteer. All these representations are inaccurate. There are profiteers in this country, and they deserve no sympathy; there always have been and there always will be profiteers as long as human nature is what it is. But it has been a mighty good thing for Canada that during the four years of war, industry and agriculture have been in such a condition that people have been enabled to make reasonable profits. Had it not been so, I do not know what the condition of Canada would be to-day.

Let us face with courage and sincerity the problems which confront Canada to-day—not only the problem of the high cost of living, but every other problem which needs solution. Let us realize that the old conditions can never return to this country; that we must follow new paths, blaze new trails. We are living under new conditions, and the people of Canada—or, indeed, of any other country—must have courage to face the radical conditions which will prevail when the war and the effects of war are entirely over.

Mr. J. E. PREVOST (Terrebonne) (translation): This special session which has brought us together will go down to history under the name of a Peace Session.

We are assembled here mainly to consider and approve the terms of the Peace Treaty signed at Versailles.

Mr. Speaker, nowadays everybody is crying out and shouting for peace, but, truth telling, we are far from enjoying the blessings of peace.

Ages ago peace was promised to men of good-will. As peace does not reign in the Government we are bound to come to the conclusion that men of good-will are the few in the Cabinet. The Unionist Government is rent by intestine wars, as to which I may say a word later on.

The Unionist party, that incoherent and ephemeral amalgam, is vainly struggling against the morbid elements which must ultimately bring about its downfall.

Whenever, in the midst of their clashing interests, their jarring elements, their discords, these gentlemen come and talk to us about peace we have a presentiment—I was going to say that we already have a vision of the approaching end of the party, and that pretty soon we shall say: "Let it rest in peace."

The war is over—so they proclaim. It is true that war is at end between the Allies and Germany, but it is still raging in the ranks of the Unionists, whose ministers hasten to leave the ship, while the several groups into which they are divided are looking askance at each other.

Instead of launching out into long speeches about world peace, let the hon. gentlemen first make peace in their own household and thereby have it reign in the country.

Those politicians, those would-be statesmen, arrogate to themselves the ridiculous role of contributing to international peace adjustments, unable as they are to give peace to their own country.

A general state of unrest and agitation is now prevalent in Canada. One has but to open his eyes to see what is going on in all social classes and agitating the minds of a dissatisfied and restless proletariat. Unless one is unwilling to listen and pay attention to what is transpiring in the country it is easy to hear the clamour of the strikes rising on every side, the complaints of the masses protesting against the persecution of the conscripts and the actual reign of terror in our rural districts.

Does it not ill become the Government to come and talk of foreign policy at a time when in the very midst of our country such a great unrest is prevailing, brought on by the high cost of living, as to which the Government has remained indifferent?

For many years we have insisted upon the Government controlling cold storage, prosecuting profiteers, fixing prices, limiting exports. They have turned a deaf ear to our demands and prices have kept soaring.

A few months ago the hon Minister of Labour, in a letter sent to the city council of Montreal, made this strange statement: "That the high cost of living in Canada was owing to the shortage of farm products."

How could he make such a statement, considering we have it from official statistics that during the twelve previous months Canada had exported agricultural products valued at $180,000,000? It is quite evident that the Government was unwilling to open its eyes and its ears. The United States, so to speak, had to take them by the hand and show them the way, and it is only from that moment that we hear of the organization of a board of trade that is to give us the reforms which we have been asking for years.

Up to that date the Government had accomplished nothing, notwithstanding the issuing of commission after commission, the

holding of numerous investigations and the publication of countless reports. The Government have not done a single efficient move and when they appointed a commission to inquire into the high cost of living, they were simply burying the question with all due honours.

The Government are extolling the ministers who have worked in the interest of universal peace, but they have not been able to prevent labour troubles and uprisings amongst the returned soldiers, to whom they promised the moon; they have not been able to prevent the uprisings of the farmers; they could not even pacify the families disquited by raids of the Federal police. So Mr. John Bruce had every reason to say yesterday, at the National Industrial Conference, that "it is no use for the Government to try to settle the troubles in Europe, if they cannot solve the problems that confront us in Canada."

The wrongs we are complaining of in this country are not irretrievable. A wiser and more alert Administration than the one we have at present, could greatly improve the situation. A much more difficult task will be to find a remedy to the political acts of the Government that pledged the future, that modify the constitutional status of the country, and bind future generations. Allow me, Sir, to dwell a few moments on this phase of the question. In the first place, our ministers, are ingenious enough to believe that war is a thing of the past, because they have signed a Treaty of Peace.

Let us take a broader view of the situation; let us put aside, for one moment, the petty doings of the narrow-minded statesmen of the Union Government. The Peace Treaty of Versailles deals with peace, but does not secure it. It is a self-delusion—a delusion that will soon fade away—to believe in a permanent peace.

So long as the people of most countries will continue to be guided by the same ideals—and these ideals are not likely to change, before a very long time, if they ever do change—the countries of Europe will have to be satisfied with more or less ephemeral periods of peace.

And, beware, the wars of the future will be much more ruinous and bloody than the wars of the past.

It has been said of the Peace Treaty, that, owing to its hardness, it will soon become obsolete and will not attain the purpose it had in view. I do not agree with that statement. The Treaty is stern, but not over harsh.

1. Because the Central Powers—Germany and Austria-Hungary—are responsible for the war that has shed such disasters and ruins.

2. Because that treaty is far more lenient than the terms that would have been exacted by a victorious Germany.

If there could be any doubts about it, they would be dispelled by the following statement from Count Bernstoff, German Ambassador in the United States:

> He was proceeding from the principle that France must be crushed, and reduced to the rank of Portugal, even if five million Frenchmen had to be killed. Going into the details, he undertook the dismemberment of that country in tearing away fifteen million inhabitants outside of a line from Saint-Valery to Lyons; that territory was to be given to Belgium which would become, of course, an appendage of Germany. An indemnity of ten billions was to be exacted from France; her fortifications were to be dismantled and her armament ceded to Germany. France would have to terminate her alliance with England and Russia and make a new alliance of twenty-five years with Germany. Finally, William II was to buy Russia and crush England.

In a confidential memorandum to the Imperial Chancellor of Germany, on the peace terms, signed by all the large industrial and agricultural associations, the disiderato of the German people are clearly set forth:

> Belgium must be economically subjected to Germany. The coasts portion of France, next to Belgium, as far as the Somme River, must be included in the German Empire. Germany will take possession of all the fortifications on the east boundary, particularly Verdun and Belfort. The coal districts of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais shall belong to Germany. The proprietors in the said districts shall be ejected and the land shall be occupied by German subjects. As regards Russia, we shall take whole of Poland and of the Baltic provinces.

One may easily gather from the above how Germany intended treating her enemies, had she won the war.

In the third place, the Treaty of Versailles is not too severe, because, had it been less rigorous, it would not have proved a sure guarantee against future wars; and it would not have annihilated the factors which will ever make Germany redoubtable.

The character of a nation cannot be destroyed by a peace treaty.

Borrowing from a well known psychologist, Dr. Gustave LeBon, the following considerations which I make mine, I may say that:

> A superficial inquiry into the causes of the European War, which sees in the armies and the instruments called into play scientific and clever combinations, might have led one to be-

lieve that it was governed by an infallible rational logic.

But a more careful introspection, a more searching analysis would have revealed that superior forces directed the thoughts, the feelings and actions of the combatants.

The real leaders of those armies were psychological forces.

Immaterial forces are the actual leading and guiding influences in battles.

So that a peace treaty, even though it rested on good grounds, cannot help it.

Rational logic reigns exclusively in the laboratory of the scientist, but it exerts but a slight influence over the conduct of individuals and nations. It is mostly by effective, mystical and collective elements that their existence is conditioned.

Were it not that we are cognizant of the real springs and motive powers, the life of nations would prove a baffling enigma. Their thoughts and actions but seldom take their bearings from reason.

It is exactly by affective and intellectual forces that the character of a nation is shaped and moulded.

Character is the great force by whose impulses we are guided through life. The intellect shapes all our thoughts and conceptions; character guides to right action. The intellect is the power of operative thought; character prompts us to action.

Therefore, character is of the utmost import in the existence of individuals and nations.

Affective influences figure conspicuously among the factors in history. While imparting their strength to ideal concepts, they bring us on to view things in variable ways, according to our sensibility.

So that a treaty of peace, even though it were grounded, as I said, on reason, is powerless against the effective and collective forces which sway nations.

The mentality of men collectively manifests itself as quite dissimilar to their mental activity, in an isolated state. A multitude of men differs as much from the individuals who compose it as a living being differs from the cells which help to form it.

The collective soul is but slightly actuated by reason. As the feelings of human masses are at once intense and mobile, they rapidly pass from adoration to hatred.

Collective opinion represents a considerable force, but it is seldom spontaneous.

A multitude, in fact, is an amorphous being, unable to exert itself without a leader.

A multitude is swayed and influenced to action by a leader through persuasive methods pertaining to affective logic, such as affirmation, repetition, prestige or moral influence and contagion stirring up emotions in the masses.

Leaders are always needed in order to create or orient opinion, even in the case of national conflicts.

But the actual starting point of opinions is a leader or an epochal event, as a substitute for the former.

So, in spite of any treaty we may sign, Mr. Speaker, we are at the mercy of an agitator or an event.

[Mr. Prévost.]

One of the forces of the German Government in the last conflict was to have shown itself able to orient, long beforehand, in its own way, the opinion, of the nation. Journalists, professors, writers compliantly did the bidding of the government and yielded implicit obedience to it. It was thus enabled to transform a European conflict into a national war. It was neither a sovereign nor a military caste which were battling, but the whole German nation.

What can a treaty do, even though it were grounded on reason, against the mystical forces which sway public opinion in a nation?

Mysticism and reason belong to two spheres which do not interpenetrate each other.

Mystical convictions are born of suggestion or mental contagion, but never through reasoning. No more can reason generate them than it can destroy them.

Mystical impulsions take no account of material needs nor of rational arguments.

Through mental contagion, mysticism easily becomes collective and then exerts a potent impulsion on believers. It ever proved beneficial to nations, such as the Jews of old, the Arabs in the Middle-Ages, the Germans of to-day, to believe themselves predestined by God to regenerate mankind.

Among the various prime movers and springs of conduct in human actions those of mystical origin have ever proved the most potent. Of them are born those illusions, which are history makers. Under their influence empires were destroyed and others built up. It is on the very same motives that civilizations are still resting.

The modern world believes that it is no longer under the sway of mystical forces. Yet never was mankind more enthralled by them and brought under their overmastering influence than it is to-day. Whether political, religious or social, those forces belong to the same family, exert an identical action and obey the same laws. They are not governed nor controlled by reason.

If I were asked why a bloody war was let loose on the world, why so many youths fell and yielded up their lives in those battles which have turned the world into a slaughter-house, why so many families have sunk into despair, the reason is that a nation which believed it was called upon to regenerate the world, strove to impose on nations its mystical chimera of world domination.

Therefore I am right in stating that a peace treaty, be it even that of Versailles, along with the Covenant of the League of Nations, cannot ensure a permanent peace. The causes of military conflicts will always exist throughout the world.

Whether we base the new conditions on the old dogma of the balance of power or on the principle of nationalities, we may be able to delay future outbreaks, but they shall never be suppressed.

That peace, even after the Treaty of Versailles, is really a "generous illusion" is evidenced by the fact that in order to prevent retaliatory attempts on the part of 70 millions of people a formidable standing army has to be indefinitely maintained, which, however, will not prevent such attempts or other conflicts which may spring up everywhere.

Such is the explanation of Clause X of the Treaty which embroils even Canada in future wars.

We are required to sign a momentous document in which it is explicitly stated that:

> The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

They want to belittle the importance of that obligation by quoting other clauses of the Covenant in which it is provided that the differences between the members of the League shall be submitted to arbitration or to the Council of the League. But should a nation outside the League declare war, the arbitration machinery stops; should even a single member of the League ignore the Covenant and wage war without arbitration, such as it is provided in Clause 16, what will happen? The clause says that in such case, it shall be the duty of the Council "to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League." We are well caught in the gear. Everybody is aware that the issue is a most serious one and everybody admits that it is useless for us to approve or disapprove the Treaty. However it is our duty to ask of those who bound Canada in the Treaty of Versailles on what authority they did so.

The Prime Minister and his colleagues, who in 1911 were such obstinate advocates of a referendum and who were opposing with all their strength the least little change in our national status without consulting the people, were the same men who, without consulting not only the people but even Parliament, sent delegates to a congress where they bound this country to all future wars.

Of course we want peace. In order to secure it we have increased our national debt by more than a billion, we have overburdened our budget for half a century to come with such heavy liabilities as will necessitate heavy taxation, and then 60,000 of our fellow citizens gave their life for that same purpose. But we will not have peace at the cost of our liberty and autonomy.

Therefore it may be properly stated again, as it was stated before in this House, that "we do not accept any restriction of the present autonomous authority of our Dominion and that the question of determining what part Canada may take in any war, must be always settled by the people of Canada through their representatives in Parliament."

I think that such a correction is necessary, for I see in Clause X a clever and cunning move on the part of military imperialism, which is the most dreadful form of all.

The imperialists unanimously exclaim: "Canada is a nation. Laurier said so, and we treat you as a nation." But, beware! When Laurier said that Canada was a nation he was looking for our wider autonomy as well as for the greatest prosperity and highest reputation for our country, which were assured by his policy, whereas the imperialists, now as ever before, disguised under several names, will impose on us solely the obligations and responsibilities of a nation. When we demand our autonomy and liberty, they hurl at us the word "colonials."

The title of nation which is conferred upon Canada at a time when our country is driven into the whirlpool of future wars is but a fallacious one. Canada is verily that "unfortunate guest," mourned by the poet, and it will act wisely in exercising fear and caution while sitting at the banquet of nations.

Let us make clear the meaning of the expression: Canada is a nation. During the fifteen years of the Laurier Administration, Canada progressed in accordance with the natural law governing the evolution of nations, while the general tenor of its constitution remained unchanged.

In other words, the country has kept abreast of the times. During that memorable period; the conditions in trade, commerce, agriculture, means of transportation have kept evolving; the needs and aspirations of each class in particular and of all classes in general, have been modified, but the armature of the Canadian constitution has not varied.

Our legislation in every sphere, social, fiscal and administrative has followed a rapid drift towards progress and has trans-

formed itself so as the better to harmonise with Canadian aspirations, but in the constitutional order, our legislation has remained immutable in its underlying principles.

Our autonomy has, no doubt, expanded along with the development of the country, and that is what we meant when saying that Canada was a nation. Our autonomy may be likened to an armour worn by a man whose proportions are changing. Every now and then, such and such a piece has to be replaced, which might inflict a wound.

At each stage of our evolution towards progress, Canada has widened the field of her authority in the domain of her activities. Need I here trace those different stages?

Let me recall, at the very outset, that the old colonial policy has given place to responsible Government, won by our forefathers.

Then, commercial rights which we were denied by the Imperial authorities were conceded to us. Of yore Canada had no right to impose customs duties, which were raised by an Imperial officer. That privilege we are now enjoying. Later on, the Crown ceased to appoint our judges.

Formerly, Great Britain framed our tariffs, and we had no right to control our own tariffs; she had control over our postal system; she superintended our public works; she provided for the defence of Canada with her own regular troops. That narrow colonial policy has disappeared and given place to a larger measure of self-government.

Formerly, a British officer had the command of our militia. He has been superseded by a Canadian officer.

It is through those various stages that Canada attained the status of nationhood.

For over a century Canada has progressed towards more complete self-government and therefore it is on good grounds that we say that Canada has grown into nationhood.

So far as trade is concerned, we have taxed even British manufactures, and it was a Conservative Prime Minister who, when reminded that Great Britain might resent our tariff legislation, replied: "So much the worse for the British connexion!"

As to the treatyémaking power years ago, our position was quite dissimilar to what it is now. Sixty years ago Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster drafted together a treaty to settle the boundary line of certain territories of supreme importance to Canada. Canada had no representative in the negotiation of that treaty. Had there been one, a quite different award might have resulted from it.

When the negotiations took place which resulted in the Treaty of Washington, there was a Canadian plenipotentiary in the person of Sir John A. Macdonald. It was a marked progress.

In the case of the Alaska Boundary Commission, there were three British commissioners appointed by the British Government, and two of them were Canadians.

Our evolution toward self-government has thus unfolded apace, as witnessed by the Franco-Canadian treaty and others, and in such a marked degree that it may safely be stated that whenever a trade treaty is being negotiated in which Canada is concerned, our Canadian plenipotentiaries themselves frame and negotiate the treaty with the foreign country.

Under the Laurier Government, Canada has more and more progressed in that direction toward complete self-government and the control of its own affairs, and in such a marked degree that Great Britain may negotiate treaties which are in nowise binding on Canada, should she so decide, and treaties may be negotiated which may in some respects prove beneficial to Canada, without any being enforced in other parts of the Empire.

It was with good reason that we said that, through such an evolution Canada was rising to the dignity of full nationhood. And when the Laurier Government undertook to organize our naval defence, through the establishment of a local navy, that new departure meant a further development of our national life and of self-government in our domestic affairs within the Empire. It meant control over our expenditures, the manning of our own ships, work and employment given to our own artisans and mechanics, the opening of new avenues of employment to the activities and ambitions of young Canadians.

That was a far better policy than the emergent contribution of $65,000,000 to be paid to the British Government, as proposed by the Borden Government, thus bringing us down to the level of vassals and subjects to be taxed and burdened at will. All those evolutions are grounded on the fundamental principle of responsible Government, that is, autonomy for Canada.

Meanwhile Canada was rising to the status of nationhood. And it so happened that it was under the Laurier regime that our autonomy attained its full efflorescence.

This great statesman bent all his efforts towards the uplifting of Canada to the

status of nationhood and in the material and political spheres, he stood a doughty champion of our constitution. None more than Laurier combatted that perfidious Imperialism which styles us a nation, the better to seduce us and then swallow us up in the British collectivity or world dominion.

As some one fitly remarked here, in connection with those Imperialists who offer us the title of a nation, in return for some obligations involved in the Treaty of Peace: "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes." (I fear the Greeks even bringing gifts.)

Let me remark that I am always afraid of the tokens of affection on the part of those centralizing Imperialists, because these gentry clasp us to their breasts to smother us.

Laurier knew them well. It was those Imperialists he warred on, at the Imperial Conferences. In 1902, he battled against Chamberlain; in 1907, against Doctor Smartt of Cape Colony, who proposed a contribution to the British navy; in 1911, against Sir J. Ward, who urged the creation of an Imperial council; in 1912, in the House of Commons of Canada, against the Borden Government, who proposed a contribution of $35,000,000 to Great Britain.

And it is because we still adhere to that policy of loyalty to the Empire, but a Canadian policy first and last, that we have seen in Article X of the Peace Treaty, no proof that Canada was a nation but the evidence that they are trying, by a sly move, to involve us in wars of the Empire.

British subjects we are and desire to remain, but we demand that the Canadian Parliament and the Canadian people remain masters of their own destiny. We mean to work out ourselves the problems for the solving of which we are better qualified than the voters and even the British Parliament.

Such is the will of the nation. Such was the thought of all our statesmen. The promoters of Confederation, the Fathers of the Canadian fatherland, who were long ago gathered to their reward, but who see and hear what the living are saying and doing, were they to sit in Parliament to-day would join hands and side with us and with all those Canadians who are opposing the pernicious policy to which we have been committed by ministers without a mandate.

That nefarious policy which will have such far-reaching consequences for our future is an added evil deed to all the sins of which this Government stands guilty.

The Unionists have pursued an abominable policy; they have aroused racial hatreds, and through their defective legislation and indifference have embroiled in a guilty strife social classes; they have turned the administration into a counting-house, and made of the Franchise Act the exclusive privilege of their friends; in short, they have concerned themselves only about their own interests, those of their supporters and ignored the country.

Restoring Canada to the healthy state it enjoyed previous to 1911 and supplying it with a solid legislative armature would prove an immense achievement.

It is desirable that the military law be amended and the electoral law as well, while the fiscal policy has to be kept on its feet, and administrative reform is urgent; in short, the whole legislation has to be revised.

The leader of the Government, at this important juncture, is at daggers drawn with the extreme Right in the House, the members of the "ginger group" who cannot forgive him for having welcomed to the Conservative house the Liberal deserters. Till now, all things have worked together pretty well for the Prime Minister, owing to a concurrence of favourable circumstances.

The debate, the vote of the Military Service Act and its enforcement brought together a chance majority which insured its success.

But those times are over; the knot of the Coalition is getting looser every day. Liberal Unionists are just getting out of Unionism and joining the ranks of the Liberal Opposition. Orangemen are casting angry looks at the Government and trying to break the door of the Cabinet open.

There is no gainsaying that one of the two must blow up, either the Government or Unionism. Mr. Rogers said that it was Unionism. I believe that, after all, both will go. When that happens, the country will not mourn for the Unionist Government; but it will long suffer from the harm it has inflicted.

What Canada needs is a Government that will go back toward sound Canadian traditions: equal justice to all; Canada first and last; protection to the masses from the unreasonable claims of the privileged classes.

Such are the principles which should prevail in this country and such are the underlying principles of the Liberal programme.

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Council): Mr. Speaker, I had not intended to take part in this debate, but a few observations made by the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères (Mr. Archambault) have led me to reconsider my decision. I desire to deal briefly with one portion of his address, and I hope he will soon be in his seat in the House. The hon. member stated:

> The President of the Council, who is more prone to defend profiteers than to defend himself personally, has shown more grit in defending a profiteering company than he did last year when the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Murphy) made precise accusations against him.

The hon. member (Mr. Archambault) must think that there is only one passage of Scripture with which I am familiar, and that I am determined to practice it under all circumstances and conditions, that is: "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." I would remind my hon. friend that there is another passage which I think he should not overlook: "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

Mr. McKENZIE: There is another passage which my learned friend should quote—"Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness."

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend is so familiar with that passage and its application that it very largely influences and determines his attitude on many public questions.

I desire to deal, first, with the statement that I am concerned with defending the profiteers. It has been the habit on the part of some hon. members on the other side of the House to suggest that not only myself, but other members on this side, were the political friends of the big interests, and that this Government largely exists in order to further their interests. I hope the House will pardon me if my remarks must necessarily be of a personal character owing to the personal references made by the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères. Let us look at the question fairly. What have been the powerful interests in this country in the past, influencing Parliament and legislation? Probably the most powerful single interest, the one that has been most effective in influencing political parties and legislation, has been the organized liquor traffic. No single big interest, with the possible exception of the railways, has been so influential in affecting the policies of political parties and their administration, both in the provincial and federal field. What has been the attitude of this Government with reference to that big interest? They thought their interests were secure so far as the Federal Parliament was concerned, and that neither party in this House would interfere with them. This Government, however, has not hesitated, in the national interest and for the public good, during the period of the war, to take action which has antagonized that interest. What has been the position of my hon. friends opposite? When the Government at the last session introduced legislation to make that law effective for the period of the Order in Council, viz., for one year after the war, and when the Senate in effect threw out the Bill and it came back to this House the Prime Minister of Canada, standing in his place here, stated that he believed it to be in the national interest that the Bill as proposed by the Government should become law, and asked this House to back the Government in returning the Bill to the Senate. What was the attitude of my hon. friends opposite? Who stood in with the liquor interest and the big interests on that occasion so far as the vote in this House was concerned? The Opposition. It is not what men say; it is what men do that determines whom or what they are supporting. I throw back in the face of my hon. friend the challenge and statement so far as it affects that big interest.

The next big interest is the railroads. When this Government started out on a policy of the national ownership and operation of great systems of transportation, rendered necessary by the condition in which certain railways in this country stood, every one knows that large interests in this country were hostile to that policy. When the Government, in pursuance of that policy, believes it in the national interest to complete this great national system of railways by acquiring the Grand Trunk Railway as well as the Grand Trunk Pacific—indeed, because of the obligations, must acquire the Grand Trunk—what has been the attitude of the big interests in this country? They have been opposed to that policy; they do not want the Government to acquire the Grand Trunk, and people in the country on both sides of politics, unsympathetic with that policy, have opposed the Government in carrying it out. The Government, however, has stood by its guns because it believes it is in the nat-

ional interest to complete a national system of transportation by acquiring the Grand Trunk Railway and making it part of the national system. What has been the attitude of hon. members opposite with reference to this great question of public ownership of railways? The country knows and the country will judge—the men who have stood by the rights of the people and for public ownership have been men on this side of the House. I draw to my hon. friend's attention one further fact. In the great convention held in this city in the month of August, on the question of public ownership, one of the largest and most vital issues affecting the people of Canada, was one word or one declaration of policy uttered? You know there was not. As regards big interests represented by the railway corporations, the men on this side of the House have stood for the people and the interests of the people and the maintenance of public ownership. The big interests, so far as they are represented, have been represented on the other side of the House.

My hon. friend dealt principally with the packers. According to the statements of my hon. friend, and according to statements which were made two, three, four years ago, if there was in this country one interest which, it was alleged, had influence with the Government of Canada, it was the packers. My hon. friend said so this afternoon. Yet I repeat every word I said when I spoke in the House last session and which my hon. friend quoted, namely, that no big interest has been subjected to such rigorous legislation as have the packers of Canada by the Government and by the men on this side of the House. My hon. friend read a statement by the ex-Minister of Finance (Sir Thomas White) that up to the date he mentioned, no sum had been collected by way of war tax under the Order in Council and that the matter was still under investigation. My hon. friend knows that the tax applied from the 1st January, 1918, and the first full year was the year ending the 31st December, 1918. No assessment could be made, no tax could be levied until the profits were ascertained some time during the year 1919 on the business of 1918. That investigation is now being made by the Department of Finance. Does my hon. friend (Mr. Archambault) or any hon. member on the other side of the House say that the ex-Minister of Finance, standing in his place here, not only as Minister of Finance but as acting Prime Minister, was not honestly stating the facts of the case as he believed them at the time he made the statement? No hon. member will venture to say that he was not truthfully stating the facts.

If profits have been made by packers in excess of the amounts fixed by the Order in Council, the packers will pay into the Treasury of Canada every dollar required by that Order in Council. The law will be as fairly and impartially enforced so far as they are concerned, as it will be with respect to the humblest citizen of the country. With some knowledge of the political history of this country, gained during the long period of years I was identified with the Liberal party and its organization in the province of Ontario, and having a knowledge of the situation in the Federal Parliament as well, and with such knowledge as I could obtain of what was going on when Conservative Administrations were in power, I venture to say that in the history of Canada since Confederation there has never been a Government as little influenced by big interests or powerful corporations as the Government in power in Ottawa at the present time. I therefore hurl back the statement to the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères (Mr. Archambault) or any others who make it. I say, judge the men of the House on both sides by the record as disclosed in the votes and proceedings of the House and in the legislation and administration of respective Governments.

I wish to deal a little more in detail with one or two statements made by the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères with reference to the Board of Commerce. My hon. friend referred at some length to what was being done in the United States to meet the high cost of living. Let me say in passing, to prevent any possibility of misunderstanding, that the man would be blind and stupid who did not realize not only that the question is one of gravest moment to all the people of Canada, but that there is deep unrest in the country because of the high cost of living. One would be blind who would not recognize that it is the bounden duty of any Government to do everything it can properly and effectively do in the circumstances to reduce the cost of living. I fully recognize that it is the duty of the Government to do everything in its power to meet the situation. But I say, Sir, with all respect, that it is only a demagogue without any sense of responsibility to the House and the country who would say that this world-

wide increase in prices, growing inevitably out of the war, is attributable to the Government of the day. Statements of that kind only tend to inflame popular feeling, to create unrest and distrust of all forms of Government, and to feed the Bolshevik sentiment in the country. Hon. members should appreciate the importance of a sense of responsibility in dealing with matters of this kind. As I pointed out last session, we had the Canada Food Board under the administration of the ex-Minister of Agriculture. I desire to repeat that I have the highest respect for the ability, the earnestness and the sincerity of the former Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Crerar) in the performance of his public duties; and I believe that in that important and responsible post he did everything which he considered could properly be done in the interests of the country to meet the situation in regard to food distribution and food prices in Canada. In addition to that, there was the work of the Cost of Living Commissioner in the Department of Labour. Last session we had a committee appointed on the cost of living with my hon. friend from Algoma (Mr. Nicholson) as chairman, and we can still almost hear the echoes of the debate in this House on their report. Yet, with a knowledge of that report, and with the sound of that debate still ringing in our ears, the member for Chambly and Verchères censures this Government for not having taken more vigorous action. When the report was brought in recommending the creation of a board with full jurisdiction to deal with the situation, what was the attitude on the other side? They moved that it be referred back for further consideration. The Minister of the Interior pointed out that it would mean delay and the killing of the report for the session, and it was because of the strong stand of the Government and its supporters on this side, that the report went through, that the necessary legislation was introduced and passed and the board duly constituted which is now in active operation. Judge not by professions but by deeds. Who were the friends of the profiteers last session when the question was under discussion in the House, those who urged action or those who urged delay?

Now, my hon. friend referred to Mr. W. F. O'Connor, a member of the board, and said that he had been appointed after having been dismissed from his former position because he had made a report on the packing business, and after having been—I am not sure whether he used the expression, but he conveyed the idea—thoroughly spanked for his public service; and that he would therefore be careful in his present position. I want to say to my hon. friend that Mr. O'Connor did not resign by reason of any report he had made. My hon. friends on the other side must know that his resignation occurred a year or more after he had made the report to which the hon. member referred. One cannot but express surprise, and profound surprise, that Mr. O'Connor, so long as he was making reports which my hon. friends thought they could use to advantage in an endeavour to discredit the Government, was an angel of light and a veritable Daniel come to judgment, but when he takes a public position and is administering the law and seeking to keep the profiteers within bounds, hon. gentlemen opposite have not words of condemnation strong enough for him. I appeal to the members on both sides; I appeal to their sense of justice and of fair play. Is it fair to Mr. O'Connor; is it fair to the Board of Commerce; is it fair to the public interests of the country, for hon. members to take such a position on the floor of Parliament? The Government has been criticised and blamed for its delay in the appointment of the commissioners. As a member of the Government I cheerfully take my full share of responsibility for that delay. The Government sincerely desired to secure the appointment on that board of the very best men in Canada, not only because of their ability, but because of the confidence which the public would have in them. The very first time the matter came up for consideration the Government concluded that Judge Robson of Winnipeg, if he could be secured as Chairman, would be the best man in Canada for the position, and accordingly we took means to secure him. It took over a month to do so, but the Board is not a thing of a day or a week, even of a month or a year; and I think that the Government could not have done better than to secure a man of such great ability, such high integrity, such splendid capacity for public service as Judge Robson. Hon. gentlemen opposite will not make friends with the public-spirited people of the country, particularly with the people of Western Canada where Judge Robson is so well known, by suggesting that the Board is mere camouflage and is not sincerely prosecuting its work. It is not a breach of confidence to say that Judge Robson, for the opportunity of rendering to the people

of Canada the great public service which he believed he could render on this Board surrendered a lucrative position in which his salary was many thousands of dollars more than the remuneration he now receives from the people. In these two men, Judge Robson and Mr. O'Connor, devoted to the public interest and sincerely anxious to meet the situation, the Government has the nucleus of a Board which I am confident will go down in history as one of the best bodies any Government has constituted, one which in the end will render a great public service. I am sure that when the permanent appointment of the third member of the Board is made it will meet with the same public approval as those already made. Why, Canada is ahead of both Great Britain and the United States in the practical steps it has taken in providing machinery to reach the best possible solution of the problem of high prices so far as the prevention of profiteering is concerned. I need not dwell on that matter any longer, because it shows the position of the Government in regard to this very important question.

Now I desire to come to the second question. I think I have sufficiently answered the first. I have never defended a profiteer, and if it were possible I should like to see a situation in which all profits made by men during the war—the amounts by which they increased their wealth over the wealth they possessed before the war——were turned into the public treasury, as a contribution on their part, not commensurate with but bearing a relation to, the contribution made by the men who offered their lives for their country.

I never defended a profiteer and I am not going to discuss the question of the bacon business. I have discussed in this House the position of Sir Joseph Flavelle as Chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board. I have not one word to withdraw in the statement I made in reference to Sir Joseph Flavelle. I believe that the people of Canada will some day recognize the wonderful service he rendered to the country during the war as Chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board. It may be unpopular for a public man to recognize the distinguished services of a fellow-citizen. But the public man who is afraid because of some cheap criticism of doing justice to a man who has rendered such great service to the country would be unworthy to occupy a seat in this House. I stand here prepared to say that I will not withdraw one word from what I have said with regard to the magnificent service he rendered to Canada at that time.

The statement was that I was more concerned with defending profiteers than with defending myself from the specific charges of the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Murphy). That hon. member is not in his place in the House. If it had not been that my hon. friend from Chambly and Verchères brought this matter up this afternoon I would not have discussed it without sending notice to the hon. member for Russell in order that he might be in his place when I came to deal with the matter. It has been said in the press that I was in the House or at least in this building on the night in March, 1917, when the member for Russell made his attack. I think Le Devoir and some of the other papers reported that I was around the House that night but kept out of the Chamber. I regret to say I was at home in bed that night under the doctor's orders. There is a custom which has become an honourable tradition of this House, that when one member desires to rise in his place and make an attack upon the position or character of another, he gives that hon. member due notice. I received no notice. I was in the House in the afternoon, and notwithstanding my indisposition, if I had received any notice. I would have come back that night. I would have been in my place in the House and I should have promptly answered the false statements of the hon. member for Russell. I got no notice. The debate closed that night. Next day I spoke to the Speaker and asked him: "Is there any way by which I can make a reply to the statements of the hon. member for Russell?" The Speaker replied: "The rules of the House are clear; the debate having been closed, it would not be possible for you, during this session to deal with the subject matter of the debate in any other debate or discussion." The hon. Speaker told me that I could not deal with the matter during that session of the House. Of course, I could have risen to a question of privilege and made certain specific denials, but I could not have discussed the statements made by the hon. member for Russell on that occasion. If my colleagues in the House had not permitted the debate to close that night I could have replied. The reason they gave for not adjourning the debate, a reason which seemed to them good, and probably was good, was that in view of the inflammatory character of the speech of the hon. member for Russell, if the debate had been adjourned and the House had entered

upon the discussion of such inflammable matters as had been presented to the House by the hon. member for Russell, we should have had perhaps a week or more of heated debate and discussion involving religious and racial matters at a time when the Government was putting forth every effort to compose the feeling in the province of Quebec in order that the military service law might be enforced and that men should be secured to reinforce the battalions at the front. In view of the necessity of securing men to support our battalions at the front, I accepted that view of the situation and for over a year and a half these false accusations were carried from one end of this country to the other without my dealing with them. My only reason was a concern for the public interest and the desire to do the right thing and not stir up the racial and religious controversies which might have resulted from my answering the statements of the hon. member for Russell.

So soon as hostilities ceased I did take the opportunity in my own riding, where these same stories were being circulated, of making an answer to the statements made by the hon. member for Russell, and other members of the House. I delivered an address in my riding at Bowmanville in which I dealt with these matters. I had hoped that the matter might end there, that in the public life of this country men would have a sufficient sense of decency and fair play, when they had received the generous treatment that had been accorded to them by not characterizing these false accusations as they deserved to be characterized, to let the matter drop. But that is not the case. These matters have been brought up again to-day and therefore I feel called upon to deal with them.

I shall not attempt this afternoon to go through in detail the lengthy address of the hon. member for Russell but I shall take up the salient features of it and deal with them. Let me quote, Hansard 1918, page 40:

> Now, Sir, what happened when the hon. gentleman entered the provincial field of politics? With his usual presence of mind he arranged with his friends to form a committee for the purpose of raising a fund to guarantee him against any loss while engaged in his work as provincial leader. Mr. A. E. Ames, of Toronto, was chairman of the committee, and in addition to Sir Joseph Flavelle, the contributors included several other Toronto gentlemen. The fund itself was called the "Secretarial Fund" and I am informed that it varied in amount from $9,000 to $11,000 a year.

I ask any hon. member of this House: What inference, what impression, did the hon. member for Russell desire to convey by that statement? There could only be one impression, the impression that hon. members of this House did draw—for many of them spoke to me afterwards about it—namely that if I was to be leader of the Liberal party I stipulated that a fund should be raised out of which I should be compensated for my loss of time in serving the country as leader. The impression conveyed was that I was receiving possibly as much as $9,000 or $10,000 per year. Let me give you the facts. There was no salary paid out of the public treasury to the leader of the Opposition in Ontario at that time as there is a salary paid to the leader of the Opposition, I am glad to say, in this House and as there is a salary paid to the leader of the Opposition now in the province of Ontario. There was no salary at that time. I believe that my immediate predecessors in the Liberal leadership in Ontario had received as salary a modest sum subscribed by party friends. I make absolutely no criticism of that. I think a salary should be paid, but I think it is much wiser that it should be paid by the country. I think the position of leader of the Opposition is so important that there should be a salary attached to it. I am glad that the leader of the Opposition in this House draws a salary, and that it is now provided in Ontario that the leader of the Opposition shall draw salary. A delegation of Liberal members waited upon me and asked me to accept the position of leader of the Liberal party in the province of Ontario. I am sorry that I have to go into these matters of domestic political history in Ontario. I should not have done so if they had not been spread upon Hansard by the hon. member for Russell and brought up again to-day by the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères. Mr. Bowman, the then Liberal whip, was at the head of the delegation, and he said to me: "Mr. Rowell, we present to you the unanimous request of the Liberals in the legislature and of the Liberal convention"—which had been held—"that you consent to become leader of the provincial Liberal party. I am authorized to guarantee you a salary of $5,000 per year, because we know the acceptance of the leadership will mean a substantial loss in income from the practice of your profession." What was my reply to Mr. Bowman? I mention this, not to reflect credit upon myself, but simply to give the facts and to show how grossly unfair and untrue were the statements made by the member for Russell. I said: "Mr. Bowman, no; if I accept the leadership it must

be without any salary attached "—because I was determined that I would be independent even of the contributors of the Liberal party to such a fund.

I refused the offer of $5,000 per year. I held the position of leader of the Liberal party in Ontario from the 31st of October, 1911, till the 11th October, 1917. During that whole period not one cent of compensation was paid me, by the Liberal party or by any person whomsoever, in respect of my services as leader of that party. A man engaged in the practice of his profession, with good practice as I had—and members will pardon me for referring again to these personal matters—could not give the time required for the discharge of the duties of leader without serious financial loss. When I resigned the position of leader of the Liberal party in Ontario, in October, 1917, I had served the party and the country at a loss of many thousands of dollars per annum during the whole period.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. ROWELL: Perhaps I should not say it but it simply shows how false the statements were. The fact is that I did not feel that my firm should suffer loss because of the time I withdrew from its service to devote to public life. I therefore turned over to them not only my sessional indemnity but for the first two years $5,000 a year because of the time I had so withdrawn in order to serve my country. During the remainder of the period that I acted as leader of the Liberal party in Ontario I took a substantial reduction in my percentage of profits in the firm, so that I could serve my country free from any contribution or support from any body, and having in view no other object than the good of the people of my native province.

Now the hon. gentleman said a secretarial fund was raised, and Mr. A. E. Ames was chairman. That is perfectly true. He says further that Sir Joseph Flavelle was a contributor. That is absolutely untrue. Sir Joseph Flavelle was a Conservative and the fund was a Liberal fund; he never contributed a dollar to that fund from first to last, from beginning to end. Why was the fund formed, what was the object of it? Here again I am sorry to go into inner political history but we may as well have this thing out, now that we have started.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. ROWELL: When the Liberal party in the province of Ontario adopted the policy of "Abolish the Bar" and also an advanced social programme, there was a minority in the party opposed to that policy, and we decided, after carefully considering the situation, that if the policy was to have the best possible chance of success, if it was to prevail throughout the country, if the progressive policies for which we stood were to be carried out, we must build up some kind of an organization which would be devoted to promoting the success of these policies. It is no harm to say that the federal Liberal members from Ontario, or some of them at least, were not anxious to be identified with that policy. If my hon. friend from West Lambton (Mr. Pardee) were in the House, he would tell you that before I put an organizer out in the province of Ontario I consulted him about it, and had his full consent and approval as representing the federal Liberal party. Further, when the organizer went out, he acted under the direction of Mr. Bowman, Chief Liberal Whip, an opponent of this Government, a supporter of the Opposition, but a man who rendered splendid and loyal service to me during the whole period I was leader of the party in Ontario. Now that is the story of this alleged fund and the object for which it was raised. Let me say this in passing: If the hon. member for Russell was as conversant with the inside history of the provincial Liberal party as one would think he was from a perusal of his address, or as he professes to be, he should have known that the statements he made in the House were untrue.

An hon. MEMBER: He did know.

Mr. ROWELL: An hon. gentleman says he did know—I cannot say as to that; but this I do know that he had scarcely made his statement in the House before he was told by letters of protest from Liberals in Ontario that they were untrue.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. ROWELL: Did he then rise in his place as an hon. gentleman and withdraw the statements? You sat through the session and you know that there was no withdrawal; and despite his knowledge that they were untrue, either he, or those associated with him, or the Liberal information bureau—I do not know which—had his speech printed and distributed throughout Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, containing those statements that he knew to be false. Is that what a public man has a right to expect from even his bitterest opponents on the other side of

the House? Surely public life in this country has come to a sorry pass when men for the sake of impairing or destroying the influence of their political opponents will print and distribute broadcast through the country statements which they know to be untrue reflecting upon the character of an opponent.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me deal with another point. The hon. gentleman said this was a fund raised for the purpose of supplanting Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I have stated the object for which it was raised. One might say with some sense of truth, that it was raised to prevent embarrassment to Sir Wilfrid. The provincial Liberal party had no desire to embarrass the federal Liberal party if the latter did not wish to identify themselves with the policy to which I have alluded; they would work through their own organization, we through ours, acting in co-operation as much as possible. The hon. gentleman then goes on to add, and let me quote his own words:

> The hon. gentleman engaged for several years in a conspiracy to supplant Sir Wilfrid Laurier as leader of the Liberal party.

Well, if it is possible to have one statement falser than another, this is such a one. It is even more false than the statement that I stipulated a fund should be raised to pay me as leader of the Liberal party when I accepted the position. Here again, if the hon. member for West Lambton (Mr. Pardee) were in his seat, he would say to this House—there are hon. members opposite who know what I state to be true—that throughout the whole course of the negotiations for Union Government, from the time they started until they closed, I kept in close touch with him as Chief Whip of the Liberal party, and he had knowledge of the proceedings from beginning to end. I am sorry the hon. gentleman is not in his place at present to tell the House so. Some day the story will be told, some day the record will be produced, some day the correspondence will be brought down, and I think I can perhaps leave any further consideration of the matter until that time comes. Having shown you the falsity of some of the statements, you will appreciate how false the others are.

I have only this one thing to add: no one can regret more than I that the old and honoured leader of the Liberal party, the late Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, is not in his place in this House, so that he too could give his denial to the statement in question. Some day, I repeat, the correspondence will be brought down, but I might quote one sentence from a letter which Sir Wilfrid wrote me shortly after I joined the Union Government:

> I may frankly add that I have too much respect for your convictions to allow an action which I cannot approve to interfere with our old personal relations.

We honestly differed on a great matter of public policy, but Sir Wilfrid recognized my right, just as he recognized the right of the hon. member for West Lambton and other Liberals in the country, to take a different view. I never questioned his sincerity in the course he took, and I am perfectly sure he never questioned mine. What was the situation, Mr. Speaker, that the Liberal party faced at that time? They faced just the situation that was faced in the year 1864 at the time the coalition government was formed to carry out Confederation.

At that time, it will be recalled, Hon. George Brown was an ardent advocate of Confederation. His illustrious colleague in the province of Quebec, Mr. Dorion, did not believe in Confederation under the conditions which George Brown supported. An offer came from Sir John Macdonald to form a coalition government in order to carry out Confederation. The Liberal party in Ontario in those days faced exactly the situation which the Liberal party faced in 1917. George Brown was asked to join with Sir John Macdonald to make Confederation possible, but to do so he had to separate himself from his old associates in the province of Quebec who were opposed to the policy of Confederation. If the course suggested by my hon. friend be the right one, that we should stand by our party through thick and thin, George Brown, for the sake of preserving party unity and continued harmony with his colleagues in the province of Quebec, would have said to Sir John Macdonald: "No, I will not join you in order to promote Confederation. We are going to put party unity before national interest." Was that the position of George Brown, of Oliver Mowat, and of the other Liberals of that day? No. They said: "National interests first. Canadian Confederation is vastly more important than maintaining the unity of the Liberal party." And there is no brighter page in the history of Liberalism than the magnificent stand of George Brown and his colleagues in associating themselves with their old bitter personal opponent, Sir John Macdonald—a bitterness so intense that Brown and he did not speak to each other—in order that the provinces might be brought together in a

confederation which would make possible the development of a great new nation on this half of the North American continent. But for the courage and patriotism of George Brown and his colleagues Confederation would have been impossible at that time.

What was the situation in 1917? Our gallant troops were facing the foe at the front and urgently in need of reinforcements. Every man conversant with the situation knew that the voluntary system could not continue to supply the men needed. The position I took was not a new one, for I had for months urged the Government to adopt compulsory military service. In fact, I urged that in an address which my hon. friend from Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) listened to at North Bay, before the Prime Minister brought down any proposal to that effect And I still want to thank my hon. friend for the eulogy he pronounced on me at the banquet that evening even after he heard that statement of mine. In that address I urged the national necessity of a Union or War Government and of compulsory military service to back up our troops at the front.

I am sorry to have to refer so much to myself, but to prevent misapprehension let me quote the statement I then made in an address delivered at the Canadian Club in North Bay during the holding of the Northern Ontario Liberal Convention, at which my hon. friend (Mr. Lemieux) was present and delivered a very eloquent and able address. I spoke on the war situation and Canada's duty, and in the course of my address I made a statement from which I quote the following sentences:

> Let us frankly admit that we cannot reinforce our men at the front by the existing voluntary measures. We must either use the Militia Act or adopt other measures no less effective to meet the situation. Surely after nearly three years of war the time has come for us to realize that this issue is vastly bigger than any party or all parties combined. What matters it if parties fall so long as Canada and liberty live, and the great democracies triumph in their struggle against autocracy? Do you see any prospect of our being able to do in Canada what none of the Dominions or our Allies have so far been able to do, namely, to adequately meet the situation with a purely party government, and to administer the grave affairs of the war on a party basis? Do you see any hope of our moving forward as a united nation, exerting our utmost efforts to win the war and grappling courageously with our own domestic problems, unless we also create a war Government? Is not this Canada's present and most urgent need?

Sir SAM HUGHES:: What was the date of that address, may I ask?

Mr. ROWELL: Early in May, 1917, I think at the time that address was delivered my hon. friend had a resolution on the Order Paper to put the Militia Act into force.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Yes.

Mr. ROWELL: I recall that fact. In that important respect we saw alike.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Only I advocated it six months ahead.

Mr. ROWELL: I am not going to say how far back I had been advocating this policy; but whether earlier or later, we were both agreed, anyway.

The issue the country faced was that of reinforcing our men at the front. The Prime Minister stated that we could not secure the necessary men by the voluntary method. My knowledge of the need of men at the front and of the recruiting situation convinced me that that statement was absolutely right. I know my hon. friends may criticise the manner in which recruiting was carried on; I did so myself in the different provinces; but criticism of recruiting methods in the past would not get the necessary men for the future, and however much I might differ from the policy the Government had pursued in the matter of recruiting, I recognized, as every other Canadian citizen must have recognized, that vastly more important than party differences was the question of adequate reinforcements.

There was an acute difference of opinion in the Liberal party on this issue. The great majority of the English-speaking Liberals in the House—in fact, all the English-speaking Liberals west of the Ottawa river with a few exceptions—were in favour of the policy of compulsory military service. The Liberals from the province of Quebec took the other view—and they were absolutely entitled to take it; I am not here at this time offering criticism of their action in that respect. That was the issue, cutting as deep into our national life and as important for Canada's future—in fact, more important—than the issue of Confederation. It went to the very basis of Canada's continued war effort, and Canada's continued war effort was of great importance to the success of the Allies in the fateful struggle which then hung in the balance. The Liberal party had to face this issue.

Mr. PEDLOW: I would like to ask the hon. President of the Privy Council a question. Is it not a fact that during the last twelve months of voluntary recruiting

an average of 6,000 men per month volunteered for service; and is it not also a fact that after the Military Service Act came into force less than fifty per cent of that number were enrolled for service?

Mr. ROWELL: I do not think, Mr. Speaker, that it will tend to improve the situation if we embark on a discussion of recruiting, comparing province with province or one section of the country with another, nor to discuss——

Mr. PEDLOW: I have not done that.

Mr. ROWELL: But an answer to your question would involve that.

Mr. PEDLOW: Not necessarily so.

Mr. ROWELL: Nor to discuss the operation of the Military Service law and the results secured under it. I prefer not to do it, although I am quite prepared to do so, but I think no interest can now be served by entering into such a discussion. We have had our differences; we have been divided; let us try to get together for the sake of national unity and national progress in Canada.

Mr. PEDLOW: That has nothing whatever to do with my question.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. ROWELL: Well, I am tempted to go on and answer my hon. friend, but I will not yield to the temptation at this moment.

An hon. MEMBER: Go on; it will do him good.

Mr. ROWELL: That was the issue facing the people, and the Liberal party had to decide what the first consideration should be, the supreme national issue of the reinforcement of our troops at the front and Canada's continued and whole-hearted participation in the war, or the question of continued party unity.

I had an opportunity of visiting the front in 1916; the member for Russell makes reference to that occasion. I am sorry that he did not have the opportunity of visiting the front; I am sure that had he been there he would have been more active in recruiting throughout Canada than he was. But I had the opportunity of visiting the front and of talking with many soldiers there; and I shall never forget the inspiration that came to me from talking to these gallant men. They did not think of themselves, their own lives, or their own future. I asked man after man, "What can I do for you when I return to Canada?" Did they say, "Get me home?" Not a man. They said, "Send us reinforcements." Almost all our regiments were then under strength, reinforcements were urgently needed. They wanted men to back them up so that when they fell carrying the flag in the face of the enemy, other gallant Canadians would be there to pick up that flag and carry it on to Victory. The last man who said that to me was the man who drove me down to Boulogne to take the train to Paris—a French Canadian from the county of Essex.

Mr. COPP: No cheers from the Government side now.

Mr. MORPHY: Why didn't you cheer on the other side?

Mr. ROWELL: There were no finer troops in the Canadian forces than the French Canadians who went from the province of Quebec; there were no finer troops in the Canadian forces than the French Canadians who went from Ontario. I had the opportunity of seeing them in 1916 and in 1918. I had the opportunity of going into the line of the Twenty-second battalion on the 30th of June, 1918, when they were holding the section of the front before Arras, and the one thing heard from all quarters was a magnificent tribute to the courage and patriotism of these men, their brilliant fighting qualities as soldiers and their great achievements. Those with whom I came in contact in 1916 said, "Send us reinforcements" and "Take good care of our wounded comrades who have gone home." I can imagine nothing finer than that spirit and attitude on the part of our soldiers. One promise I made was that to the limit of my ability I would help to secure reinforcements to back them up. And when the issue was raised in Canada, the Liberal party had to face it. The question was whether a man should stand by the men overseas and the cause for which they were fighting, or for the unity of his party. Others could do as they saw fit, for me there was only one course open; I determined to stand by the men at the front. So long as I advocated national government and compulsory military service and the then Administration, the Borden Government, did not advocate them, there was very little criticism of my course; it was embarrassing the Government for me to advocate a national Government and compulsory military service. There was absolutely no public criticism, although one or two expressed the view privately that I

was going a little too far. Generally speaking, however, there was no criticism. But when the test came whether I should stand by my convictions and by the policies which I had advocated and the Government now proposed, and whether I should help the Government put those policies into effect, I had to choose between being true to what I believed to be right and in the country's interest, and forsaking principle and the country's interest by standing for party unity. I made my choice, and by that choice I stand; I have no regrets for what I did. Attacks may be strong and venemous, but any sacrifice a public man might be called upon to make is simply as dust in the balance compared with the services rendered and sacrifices made by the men who went overseas. Therefore I count as nothing the service I was able to render when it is compared with the service our soldiers rendered in this struggle.

The members of the Liberal party faced the issue; should they accept the views of their confreres in Quebec and oppose compulsory military service, or should they do what they believed to be right and in the national interest to help win the war, join with Sir Robert Borden and his colleagues, just as George Brown joined Sir John A. Macdonald, and form a coalition or national Government to carry out a law of compulsory military service? Certain members of the party chose as George Brown did. To-day Quebec rejoices in the decision that George Brown made; to-day Quebec recognizes that George Brown was right and that Dorion and their own leaders were wrong; to-day Quebec realizes that the right and patriotic thing was done by George Brown in bringing about Confederation. And inside of fifty years Quebec will recognize that the Liberals who helped to form Union Government and to put compulsory military service into force did the right thing; they took the course that served the highest national interest. George Brown and his colleagues, by their courage and patriotism, made Confederation possible; the Liberals from one end of Canada to the other who, for the sake of the national interest in time of war, forgot party feeling and party prejudice and joined in helping to form and support a Union Government, saved Confederation and made possible the glorious and triumphant achievements of our troops in 1918.

Now, let me come to the last of the important matters mentioned by the member for Russell. It has been proclaimed from one end of Canada to the other, by the press and from the platform, that in an address which I delivered at North Bay I publicly slandered the Roman Catholic Church. Now, I recognize that one cannot discuss such a question without subjecting himself to the danger of being misunderstood, of having his motives misinterpreted, and partisan feeling and prejudice raised against him. I shall, however, attempt to discuss the question this afternoon as free from any feeling as possible; I discuss it only because of the attacks which have been made and continued throughout the country.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that every man's religion is entitled to respect. A man is doing no service to himself, to his country or to his party who seeks to belittle the religious convictions of any other class in the community, no matter how much he may differ from them in that respect. So that in whatever I said—and I shall come to that—nothing would be further from my thought than to belittle the religious views or convictions of any class of the community.

Far be it from me to do that, for I had no better friends in the world than my Roman Catholic friends in my province, men who had been not only my friends but my strong supporters.

Let me briefly review the situation in reference to this now famous North Bay address which has received much more prominence than the first one, although I think the first one was more important in its statement of policies than the second. Unfortunately, I have no stenographic report of the address delivered at North Bay and I, therefore, read from the Globe report on that occasion. I cannot profess to say whether it is an exactly accurate report or not, but I take it as setting forth substantially the general views I presented at that meeting. It was delivered at North Bay on December 6, 1917:

> When I last visited North Bay, in the early part of the month of May, I spoke to you on the issues of the war, and urged, in view of the critical situation which faced us, that the time had come for compulsory military service, and the formation of a Union or National Government, and that without these Canada could not throw her whole energies into the war. At that time Sir Robert Borden had not proposed either. My presence here as a member of the Government is an evidence that I believed in the policies I was advocating. But there are further and other reasons why I am a member of the Union Government.
>
> The vote on the Military Service Bill disclosed what Mr. Bourassa had continuously asserted, that Quebec's attitude towards the war was different from that of the other provinces, for while the members from the other

provinces by an overwhelming majority were in favour of the Military Service Act, members from the province of Quebec were almost a unit against it.

May I say here that it has been charged that I not only slandered the Roman Catholic church but the French Canadian race. No man can point, I challenge any man to point, to any address of mine or any statement that I have made that belittles the position of the French Canadian people of this country. I have too great a respect for them, for their history and traditions, and their place in Canadian Confederation, to utter any such words. But that does not prevent me from differing from them, if I find myself compelled to differ on conscientious grounds, nor of stating my views on an important national issue.

The attitude of the province of Quebec is not due to any lack of courage or any other fine soldierly qualities on the part of her citizens, for no Canadian troops have fought more brilliantly or successfully than the gallant 22nd Battalion from the province of Quebec.

That is what I said in this North Bay speech which has been so denounced as an attack on the province of Quebec.

Mr. RICHARDSON: Is that all?

Mr. ROWELL: No, there is more.

What those soldiers have accomplished overseas shows what might have been done had Quebec joined with the other provinces in whole-hearted support of Canada's effort in the war. The fine manner in which the French-Canadians of this district—

That is the North Bay district. I was speaking to an audience composed of both English and French Canadians.

—responded to the call to the colours is the best evidence of their willingness to share the burdens and responsibilities of this war, if the facts are fairly put before them.

I then believed, as I believe to-day, that if the facts had been fairly and squarely put before our fellow citizens of the province of Quebec, and had they realized the magnitude of the issues in this war, they would have just as promptly and cheerfully responded by the thousand as did the English-speaking Canadians. That is my firm conviction.

The present attitude of the province of Quebec may be due to several causes. Undoubtedly the persistent agitation carried on by Mr. Bourassa and his Nationalist associates against Great Britain and France and Canada's participation in the war has most powerfully influenced the feeling and attitude of the province of Quebec.

Does any hon. member opposite challenge that statement? I have never seen it challenged; I believe it to be absolutely true, and I believe it will not be challenged by any responsible person, either English or French Canadian.

And apparently the majority of the curés throughout the province shared his Nationalist, clerical and reactionary attitude.

I have never seen that statement publicly challenged, and I do not think it can be successfully challenged. Do any of my hon. friends opposite challenge it? My hon. friends know that Mr. Bourassa's paper circulates widely amongst the curés and clergy of the province of Quebec and that the curés and clergy throughout that province are largely supporters of Mr. Bourassa. As regards this statement, the only criticism I have heard is that I did not make it broad enough; that I would have been nearer the exact truth if I had stated "almost all the curés and lesser clergy". Now I come to the point particularly emphasized by the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Murphy):

In this attitude they were undoubtedly encouraged and abetted by the members of the religious orders from France, who found an asylum in Canada and used that asylum to undermine Canada's strength in the struggle. It is a misfortune that they did not follow the example of the priests of the Catholic church in France—

I am accused of belittling the work of the priests; I am magnifying the work of the priests.

—who threw themselves into the struggle of their people to preserve their national existence, and by their courage and sacrifice, won for themselves a new place in the hearts and affections of the French people.

That tribute I paid to the priests of the Roman Catholic church in France, I desire to repeat. Every man who knows the conditions in France, knows that the part the priests of France took in this struggle in France has greatly increased the power and influence of the church in France, because the French people have realized that the church stood with them in the hour of their country's need. The curés and priests went into the trenches with them, fought with them side by side, shared their perils and their triumphs on the field of battle. No one can speak disparagingly of the work of those men at that time.

Mr. PROULX: Will the minister cite the figures which were given by the hon. member for Russell as to the number of members of each religious order who crossed over and fought?

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend simply anticipates the point I am coming to. At

the time I spoke at North Bay I was not aware that the French law of compulsory military service covered members of the French-speaking clergy of military age who had come to Canada, and who remained citizens of France; that they were obligated by this law to return to France for military service; and that those who were physically fit, and were not exempted temporarily or otherwise, did return to France when called by their Government to do so. As I did not know this, I could not specially refer to their service, but my attitude to all who went forth to fight was clearly shown by my reference to the clergy of France. If I had known of the position of these members of the French clergy, I should have paid a tribute to them, but I also should have pointed out how privileged were the clergy under our law of compulsory military service, as compared with that of France, and that this imposed an additional obligation upon them to respond to the call of Canada, and to oppose and not to support Mr. Bourassa in his attitude toward Canada's participation in the war, an obligation to do all in their power to aid in the prosecution of the war for human freedom, and to support, and not to oppose, our military service law, as the great majority of them were doing. Again I repeat, my references at North Bay were not to the men who had gone forth to fight, but to the men who stayed at home, men who were in the province of Quebec during the war supporting Mr. Bourassa. Had I known that the law of military service had applied to those men and that they had gone forth to fight, I should have paid a tribute to them with greater cheerfulness than I paid the tribute to the French clergy in France.

I regret that the magnificent service of those gallant men who left Canada and went overseas to fight for the cause of liberty in which we were all interested was not emulated by others. I do not question the figures set out by the hon. gentleman in his speech, as illustrating the part which those men took in the struggle, and I say I regret that their splendid example was not used by him and more of his associates to appeal to others of their own religion, to inspire them to similar service. I have no hesitation in saying that if the general expression I used hurt the feelings of any in that I did not recognize the fine service of the men of whom I did not know, I would be the first to withdraw any such suggestion. I recognize the service they rendered. But when my friends say that I have attacked the Roman Catholic Church, I say there is no foundation whatever for that statement. Taking the preaching and teaching clergy together, every one knows that the great majority of them were opposed to the law of compulsory military service in the province of Quebec. I do not question their right to be opposed to it, any more than I question the right of the Protestant clergy in Ontario or the Roman Catholic clergy in that province to support it. Indeed, there was no finer supporter of compulsory military service in Ontario than the Roman Catholic Bishop of London, and I did not hesitate upon the platform through the campaign to pay tribute to the splendid service he was rendering Canada. As I say, I do not question the right of the Catholic clergy. I differed from their view on the issue and I set out the issue on that occasion fairly, as I believed it to be. May I read to the House my statement as reported in the Globe. Some of my friends on the Government side may not like this statement, but I will repeat it as I said it on that occasion:

> As Liberals we have claimed that the surrender in the year 1911 of the Conservative Party in the province of Quebec to this Nationalist-Clerical influence was a grave national blunder, from which we have suffered through the whole period of the war. But the surrender of the Liberal party to-day in the province of Quebec to this same influence, when Canada is at war struggling for her existence is a national calamity, from the baneful consequences of which Canada may suffer for generations, and the only hope of averting the full measure of the calamity is to decisively defeat the effort now being put forth by these influences to dominate the political life of Canada and take Canada out of the war.
>
> If Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been twenty years younger I believe he would have fought this sinister influence in the province of Quebec, just as he did in 1896, and would have triumphed over it.
>
> I was opposed to the Nationalist propaganda in 1911 when Canada was at peace. I am doubly opposed to it to-day, when Canada is at war. The Liberals of Ontario were united in opposition to this Nationalist propaganda in 1911; they should be doubly united in opposing it to-day.
>
> When Sir Wilfrid Laurier announced his policy of a referendum Bourassa endorsed it, and gave as a reason for endorsation that it was his policy which he had already advocated. A Nationalist policy is no more palatable to us, even if covered with a Liberal veneer, but it is vastly more dangerous, because, thus disguised, it may secure the support of thousands of honest, sincere, public-spirited Liberals throughout Canada who would repudiate it and fight it to the end if it were naked and undisguised nationalism.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not detain the House to read the rest of my North Bay address, but I shall read the closing paragraph:

The only basis for permanent unity between the races in Canada is to be found in mutual confidence and respect based on common service and common sacrifice. So long as the people of Quebec deliberately isolate themselves from the rest of Canada by refusing to join in the common service and the common sacrifice, just so long will they erect barriers between the races which can only lead to disunion and disaster. The hope of unity in Canada lies in Quebec joining with the other provinces in wholehearted support of our men at the front and the cause for which so many have died. And if Canada expresses her voice unmistakably on the 17th December, we may expect, we have every right to expect, that Quebec will loyally accept the decision, the basis for Canadian unity will be restored, our troops at the front will be reinforced, and the cause of democracy and human liberty will receive a new vindication.

That is the view I entertained then, that is the view I entertain to-day and my reason for entertaining it will be apparent when I put this question to my hon. friends. I do not question the fact that they are as anxious to preserve Canadian unity as we are, but I will put this question to them. If the last general election had gone the other way, if compulsory military service had been defeated; if our troops had not been adequately reinforced; if our men at the front had been left without support; and if disaster had come to Canadian arms, what would have been the position and feeling in Canada, not for a generation but for generations? There would have been created in Canada a religious and racial cleavage which decades would not have healed. There was only one way to preserve Canadian unity, and that was by all accepting the common obligation, by all standing behind our men overseas until the war was won. And it will stand to the everlasting credit of that distinguished man, Sir Wilfrid Laurier that when the verdict was given at the polls, when the people of Canada decided that the law should go into operation, he urged and strongly urged his compatriots in Quebec to accept the decision of the people; and I am quite sure the attitude he then took rendered the task of the Government, the task of the people of Canada, much easier than it otherwise would have been.

I have detained the House at greater length than I had intended. I had no thought of intervening, but these matters have been discussed and I desired to deal with them. I will not trouble the House with the other petty matters mentioned in the speech of the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Murphy). They are as false and misleading as the ones with which I have dealt. It may be that I should have dealt with these larger matters before, but many of my friends thought it was not worth while in view of the fact that I was not in the House to deal with them at the time. Whether I was right or wrong, I have given the House the facts this afternoon, and hon. members are able to judge of the position for themselves. I have no regrets in the course I took, in 1917 and I am sure that Liberals on this side of the House have no regrets either.

Mr. RICHARDSON: They are proud of it.

Mr. ROWELL: They feel that they rendered Canada a service in the most critical period in the country's history, and I venture one more prediction, Mr. Speaker. When the history of this period comes to be written, the noblest chapter in the annals of the Liberal party throughout this time will be the fact that in the face of a grave national crisis they put the country's interests before those of their party; they stood for Canada, they stood for the cause for which Canada was fighting, for the gallant men overseas who were pouring out their life's blood to preserve our homes and liberties and the liberties of all mankind. They helped to save Confederation and they made their contribution to the limit of their ability to help win this war for Canada and democracy.

Mr. J. A. ROBB (Chateauguay-Huntingdon): In the few moments that remain before six o'clock I desire to make a short review of the speech of the hon. minister, the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell). Whatever may be thought of the acrobatic feats of our hon. friend, no person will contend that he is a man who rushes quickly to conclusions. The hon. member for Russell (Mr. Murphy), at the first session of this Parliament, made certain charges and statements against the President of the Privy Council.

Since that time both hon. gentlemen have faced each other in this House day after day. No reference was made by the President of the Privy Council to the charges of the hon. member for Russell, while that hon. gentleman was in his seat, and no attempt was made to reply to them. Eighteen months afterwards, when the hon. member for Russell is out of the country, sick, the President of the Privy Council takes advantage of the opportunity, in the closing hours of this debate, to make an attempt to reply to the charges of the hon. member for Russell. I shall leave it to the President of the Privy Council and the member for Russell to settle their own personal quarrel.

What I rose more particularly for was to congratulate the President of the Privy Council upon his change of heart as regards the people of the province of Quebec. Like the hon. gentleman I desire unity throughout this country, and I only wish that he had had at heart, at the time of the election in 1917, the same thoughts that he has expressed to-day. No person took a larger share in organizing the forces of the Union Government party in Ontario during the election of 1917 than did the President of the Privy Council. Indeed, we are told that he had charge of the campaign in Ontario, that he had charge of the advertising.

Mr. ROWELL: In order that my hon. friend may not be under a misapprehension, I may say that his information is quite inaccurate. I was speaking throughout the country. I had charge neither of the organization nor of the advertising.

Mr. ROBB: My hon. friend will not deny participation in the organization of those who took charge of the advertising for the Union Government party in Ontario, in the election of 1917? I am sure my hon. friend will not go that far.

Mr. ROWELL: No; as a matter of information, I did not have anything to do with the organization of those who arranged for the advertising. I was spending my time throughout the campaign speaking on platforms from one end of Ontario to the other.

Mr. ROBB: While my hon. friend was speaking for the Union Government party throughout the province of Ontario and in different parts of the country the Union party also had an organization centred in Toronto which was putting out advertising, preparing set speeches for speakers, and sending out circular letters to the clergy. My hon. friend must not forget when he attacks the Roman Catholic priests of the province of Quebec, that there was another set of clericals which was equally active in the campaign of 1917. I hold in my hand a copy of the Presbyterian and Westminster issued on December 13, 1917. At page 569 of that journal there is a paid advertisement of the Union Government party. I will not read all of the advertisement, but having in mind the statement just made by the President of the Privy Council as regards his desire to promote unity throughout this country and his admiration for the French Canadians and the part they took in the war, I wish to read a couple of paragraphs from this advertisement:

> There is only one issue—shall we continue to fight, or slink from the field—saying, as the French-Canadians are saying, "We have done enough." .....If Laurier wins there will be no necessity for a Referendum. This election is the Referendum.....Support Union Government.

Then at page 573—

Mr. MORPHY: Would the hon. gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. ROBB: I have only a few minutes and I want to get through before six.

Mr. MORPHY: I would just like to ask the hon. gentleman a question now.

Mr. ROBB: At page 573 of the same Journal we find this advertisement:

> The man is a slanderer who says that the farmers of Ontario will vote with Bourassas, pro-Germans, suppressors of free speech and slackers.

At the same time that they were putting out this advertisement to the farmers of Ontario there was another organization in Toronto sending out telegrams by the thousand, a sample of which I hold in my hand, telling them that their boys would be exempted from military service because they were required for agricultural work. At page 575 of the same journal we have another advertisement reading as follows:

> Is a united Quebec to rule all Canada?
>
> Germany benefits by division among her enemies. Upon whom would she look in Canada as furthering her designs? Not Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Rowell and their colleagues in the Union Government.
>
> We, therefore, call upon all English-speaking men and women to realize that—Canada, divided by political factions and old-time party questions, is at the mercy of a united Quebec. Union Government alone can save Canada from the menace of French-Canadian domination.

That is the sort of stuff that the President of the Privy Council was putting out in 1917. That is the way he was attempting to bring unity throughout all the provinces of Canada. He was putting out telegrams to the farmers of his own province telling them that their sons would be exempted and appealing to them to vote to compel the French people of Quebec to go to war. That was the kind of campaign that was carried on in 1917.

In the closing days of this debate, and after the signing of the Peace Treaty, I regret exceedingly to open up these old sores, but I hope that when the campaign comes—and I can see from the speech of the President of the Privy Council

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that he is preparing for another campaign—he will get down to the facts presented this afternoon by the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères (Mr. Archambault), leave out sectionalism, devote his energies to the great problems of the day and try to reduce the high cost of living. You will never reduce the high cost of living by sending out a paid profiteer who, before the war, had a very small salary and who, to-day, we are told, is doing very well under this Union Government—sending out a gentleman like Mr. O'Connor who makes the statement to the farmers of this country that if they put up the price of their milk to what it is worth in the United States he will fine them $1,000 and put them in jail for a year. That is not the way to increase production in this country. That is not the way to reduce the high cost of living. If the President of the Privy Council and his associates will look about them they will find that milch cows are going out of this country by the car load. Why? Because there is an agitation to keep down the price of dairy products in this country. These products are worth more in the United States, and if the farmers cannot sell their products at a reasonable price in their own country the milch cow is going. The people in the cities who are carrying on this campaign through the newspapers are going to pay more for their product than they have been paying. They are the people who are responsible, because of the campaign they are carrying on, for discouraging production throughout the agricultural districts of the country.

Motion agreed to.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty it was ordered that the Address be engrossed and transmitted to His Excellency the Governor General by such members of the House as are of the honourable the Privy Council.

At six o'clock the House adjourned

Thursday, September 18, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

DEATH OF LADY FOSTER.

On the Order for Motions:

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Acting Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the hearts of all the members of this House have gone out in sincere sympathy to our friend and colleague Sir George Foster, on learning of the very sad and irreparable bereavement that has come to him. I know that this House will feel that it is fitting that it should give some expression of its sympathy. We all realize how utterly inadequate any expression of sympathy must be if looked at as consolation for such a loss as that which our colleague has sustained. But at the same time I feel that the House will agree with me when I say that, in so far as any expression on our part may serve, if not to console, at least to bring to our colleague in his sorrow the assurance that it is our profound desire, if it were in our power, to offer him consolation, it is fitting that we should tender him that expression.

It would perhaps not be proper that I should allow myself to say any word in regard to the lady who during so many years has been the helpmeet of our distinguished colleague. Those of us who have known her——and no doubt all of us have—have learned to admire the estimable lady who went about quietly doing good, interesting herself in so many things that contribute to the uplift of our people and who did not spare herself in the direction of giving aid in the course of the recent war, doing everything within her power to assist those who were engaged in various activities and those who suffered as a result of the war.

Of our colleague himself I do not purpose to say anything. He is the father of this House in years of service here. We have all come to look upon him with respect, to appreciate his personal qualities and to regard him as in very truth a father to us, the members of this House.

I beg to move, as a tribute of respect to our colleague and of sympathy with him in his great loss, that when this House adjourns this evening it do stand adjourned until four o'clock to-morrow afternoon, in order that we, the members of this House, may be permitted to pay the last tribute of respect to the spouse of our colleague and thereby express our sympathy with him, in his irreparable bereavement.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, I concur at once in everything that has been so fittingly said by the hon. the acting leader of the Government (Mr. Doherty) with respect to our esteemed colleague, the right hon. the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) and I also agree fully with

what he has so appropriately said about Lady Foster who has passed away. The acting leader of the Government has so well expressed our sympathy with the Minister of Trade and Commerce and our respect for the departed, that all I can add, Sir, is to express my entire concurrence in what he has said and in the motion which he has made, which motion I beg to second. I know that in doing so I act in accordance with the wish of every hon. member on this side of the House.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: With the consent of the House it has been moved by Hon. Mr. Doherty, seconded by Mr. McKenzie:

That as a tribute of respect and an expression of our sympathy with the Right Honourable Sir George Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, when this House adjourns to-day, it stand adjourned until four o'clock to-morrow afternoon, in order to enable the members of the House to attend the funeral of the late Lady Foster.

Motion agreed to.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk).

TREATMENT OF DEFAULTERS.

*Mr. GAUVREAU:

1. Is it the intention of the Government, during the present session, to introduce a general amendment to The Military Service Act, 1917, in favour of defaulters throughout Canada?
2. Does the Government intend ordering a cessation of the hunt for defaulters, and thereby put an end to heavy expenditures and to a shameful excess of zeal in connection with the enforcement of the said Military Service Act in regard to those who failed to report for obligatory service?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY::

1. Announcement of any policy decided on will be made in due course.
2. Answered by number 1.

Mr. ETHIER:

1. Has the attention of the Government been directed to a resolution which has recently been passed by the Municipal Council of the City of Montreal, and which in effect is as follows:

"Whereas the war has ended, and enlistments of men in Canada have stopped;

"Whereas certain countries, more particularly that of France, have shown themselves rather lenient towards those who frustrated the Act relating to military service;

"Whereas Canada, in its status of a British colony, has nobly done its duty towards the Mother Country;

"Whereas His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will do us the honour of visiting our city for a few days in the month of October;

"Be it resolved:

"That His Royal Highness be respectfully approached upon the occasion of his visit to the metropolis of Canada, and entreated with a view to obtaining an amnesty in favour of those who, by failing to enlist, did not conform to the provisions of the Act respecting military service; also that the penalty which the tribunals imposed as to fines, be revoked and that the said fines be remitted."

2. If so, will the said resolution receive the approbation of the Government?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. No.
2. Answered by number 1.

ST. MALO SHOPS.

Mr. PARENT:

1. Have the St. Malo shops, in the city of Quebec, been opened? If so, since when?
2. How many employees are at present working in said shops?
3. What are the names, addresses and respective calling of each?
4. What are the names, calling and previous address of the superintendent and foremen employed in said shops?
5. How many members of the executive and office staff have been transferred to St. Malo shops from Moncton and elsewhere?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. The passenger car shop has, the locomotive shop has not yet opened but is being prepared. Passenger car repairs started June 1.

2. On September 2nd there were about 220 men. 100 of these on permanent work and the balance preparing shops for occupation.

3 and 4. Name, H. Byford, position, passenger car shop assistant foreman, profession, assistant foreman painter; name, G. Fred Knight, position, shops' superintendent, profession, mechanical engineer, former address, Moncton, N.B.; name, J. S. Jackson, position, passenger car shop foreman, profession, passenger car shop foreman, former address, Limoilou; name, J. Sutton, position, passenger car shop assistant foreman, profession, leading carpenter, former address, Limoilou; name, C. Blackshaw, position, passenger car shop foreman, profession, leading pipe fitter, former address, Limoilou; name, P. Nolan, position, forge shop assistant foreman, profession, forge shop foreman, former address, Toronto; name, F. S. Mackasey, position, equipment assistant foreman, profession, machinist, former address, Moncton. In addition to the above the following foremen are here temporarily on construction and not under shops superintendent: G. P. Thomas, regular electrical foreman on construction work, C.N.R. Eastern lines, Toronto; G. Legard, regular B. & B. district foreman, Quebec; A. St. Laurent, special B. & B. foreman, Quebec.

5. The only permanent Canadian National Railway employees on executive or office staff transferred from Moncton or elsewhere to these shops are as follows:

1, Shops superintendent, Moncton; 2, chief clerk, Joffre; 1, clerk, River du Loup; 1, stenographer, Moncton; 1, temporary draughtsman, Halifax; 1, temporary draughtsman, Amherst; 1, draughtsman, Chester; 1, assistant foreman, Moncton; 1, assistant foreman, Toronto; 1, foreman (from Limoilou shop), Quebec; 3, assistant foremen (from Limoilou shop), Quebec.

REPAIRS ON CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAY.

Mr. PARENT:

1. Has a contract been entered into for the repairs on Canadian National railway line between Cap Rouge and Portneuf?
2. If so, when was said contract signed and by whom?
3. Have many tenders been received for said work? If so, how many, what are the names of the various tenderers and the amount of each tender?
4. Who was the successful tenderer and what was the price of the tender?
5. In what length of time must the completion of the works take place?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. Yes.

2. Contract signed July 21, 1919, by Contractors V. T. Bartram and K. A. Morrison and for the railway company by A. J. Mitchell, vice president, and R. P. Ormsby, secretary.

3. Five tenders were received. Names are as follows: Angus Sinclair, O'Brien and Doheny, Dominion Construction Company, V. T. Bartram and K. A. Morrison, J. T. Davis and J. F. Davis. The contractors tendered on a unit basis, therefore the total amount of the contract will not be known until the work is finished, as it is not known at this time the total quantities of the different materials that will be necessary.

4. V. T. Bartram and K. A. Morrison. See also answer No. 3.

5. December 1, 1919.

ENEMY ALIENS INTERNED.

Mr. EULER:

1. How many enemy aliens are still interned in Canada?
2. How many enemy aliens were interned after the signing of the armistice?
3. Is it the intention of the Government to make early disposition of the interned enemy aliens in Canada?
4. When may their release or repatriation be expected?
5. May a British subject, being a naturalized citizen of New Zealand, of German origin, be interned in Canada?
6. May he be deported to Germany?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. 847.

2. 91.

3. Yes. 1,414 have already been repatriated.

4. Sundry releases are now under consideration. The next repatriation will probably be in October if a ship be available.

5 and 6. The answers must depend upon facts of the particular case.

RAILWAY PROVIDENT FUND.

*Mr. GAUVREAU:

1. Has the Honourable the Minister of Railways communicated with the officers in charge of the Railway Employees Provident Fund with a view of reaching a final conclusion towards the granting of an increase of pension so far as the superannuated employees of the Canadian National Railways are concerned?
2. If so, what action has been decided upon?
3. If not, when does the Government propose to take action respecting those superannuated employees whose present pension allowance is inadequate, if one takes into account the present high cost of living?

Hon. Mr. REID: The whole question of pensions on Government owned and controlled railways, is now under consideration, but in view of negotiations towards the acquisition of additional lines, a final decision cannot be reached for some time.

WAR SERVICE GRATUITY.

Mr. POWER:

Is it the custom in granting war service gratuity to former staff officers, to allot moneys to them at the rate of their staff pay?

Major-General MEWBURN: Yes, all staff or regimental officers are paid war service gratuity at the rate of pay of which they were in receipt at the time of retirement and as shown on last pay certificate.

EAST TRACADIE LOBSTER HATCHERY.

Mr. MICHAUD:

1. Were tenders asked for supplying coal to the lobster hatchery at East Tracadie, N.S., in 1917 and 1918?
2. If so, what were the names and addresses of the various tenderers and the amount of each tender?
3. To whom was the contract awarded and at what price?
4. How many tons were purchased?
5. How many tons were on hand when the hatchery ceased operations?
6. Has the coal on hand been sold? If so, to whom and at what price?

Major-General MEWBURN:

1. Tenders were obtained locally by the officer in charge for the supply required in 1917; no supply was required in 1918.

2 and 3. Edward Haley, Antigonish, N.S., was the only tenderer and was awarded the contract at $7.95 per ton for the coal delivered in the hatchery.

4. Forty tons.

5. Thirty-five tons.

6. Every endeavour was made to dispose of this coal to the best possible advantage. The Nova Scotia Provincial Fuel Controller was approached, as were also three coal dealers in Antigonish, N.S., and also other departments of the Government. Owing to the difficulty of removal, the best quotation for its disposal was received from Edward Haley, Antigonish, N.S., at $2 per ton in the hatchery.

BAMFIELD LIFE-SAVING STATION.

Mr. STEVENS:

1. Is the following statement contained in the Vancouver Daily Province of 3rd September, 1919, true, in so far as it relates to the closing of the Bamfield life-saving station?

"To Cease Life-Saving."

"When the steamer Valencia was sunk off the west coast of Vancouver Island in January, 1906, the distressing event drew attention to dangers lying in wait on that jagged rocky coast for mariners. Officials and Governments got busy, and large amounts were spent on the west coast road and on the Bamfield life-saving station. It is now understood from provincial and Dominion authorities that this highly necessary life-saving station is to be closed. The power boat which has hitherto been kept in readiness at Bamfield is to be removed. The purpose now is to have only one life boat on the entire west coast of Vancouver Island, which will be stationed at Tofino.

2. If this station is to be closed has the Government given due consideration to the possible serious consequence in loss of life?

3. Is the Government fully aware of the exceedingly dangerous character of the west coast of Vancouver Island, also of the distances and difficulties of serving that coast from only one point?

4. Is the Government aware of the constantly increasing number of fishing and coastal vessels plying on the west coast and the consequent increasing necessity for life-saving stations?

Major-General MEWBURN:

1. It is not the intention of the Government to close the Bamfield life-saving station.

2. Answered by No. 1.

3 and 4. The Government is aware of the conditions existing in this regard on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

FINES PAID BY M. S. A. DEFAULTERS.

Mr. TOBIN:

1. Are the fines imposed throughout Canada upon defaulters under the Military Service Act paid into the treasury of Canada or that of the provinces in which they are imposed?

2. How much money has been received from this source to date?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. The fines are generally paid into the Receiver General of Canada. In certain cases, however, payment has been withheld and in such cases steps are being taken to compel payment to the Receiver General.

2. Up to September 15, 1919, the sum of $238,893.77.

MILITARY PENALTIES.

Mr. TOBIN:

1. Is the Government aware that in the districts of Bedford and St. Francis, the terms of the Order in Council concerning the punishment of military defaulters are strictly adhered to by the local magistrates, the minimum fines imposed being $250 with an alternative of three months' imprisonment?

2. Is the Government aware that in the District of Montreal and elsewhere, the terms of the Order in Council are disregarded and defaulters are being condemned to the payment of fines of $25 and even less in some cases?

3. If so, what steps are being taken to secure even justice for all defaulters under the Military Service Act?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. Yes.

2. In certain cases the regulations with respect to minimum penalties have been disregarded.

3. Instructions have been given to institute proceedings by way of appeal in all such cases.

SALE OF ICE BREAKER.

*Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:

1. When was the Steamer Hazen, a Government owned icebreaker, disposed of to Russia?

2. If so, upon what terms or stipulations was the said icebreaker disposed of?

3. Will the said icebreaker be returned to the Canadian Government? If so, when?

4. If not, does the Government intend to build another icebreaker, as promised, in order to facilitate winter navigation in the lower St. Lawrence?

5. Have the Canadian delegates at the Peace Conference insisted upon having the said icebreaker, the Hazen, returned to Canada?

Hon. Mr. GUTHRIE:

1. His Majesty's Government were advised on February 26, 1916, that the Canadian Government would agree to transfer the vessel to the Russian Government.

2. The icebreaker, in its then unfinished condition was, on the request of His

Majesty's Government, transferred to the Russian Government, the consideration being that the total amount expended by the Canadian Government on the construction of the vessel should be refunded.

3. In so far as the Government is aware the further disposition of the vessel rests with the Russian authorities.

4. Under consideration.

5. The Government having received payment in full for the vessel the delegates to the Peace Conference did not insist on the return of the vessel.

PAY OF CANADIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

Mr. POWER:

1. Has an increase of pay been granted to the men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force by an Order in Council of April 12, 1919?

2. If so, has this increase been made applicable to the O.M.F.C.?

3. If not, why?

Major-General MEWBURN:

1. As far as N. C. O's. and men are concerned, P. C. 809 merely equalizes for Canada the rates of pay paid overseas, and makes these rates of pay applicable to Medical and Dental Services.

2 and 3. Answered by No. 1.

CANTEEN FUNDS.

Mr. POWER:

1. Has the Canadian Government claimed any share of the proceeds from the British Expeditionary Force canteen funds in France?

2. If so, how have these funds been disposed of?

Major-General MEWBURN:

1 and 2. This information is not available in Canada, but a cable has been sent to the Overseas Ministry asking for the same.

AUDITING OF REGIMENTAL FUNDS.

Mr. POWER:

1. Have the regimental funds of the battalions in Canadian Expeditionary Forces ever been audited?

2. Are there any moneys remaining?

3. If so, what is the amount due to each battalion?

4. What are the intentions of the Government with regard to the disposition thereof?

Major-General MEWBURN:

1. Yes, both in Canada and overseas.

2, 3 and 4. All moneys thus received have been placed by each unit concerned in the hands of a regimental board of trustees to be administered by them for the benefit of the men belonging to such units.

All other funds of other units or institutions for which trustees have not been appointed are being deposited to the credit of the Receiver General to a special account.

[Mr. Guthrie.]

Any claims submitted against such funds will be dealt with by Order in Council in each case and charged to the special account.

It is impossible to state, at this date, what will be the amount involved.

QUESTIONS PASSED AS ORDERS FOR RETURNS.

* Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:

1. What was the total number of men who joined the Expeditionary Force for service in Siberia?

2. How many of such number voluntarily enlisted for service in Siberia?

3. Is the Government aware as to whether or not a considerable number of members of such Expeditionary Force were made to embark at Victoria, B.C., by compulsion and with the point of the bayonet directed at them?

4. Is the Government aware as to whether or not certain members of such Expeditionary Force who had not voluntarily enlisted for service in Siberia were courtmartialed and sentenced to hard labour? If so, who are such members and what was the nature of the sentence?

5. What is the cost to the Government of the Expeditionary Force for service in Siberia?

Mr. FRIPP:

1. Has the Government leased to private persons or corporations engaged in the lumber business in the City of Ottawa or vicinity, the booms, slides and waterways on the Ottawa and Gatineau Rivers heretofore maintained and administered by the Ottawa River works branch of the Department of Public Works?

2. If so, what is the consideration paid for such lease or transfer, who are the lessees or tranferees, and for what period of time does such lease or transfer run?

3. What was the cost of these improvements made on both rivers to the people of Canada including the maintenance and administration thereof since same were constructed, to date?

4. Had the Hon. F. B. Carvell any authority from Parliament to so dispose of public works constructed and maintained out of the revenue of Canada? If so, when was such authority granted?

CANADIAN CREDIT TO ROUMANIA—

STATEMENT BY HON. MR. DOHERTY.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. DOHERTY: I now have the information for which the leader of the Opposition asked the other day with regard to the purchases made by the Roumanian Government and the credit extended to it:

Under an agreement entered into on the 12th day of April, 1919, between Sir George E. Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, acting in behalf of His Majesty the King for the Government of the Dominion of Canada and I. I. C. Bratiano, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs representing the Government of the Kingdom of Roumania, it was agreed that the Government of the Dominion of Canada should extend a credit to the Government of the Kingdom of Roumania for a sum not exceeding twenty-five million dollars ($25,000,000).

This agreement was confirmed by Order in Council P.C. 834, April 17, 1919.

To date the Dominion Government has made advances totalling $6,353,600.

Bonds of the Government of Roumania for full amount of credit have been deposited with the Bank of Montreal, London, England, on behalf of the Dominion Government.

DEPARTMENT OF SOLDIERS' CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT AMENDMENT ACT.

SECOND READING MOVED BY HON. MR. ROWELL.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: With the consent of the House, in view of the urgency of the Bill which is on the Order Paper under Government Orders, dealing with the question of soldiers' civil re-establishment, I beg leave to move that the House do now proceed to take up Government Orders, with a view to considering that Bill, subject to our reverting afterwards to the regular order and affording opportunity to deal with the measures there mentioned.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: This motion can only be made with the unanimous consent of the House.

The House gave unanimous consent.

On the Order for the second reading of Bill No. 10, to amend the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Act.—Hon. Mr. Rowell.

Hon. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers and St. Maurice): I do not want to speak against the principle of the Bill, but I think the House ought to have some enlightenment with respect to the amendments which are now being proposed by the President of the Privy Council. The Bill provides, in section 5 (e), that the minister shall have the management and control of all matters relating to the re-establishment in civil life of all persons who have served in the naval and military forces of His Majesty, etc., and there is a long list of Orders in Council, following the practice adopted during the war, and which we had a right to expect had been discontinued, giving the Governor in Council power to do almost everything. The House is also entitled to receive some specific information from the minister why powers have been granted to the officers who, under the Act, may be appointed either in the Senate or in the House of Commons, to represent the department besides the President of the Privy Council himself.

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Council): Mr. Speaker, the Bill now before the House, the second reading of which I have the honour to move, is by way of amendment to the existing Act creating the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. In the session of 1918 legislation was passed creating this department and giving the minister charge of all matters relating to the re-establishment of our soldiers in civil life. The definition of the classes of men to whom the Act applies has been made under an Order in Council passed under the War Measures Act.

The allowances which are paid to these men if they were undergoing treatment in the hospitals operated by the Commission are also defined by these Orders in Council. If the ex-soldiers are taking vocational training in the institutions established by the Commission, or in which work is carried on under the authority of the Commission, the pay and allowances of such ex-soldiers during the period of training are fixed by these Orders in Council.

Then as hon. members are aware, Mr. Speaker, there are in Canada a very substantial number of men who were residents here when the war broke out, but were either reservists in the Imperial Army, or enlisted in some branch of the Imperial service and went overseas to serve in the army of Great Britain. Many of them have now returned to this country and are back in civil life again. On the other hand a number of our men, Canadians either by birth or by residence, who served in our expeditionary force, remained overseas and took their discharge in England.

Mr. BUREAU: Do I understand the minister to say they have taken or have not taken their discharge?

Mr. ROWELL: They have been discharged and have remained overseas. I may say for the sake of clearness that the Department of Soldiers Civil Re-Establishment does not deal with any man who has not been discharged. So long as he is a member of the army he continues under the jurisdiction of the Department of Militia and Defence; but as soon as he is discharged his restoration to civil life, or his re-training for some suitable occupation, or his treatment in a hospital or public institution comes under the jurisdiction of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment.

As I have said, there were British reservists in Canada and Canadians who served in the British army, and there were Canadian citizens in Great Britain who served in the Canadian army. In regard to these men

reciprocal arrangements are being worked out whereby the Government of Canada, through the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, will act for the Imperial Government in giving the necessary training or medical treatment to soldiers who formed a part of the British army; and, on the other hand, the British Government through its proper administrative branch, will give corresponding care to soldiers who served in our army and took their discharge in Great Britain.

The same situation exists as between Canada and the United States. A very substantial number of Canadians, residents of the United States, responded to the call and enlisted in the Canadian forces and fought side by side with our men. There are also in Canada a number of Americans by birth who were called up or enlisted in the American army and fought with that army in France and have now returned to settle in the Dominion. Here, again, a reciprocal arrangement has been worked out between the Government of the United States and the Canadian Government whereby Canadians who fought in our Expeditionary Force, but who are residing in the United States, will be looked after by the proper department of the American Government, we in turn looking after, through the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, American soldiers who are residing in Canada.

Mr. BUREAU: That includes residents before enrolment?

Mr. ROWELL: Residents at the time of enrolment, I believe, although under the reciprocal arrangement it would not make much difference, because the expense is to be borne by the country which is responsible for its own soldiers. In other words, we will be recouped all expenses we are put to in looking after American soldiers in Canada, and the American Government will be recouped all expenses they are put to in looking after Canadian soldiers in the United States; and the same arrangement will apply as between Canada and Great Britain. Negotiations are now under way for a similar reciprocal arrangement between Canada and France, Australia and New Zealand, and it is anticipated that an understanding will be arrived at with those countries. I mention these matters because in this particular it is absolutely necessary that there should be legislative authority to enable the department to enter into and carry out these reciprocal arrangements and to make the necessary expenditures; our existing legislation is not adequate for the purpose.

Before proceeding to review more in detail the general provisions of the Bill and to give the reasons why the legislation is necessary, may I be permitted for a few minutes to draw the attention of the House to the important character of the work that is being carried on by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment? I am sure hon. members will realize that no more important or responsible task can face the Government than that of endeavouring to bring back into civil life at the earliest practical date and with the minimum of industrial or economic disturbance the men who have fought so gallantly in our forces —men drawn from civilian life and who now desire to return to civilian life—and to bring them back under conditions as advantageous to them as possible. I am sure we all agree that it is not only in the interests of the soldiers themselves, but in the interests of Canada as a whole that they should get back into civilian life without delay. It is the desire of an overwhelming mass of the men themselves that they should get back into civilian life at the earliest practical date and form part of the producing forces of the country, because during the period through which we are passing one of the most vital factors in our ability to bear the burdens which the war has imposed upon us is the productive power of the nation.

The work of the department may be divided into four branches. So far as the care of the widows and dependents of the fallen are concerned, they are looked after by the pension law which was passed last session, and which is administered by the Board of Pension Commissioners. While that board is attached to the department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, it exercises its own authority and jurisdiction under the legislation passed by this House last session, and the Government has no control over its decisions. But not only must the widows and dependents of our fallen soldiers be cared for, but also those who are wholly or partially disabled by reason of war service, and those who are suffering from wounds or disease likely to involve protracted ill-illness, or from disease which is incurable. All such are discharged from the army as soon as possible and pass under the care of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. The department, therefore, has to provide the necessary hospitals and appropriate treatment to care for men of this class. One of the most important

branches of the work of the department is the vocational training.

In the case of those who come back from the front either wholly or partially disabled through wounds or disease due to or aggravated by service and are prevented from pursuing their pre-war occupations, the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment undertakes to give vocational training to fit them for some other useful occupation.

Another branch of the work relates to securing employment for the soldier who is physically fit. A man who has been discharged from the army desires to secure employment in some useful occupation, but having been away at the front, and there being no opportunity immediately available, he requires the co-operation and assistance of some branch or department of the Government. The Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment co-operates with the Dominion Labour Bureaux and with such organizations as the various provincial governments have established in an effort to secure suitable employment for discharged soldiers. In every one of the Dominion Employment Bureaux throughout Canada the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment has an officer whose special duty it is to meet, give information to, and assist all returned soldiers who may go to that office to secure employment for which they are qualified and which they desire to undertake.

In general terms I have now outlined the character of the work carried on by this department. May I indicate a little more in detail what has been accomplished in connection with the different branches of the work?

Take, first, medical treatment. I have referred to the incurable cases or the cases of protracted illness. In all such cases the pay and allowances which the men had been enjoying in the army are continued during the whole period of his illness until his recovery. If he is totally incapacitated from any disease—in the case of insanity there is some special provision as to pay—from which he cannot recover and if he is quite incapable of looking after himself, as an insane person would be, he becomes the ward of the nation; the State takes charge of him until his dying day. Provision is made for him and for his dependents. If is is a tubercular case requiring more or less protracted treatment, the State accepts the responsibility of caring for him until he recovers, if possible, or until he dies, if he is beyond recovery. The pay and allowances continue not only for the man but for his dependents also during the whole period that he is under treatment by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment.

I am sure that the House will be interested in learning something of the extent of this medical work. The number of patients receiving treatment in September 1918 was approximately 1,150. The number of patients treated during the week ending September 6, 1919, was 12,230. This shows the great expansion of this branch of the work. The hospitals operated by the Department for general treatment is 19, and the number of general treatment hospitals with which the department has made arrangements for treating patients is 16. The number of tuberculosis sanitoria operated by the department is 11 and the number of tuberculosis sanitoria with which the department has made arrangements for treatment is 12. This makes a total of 58 hospitals or institutions either directly operated by the department or with which the department has made arrangements for the medical care and treatment of patients under their charge.

Mr. P. McGIBBON (Muskoka): In the case of insane patients who need special treatment—that is, special nurses to look after them on account of the violent nature of their trouble—does the Government bear all the expense?

Mr. ROWELL: To answer that question I should have to refer to the Order in Council covering the matter. I shall come to that later.

In addition to the provision for the totally incapacitated and for those whose illness is likely to be protracted, the department accepts responsibility for the medical treatment of all those whose illness is due to or aggravated by service; and that obligation continues during the whole life of the ex-soldier. He may undergo treatment and may be cured, so far as cure is possible, and be discharged from the hospital. But if illness occurs one year, five years or ten years thereafter, due to or aggravated by his service in the field, he becomes entitled to be re-admitted to an institution under the charge of the department, and so long as he continues to undergo treatment he is entitled to the pay and allowances which he enjoyed in the army, as well as to free medical care and treatment. Let me make the position clear. The Government has undertaken to provide that every man who has served in the

Canadian forces and who suffers at any period of his life from disease or disability contracted or aggravated by service in the field shall have free medical treatment, and that during the period of his illness, no matter when it occurs, he shall receive the same pay and allowances to provide for himself and family as he would have received had he continued in the army.

Mr. GRIESBACH: Suppose a man is drawing a pension, and that in connection with the injury for which he draws pension some complication arises and he comes back under the care of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment and draws the pay and allowances which pertained to his rank when he left the service, do I understand that he drops his pension during that period?

Mr. ROWELL: In effect, yes, depending on the conditions. Probably the pay and allowances would be in excess of the pension, in which case the pension would be credited on the pay and allowances, and the man would be paid simply the surplus over and above the amount of the pension.

Mr. GRIESBACH: He receives the larger amount in any case?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes, if the pension is in excess of the pay and allowances, then he receives the pension.

The department has also accepted responsibility for the medical care and treatment of every soldier who served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, for one year after his discharge, no matter from what cause the illness may ensue. In other words, it is recognized that the men who served overseas and who came back not suffering from any disease or from any physical injury, have in many cases been compelled to undergo such a strain and subject themselves to such hardship that their resisting power to disease is more or less weakened for some period after their return.

So the department accepts full responsibility for medical care and treatment for one year after the discharge of the soldier, but in that case the soldier does not receive pay and allowance; he receives simply free medical treatment.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Will that be made retroactive in cases of those who have not received it in the past?

Mr. ROWELL: I do not remember the date when the Order in Council came into operation or the terms of it, but that is the general law governing the matter at the present time. I think it came into operation the first of the present year. Whether it would be retroactive or not would depend upon the terms of the Order in Council. I find the Order in Council was passed on the 24th February, 1919, and it would apply from that date.

Mr. McKENZIE: Would the minister mind reciting the terms of the Order in Council covering that point which he has just explained?

Mr. ROWELL: (Reading):

> The question of providing re-treatment for former members of the forces in cases where the disability is not clearly due to service, has been considered by the department, and the following ruling has been made:—
>
> When any ex-soldier applies for re-treatment, and it is questionable whether his disability is due to, or aggravated by service, the Unit Medical Director should give the ex-soldier the benefit of the doubt, if in his opinion, the general resistive power of the ex-soldier against disease has been lowered by war service to such a degree that it has induced the disability from which he suffers when he presents himself for re-treatment.

That was the ruling made under the prior Order in Council. Then this Order in Council recites:

> That on the return of the member of the forces from overseas, it has been found in many cases that there is a lowered physical resistance, which sometimes results in a disability not directly attributable to war service, but which undoubtedly is indirectly caused thereby. It is considered that this lowered resistance will prevail for some time after the retirement or discharge of the former member of the forces and that the department should be empowered to grant treatment and medicines only, to all former members of the forces who fall ill during the twelve months following the date of their retirement or discharge, when such treatment or medicine is not caused by a war disability.

The actual clause in the Order in Council concerning the matter is revised, clause (b) of paragraph 1:

> Any former member of the forces resident in Canada who, within twelve months after retirement or discharge from the forces or if he has been transferred to the department by the Department of Militia and Defence, or the Department of the Naval Service, for further continuance of treatment, within twelve months of the completion of such treatment requires medical or surgical treatment for a disability which is not due to or aggravated by service, shall be entitled to such medical or surgical treatment, provided that such disability is not due to vice or misconduct on the part of such former member of the forces, and that it shall be competent for a medical officer of the department to decide whether such disability is or is not due to such vice or misconduct; and provided also that the granting of such treatment shall not entitle such former member of the forces to receive pay and allowances from the department, nor shall it be deemed in any way

to entitle him to pension in respect of any disability not due to or aggravated by service.

That answers the question of my hon. friend. In addition to the foregoing, provision has been made for medical treatment by means of outdoor clinics in those centres where there are a sufficient number of discharged soldiers who may require treatment to justify the establishment of those outdoor clinics, and any soldier coming within the provisions of the Order in Council, who is entitled to treatment, may receive treatment readily at those places. If a soldier is too far away so that he cannot attend to receive medical treatment without loss of time, provision is made to pay his expenses and an allowance is given for the time he must spend in attending to receive treatment. The desire of the Government in the matter is that every facility should be provided in order to ensure that every returned soldier shall have the medical attention which he requires, even if his illness be not due to war service, for one year after discharge, if due to or aggravated by war service, through the whole period of his life.

The House will appreciate the magnitude of the work which has been carried on. When I point out that the amount paid for the month ending the 31st July in pay and allowances to ex-soldiers receiving treatment under the conditions I have mentioned, was no less a sum than $413,261. In other words, the Government is paying out, in pay and allowances to ex-soldiers and their dependents who are undergoing treatment in the hospitals under the charge of this department, a sum of approximately $5,000,000 a year. Of course, in the earlier months of the present year the amount was not so large; but owing to rapid demobilization and the bringing over from England of those who are in the hospitals there, the amounts may be increased during the latter months of the year.

Mr. GRIESBACH: With respect to points that are some three hundred miles away from an established centre—I have in mind Peace River in Alberta, 300 miles away from Edmonton—is there any proposal in the mind of the minister for provision for medical men to render assistance to soldiers so as to prevent a man from having to come in that distance for medical treatment?

Mr. ROWELL: I must admit that I am not able at the present time to answer my hon. friend's question, but I shall be glad to get the information for him. I do not know just what the provision is in such a case.

Mr. BUREAU: From what the minister states, it seems to me that it is going to be a merging between civil re-establishment and pensions. Last year we passed an Act providing for the support of disabled men and dependents. I understand now the same men are going to get under this civil re-establishment or the Orders in Council or the regulations which are being made, some more money and their dependents also are to be taken care of by the State. Where does the parting come in between the two Acts?

Mr. ROWELL: The point of severance is this. If a man is undergoing treatment for an illness which is likely to be protracted but which is of such a character that he could receive treatment at home as well as in a hospital under the charge of the department, and if it is probable that his illness will not be cured within a reasonable time, he may be discharged from the hospital and in that case awarded his pension, and he would then be dependent upon his pension for the support of himself and his family. If, however, his condition became such that he required to return to the hospital for treatment, he would then become entitled to be restored to the position of receiving pay and allowances. If his pension were less than the pay and allowances, it would be credited on account of the pay and allowance, and he would receive simply the additional amount over the pension to make up the amount which he would have received if still in the army.

If his pension is more than the pay and allowances, he would continue to draw his pension and receive treatment in the hospital. That is a case where the work of the Pensions Board and of the department compliment each other.

Mr. BUREAU: They touch pretty close. The line of severance is not very clear.

Mr. ROWELL: It is pretty close. It has to be worked out in a practical way as best it can be done, in dealing with a more or less difficult situation.

The Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment provides vocational training for any member of the forces, who is so disabled through war service that he cannot carry on his pre-war occupation, so as to fit him for some other useful occupation. During the time he is taking re-training he becomes entitled to the pay and allowances set forth in the Order in Council, which does not differ very materially from the pay and allowances he received while a soldier in the army. Hon. members will

recall that during last session, the question was raised in the House whether special provision should not be made for the young men under eighteen years of age who enlisted and served in our army overseas. They were not liable to be called up under our Militia Act or under our Military Service Act. They were under military age, but they were accepted and served overseas. The Government decided that these boys were entitled to exceptional treatment, and therefore all who enlisted under the age of eighteen years become entitled to the benefits of re-training, or other training in some useful occupation on the same basis as a disabled soldier, with this one qualification, that while the schedule of allowances is the same, if the department on investigation finds that the young man does not need this allowance, if his parents are in a good position and well able to give him the necessary training, the department is empowered not to grant pay and allowances. That is the only respect in which the pay and allowances granted to the boys under eighteen differs from the pay and allowances granted to the disabled soldier.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): Did the Government consider extending the advantages of the vocational training to a still wider field?

Mr. ROWELL: The matter has been considered by the Government, but up to date the Government has not seen its way clear to extend it further, but that is a proper question for the committee which I intend asking the House to appoint to consider. There are the two classes: vocational training for the men wholly or partially disabled from pursuing their pre-war occupation, and for the boys who enlisted under eighteen years of age.

In many cases this vocational training is started before the man leaves the hospital. When a man comes back from England and is in the hospital for treatment, if he is physically fit to commence his re-training, it is commenced in the hospital to the extent of his capacity to undertake it. It has been part of the policy of the Department,—and in that respect the policy is in entire agreement with the views of the Great War Veterans' Association,—to give these young men the privilege of taking their retraining as an apprentice in an actual factory or shop, so far as practicable, so that they will learn how to do the work by actually doing it. A substantial number are receiving their training in this way.

The number of men receiving re-training on August 31 of the present year was 11,134.

The total number who had completed their course of training at that time was 5,955. The House will be interested in knowing how far the men who have received their re-training have taken advantage of it by engaging in some useful occupation for which they have been trained. Of the total number who had been trained up to 31st August last 67.94 per cent were employed in the occupations for which they had been trained; 22.26 per cent had sought employment in some other occupation. The total number who have taken their places as civilian wage-earners after receiving re-training was 90.20 per cent. Of the remainder 3.23 per cent were sick, .83 per cent had died, and 5.74 per cent were unemployed, making up the total of 100 per cent of those who had graduated from the institutions under the department up to 31st August. Each graduate is followed up monthly until his permanent re-establishment in civil life is beyond question. The follow-up is of a double character. The Social Service Branch of the department, to which trained nurses are attached, follows up the man in his home with a view to rendering assistance, so far as it may be required in re-establishing his home. The inspectors of Industrial Survey also follow up the man in the factory to see that he is properly placed and is able to do the work committed to his care.

4 p.m.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Can the minister tell us the number of college students whose courses were interrupted by enlisting? I think we should have that information, as an application has been made by the principals of various colleges for assistance to these young men so that they could complete their courses.

Mr. ROWELL: I know some statistics have been compiled, but I am sorry I have not the figures here. The number would run into some thousands. The question of the students is a most important one and is receiving the consideration of the Government. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. Currie) presented a strong argument in favour of that proposal, and the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) presented strong considerations against it. It is a debatable question. We each may have our own views on it, and I think it is a perfectly proper question for the committee to consider and report upon.

Mr. MARCIL: Has the minister the figures by provinces?

Mr. ROWELL: I think they would be available, but I am sorry I have not got them here. Personally, I feel a very deep interest in the position of the student whose education was interrupted, and very strong reasons may be urged in the national interest why he should have the opportunity to complete his course.

The House will be interested in knowing the pay and allowances for the soldiers who are undergoing retraining. While undergoing training the allowances payable to a former member of the forces who is without dependents is $60 a month. If he has partial dependents such additional allowance may be made as in the opinion of the department may be deemed necessary, provided that the additional allowance paid to or on account of such partial dependent person or persons shall not exceed $25 per month. If he is a married man he gets $85 per month For one child he gets $10 a month additional, for two children $18, for three children $25; if more than three children, $25 per month, plus $6 a month for each child in excess of three. If he is living at a point where he cannot take this retraining and remain at home, he receives an additional allowance of $8 per month and his wife receives an additional allowance of the same amount. I believe the members of the House will say that the provisions for re-training are an evidence of Canada's determination to do justice to her partially disabled soldiers.

In order that the soldier may not be placed at any disadvantage as compared with the position he occupied in the army, a flat rate allowance is given to take the place of the grant from the Patriotic Fund. The soldier therefore receives practically the same pay and allowances under this department while he is undergoing training as he received when he was serving in the army.

Mr. SHEARD: I did not quite understand how long the Government pays during that training. For what period is the payment made?

Mr. ROWELL: It is supposed to be for the period necessary to enable a man to fit himself for some other occupation. It is estimated that that should be done in a period of six months. In some cases it goes beyond that time and in other cases it is less.

Mr. SHEARD: Is there a limit of time beyond which it cannot be paid?

Mr. ROWELL: No, it is in the discretion of the department. If a case appears to be one in which there should be an extension, the department has power to extend the time. To indicate the magnitude of the operations being carried on by this branch, I would point out that the pay and allowances on account of vocational training for the month ended July 31, amounted to $940,725.

Mr. CHARLES MARCIL: For how many men?

Mr. ROWELL: I have not the exact number. This is not the whole amount the Government is spending in order to fit men, wholly or partially disabled, for resuming their places in the civil life of the country. This amount only covers the pay and allowances to the men and their dependents while undergoing training. There is the expense of carrying on the operations in addition.

Mr. GRIESBACH: It would be only fair to point out that there would be a decrease in the payment of pensions to the same extent and that that must be credited against the amount mentioned by the hon. the President of the Privy Council.

Mr. ROWELL: Yes, if a man is receiving a pension, it is applied on account or suspended as the case may be during retraining. He gets whichever is the larger.

Mr. ROSS: Does that include the expense of carrying on all these operations, paying the officials and so on? And if so, can the minister give us some idea approximately of how much that is per month?

Mr. ROWELL: I have not that information here.

Mr. ROSS: I understand that it is exceptionally large.

Mr. ROWELL: The amount is large—there is no doubt about that. For all branches we have voted this year approximately $30,000,000. For pay and allowances to men undertaking this retraining, for pay and allowances to men receiving treatment in the hospitals, and for all other expenditures in connection with the work.

Mr. ROSS: On the basis of the minister's statement that would only amount to $5,000,000 a year if the expenditure is $400,000 a month.

Mr. ROWELL: $940,000 a month would be about $10,000,000 a year.

Mr. ROSS: And the other $5,000,000 would make $15,000,000. Surely it does not cost $15,000,000 a year for official and other ex-

penditures to provide for this branch of the service?

Mr. ROWELL: No; my hon. friend is not correct in his statement, but all this information will be put before the committee when it meets. My recollection is that I gave a good deal of this information at the last session of the House when the Estimates for this department were under consideration. Had I known that the information would have been asked for to-day I would have been very glad to have secured it.

Another important branch of the work which is being carried on by the department is the assisting to secure employment for soldiers physically fit who have been discharged from the army.. As I explained in opening, the department works in co-operation with the Federal Department of Labour. There are ninety-five free Government employment offices throughout Canada extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and carried on under the Department of Labour in co-operation with the provinces. In every one of these the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment has its representative. The total number discharged from the army since the armistice up to August 31, 1919—that is between the 11th November, 1918, and the 31st August, 1919—was 316,589. Of these, 22 per cent, or 68,673, sought the assistance of the department to put them in touch with employment opportunities, or applied for assistance to secure positions. Of the number who applied for assistance, namely 68,673, 61,278 were placed in positions of a more or less permanent character. In that 61,278 the department has not included those who only remained a few days or changed several times. In addition, before the armistice, some 50,000 men had been placed in positions through the department in co-operation with the labour bureaux and provincial agencies, making a total of 111,278 men assisted by the department in securing employment in useful occupations. The 50,000 forms no part of the 316,000. The remainder of the 316,000 have not sought the assistance of the department to re-establish them in civil life, and it would be fair to assume that they have, largely or almost entirely through their own efforts, secured useful employment and have been absorbed back into the civil life of the country. Hon. members will therefore see that, either due to the efforts of the soldiers themselves or due to the co-operation of the labour bureaux and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, the overwhelming majority of the soldiers who have been discharged from the army have secured some useful employment and have been absorbed into civil life.

The House will be interested in hearing how many returned soldiers have secured employment in the Civil Service. According to the figures furnished me by the commission, for the six months ending August 31, 1919, 7,823 submitted themselves for examination for temporary employment; 1,970 submitted themselves for examination for permanent employment, or a total of 9,793. Of those who submitted themselves for examination, 6,277 passed for temporary employment and 758 for permanent employment. Seventy-two per cent were successful.

Mr. GRIESBACH: Successful in passing or in securing appointments?

Mr. ROWELL: In passing. During that period the Civil Service Commission appointed to positions in the Civil Service 5,320 returned soldiers. During the same period the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment gave temporary employment, in carrying on the work of the department, to 3,000 soldiers, making a total of 8,320 who secured employment, temporary or permanent, 5,320 in the other branches of the Civil Service, and 3,000 in the Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Department.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): What percentage would that be of the total number?

Mr. ROWELL: The total number of civilian males employed during that period was 867, most of whom were labourers. The House will see, that of 9,187 men appointed to various branches of the public service for the six months ending August 31, 1919, 8,320 were returned soldiers and only 861 civilians, most of whom were appointed as labourers. In addition to the foregoing, large numbers of men who had been in the Civil Service enlisted for service overseas. I understand that approximately 5,000 civil servants enlisted; 477 or thereabouts fell in action or died of disease. Of the remainder every man who was permanently employed and who was capable of resuming his position in the public service has been restored to his position if he cared to have it. So far as my information goes, practically the entire number have been restored to their posts in the service. If you add this number to the new appointments of soldiers to the public service for the period I have mentioned you will see how large a factor the

Government itself has been in restoring to civil life and to positions in the public service the men who served overseas.

Just a word or two with reference to another branch of the service, the Government provides ex-members of the forces who require them on account of disabilities due or aggravated by active service, with new limbs, splints, trusses, artificial eyes, elastic bandages and other orthopaedic or surgical appliances free of charge, and keeps these appliances renewed during the life of the ex-soldier. These are supplied at the expense of the Government, and during the period of fitting or adjustment—that is in the case of a soldier who requires to have an artificial limb or any other artificial appliance fitted—he is taken on the strength and receives the same pay and allowances as if he were undergoing medical treatment, so that every precaution is taken to see that the soldier is properly cared for.

I have already referred to the reciprocal arrangements which have been worked out, or are being worked out, between Canada and the Mother Country and between Canada and the United States. In the case of Canada and the Mother Country, the matter is now before the Government and full details will be announced in the very near future. But I think it will be found, as was announced by the Minister of Pensions in the Imperial House of Commons, that the Imperial Government will, as a result of the efforts of the Canadian Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, supplement the allowance to the British soldiers living in Canada by an amount sufficient to bring the pay and allowance granted to them up to the pay and allowances given to our Canadian soldiers who are taking vocational training or are undergoing treatment in our hospitals. I said a moment ago that we had a reciprocal arrangement with the United States. That is, we look after American soldiers in Canada, provide them with medical treatment and give them vocational training, the American Government paying the expense. On the other hand, they agree to do the same for us. But when it comes to the re-education or the vocational training, what is the situation? The Department of the United States Government which looks after that branch of their own service and of ours is the Federal Board for Vocational Training. This board examines the case, and if it approves sends it forward for the approval of the department, and if the department is satisfied that it is a proper case for re-training, the man is asked to come to Canada for training. Why? Because the provision made in Canada is so much in advance of the provision so far made in the United States that the re-training can be given much more effectively and satisfactorily in Canada.

Mr. BUREAU: How is the cost determined as between the two countries?

Mr. ROWELL: We pay them for all the expenditures they make on our account and they pay us for all the expenditures we make on their account. That is the basis of the reciprocal arrangement. I have a statement showing what is being done in other countries—Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States—in connection with the re-establishment of the soldier in civil life, but I shall not take up the time of the House in going into the question at this time. The matter can be gone into before the committee when the Bill comes before it, and the committee will have full opportunity of comparing what is being done in Canada with what is being done elsewhere. While in some respects in one or two countries—they have made larger provisions in some aspects of the work—that is they have included certain classes under their re-establishment provisions which are not included under ours—still, when you come to the actual work done, the actual re-training done, Canada occupies the premier place in the work of making provision for the re-establishment of her soldiers in civil life. If I had time I could read to you to-day the testimony of the experts from Great Britain, France, and other countries, who have visited Canada to look into our system for the re-establishment of the soldier in civil life. They bear the most unqualified testimony to the comprehensive character of the plans of the Government and the efficiency with which they are being carried out. I am sure that whatever differences of opinion there may be in this House with respect to the question of gratuities, there will be no difference of opinion that not only does Canada owe an obligation to the widow and orphan, dependents of the soldiers that have fallen, but we must make adequate provision for the man who has been wholly or partially disabled, such as will protect him from want, such as will ensure him the best opportunity to earn an honest livelihood in a useful occupation and such as will protect him in hours when sickness impairs his ability to continue his work. We owe this to these men

who have devoted themselves to the service of their country and we must see that they are never able to justly reproach the nation for the treatment it has meted out to them.

This Bill, Mr. Speaker, is necessary in order that the department of the Government concerned may have power when peace comes and the War Measures Act is no longer in operation, to make the necessary regulations to carry on the work which is now being carried on. All we ask to-day is approval of the principle of the Bill, and I am quite sure that all hon. gentlemen are in hearty sympathy with it. When the Bill goes to the committee they will consider its provisions and what changes they think should be made, and report back to the House their considered judgment on the matter.

The Bill deals with the whole work of the re-establishment of the soldier in civil life, and the committee will be authorized to consider everything relating to this great subject, which is of such vital moment to the ex-soldiers and people of Canada.

Mr. ROSS: The hon minister has stated that reciprocal arrangements are being entered into with Great Britain with regard to the treatment of soldiers. He will remember that last session the Pensions Committee recommended that the pensions of Canadians who fought in the Imperial army should be augmented by Canada, but we did not deal with the question of gratuities. The fact is that Britishers in this country who went back to Britain and entered the Imperial forces as privates received very small gratuities from the British Government, and I would like to ask the hon. minister if the negotiations he has referred to deal with the question of supplementing those gratuities?

Mr. ROWELL: That is a question upon which I am not able to give my hon. friend any information to-day, but I shall be glad to look into it and furnish him with the required information. The House will be interested to know that while last session in our Pension Act we provided for supplementing the Imperial pensions out of the Canadian Exchequer, I believe, when the negotiations are completed and the documents are brought down, we will find that, thanks to the efforts of the Government and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, the British Government will itself assume that responsibility.

Mr. ROSS: Will it be a proper subject to come before this committee?

[Mr. Rowell.]

Mr. ROWELL: If it relates to the re-establishment of the soldier in civil life it will. It is for the committee to decide. I would expect, Mr. Speaker, that the committee would act as the Pension Committee did last year—hear whatever representations might be made to it in reference to any matter relating to the re-establishment of the soldier in civil life.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): The hon. minister will remember that he asked me to remind him of a question I put to him.

Mr. ROWELL: The pay and allowances to the insane are provided for by an Order in Council dated September 28, 1918. I will read the provisions so that hon. members will have the information on Hansard, starting with the fourth paragraph:

4. Former members of the forces who are insane may be divided into three classes as follows:

A. Retired or discharged owing to insanity entirely caused by service;

B. Retired or discharged, owing to insanity only partially caused by service; and

C. Retired or discharged owing to insanity not in any way caused by service.

Each of the these classes may be sub-divided as follows:

(1) With dependents.

(2) Without dependents.

Class A. Former members of the forces retired or discharged owing to insanity entirely caused by service.

(1) with dependents: (a) The former member of the forces shall be maintained by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. (b) His dependents shall be paid by the Department of Soliders' Civil Re-Establishment a sum equal to the amount of pension which would be payable to them if he had died on active service. (c) Should he recover he may, in the discretion of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, be paid, either in one sum or spread over a period, a sum not exceeding One Hundred Dollars ($100) per year for the period he has been under the care of that department.

(2) Without dependents: (a) The former member of the forces shall be maintained by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. (b) Should he recover he may, in the discretion of the Department of the Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, be paid, either in one sum or spread over a period, a sum not exceeding One Hundred Dollars ($100.) per year for the period he has been under the care of that department.

Class B. Former members of the forces retired or discharged owing to insanity only partially caused by service, (in this class the word "dependents" shall mean only those proving actually need and dependency).

(1) With dependents: (a) The former member of the forces shall be maintained by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment: (b) His dependents shall be paid by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment a sum equal to the amount of pension which would be payable to them if he had died on

active service. (c) If his insanity is certified by a Board of Medical Officers of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment as being more than 80 per cent caused by service he may, in the discretion of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, be paid, should he recover, either in one sum or spread over a period, an amount not exceeding Twenty-five Dollars ($25) per year for each full 5 per cent of his certified disability over 80 per cent for the period he has been under the care of that Department.

(2) Without dependents: (a) The former member of the forces shall be maintained by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. (b) If his insanity is certified by a Board of Medical Officers of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, as being more than 80 per cent caused by service he may, in the discretion of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, be paid, should he recover, either in one sum or spread over a period, an amount not exceeding Twenty-five Dollars ($25) per year for each full 5 per cent of his certified disability over 80 per cent for the period he has been under the care of that department.

Class C. Former members of the forces retired or discharged owing to insanity not in any way caused by service.

The former member of the forces shall be maintained by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. No allowances shall be paid to his dependents, if any, and no amount shall be paid to him should he recover.

That is, if his insanity is not in any way due to service the State undertakes to maintain him, but does not in that case make provision for his dependents.

Mr. CHABOT: Do the provisions apply to, or what other provisions have been made for, soldiers who unfortunately contracted the drug habit during prolonged treatment in hospital on the other side for very painful conditions, and who when they came back to their families here are not only useless but a burden to them? Those men are practically unsound in mind—mentally deranged.

Mr. ROWELL: So far as I am aware no provision has been made for such cases.

Mr. CHABOT: Those are very sad cases, and they ought to be provided for.

Mr. ROWELL: That will be a proper matter for consideration by the committee when the Bill comes before it.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, we have received a great deal of information from the hon. minister upon the subject matter of soldiers' civil re-establishment, but it is rather to be regretted that we are not dealing with the minister in charge of that department. We have on several occasions taken up the question that departments of such a character as that with which the hon. minister has just been dealing should be under the control of a member of the popular branch of this Parliament. It is all very well to get matters second-hand, as we have been getting them this afternoon but I think it is only right and proper that this Chamber should insist that the heads of these departments should be in the popular branch and directly responsible to the people.

It is an extraordinary condition of things if it be true that so much is being done for the returned soldier as has been told us by the President of the Council this afternoon, that every returned soldiers' association from the Atlantic to the Pacific is continually petitioning hon. members and expressing in every newspaper its dissatisfaction with what is being done by the Government, and protesting against the way in which the Government is dealing with the returned soldier.

There is a conflict of opinion somewhere. The speech of the President of the Council this afternoon would appear to leave nothing to be desired so far as the treatment of the returned soldier is concerned. The Great War Veterans' Association and other organizations of a like character all over the country are petitioning this House and petitioning their friends, and expressing in the press and publicly in other ways on frequent occasions, their entire dissatisfaction. If we are to accept the facts and conditions as set forth by the President of the Council there is nothing to be desired, but if we are to accept the testimony of the returned soldier himself as expressed through the agencies which he is enabled to employ, we must come to the conclusion that he is entirely dissatisfied. As a private member of this House I am not in a position to decide between the Government on the one hand and the returned soliders on the other.

On the night of the 7th of July, 1918, just at the close of the last session, some interesting information was communicated to the House by a former officer of high standing in the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. I have reference to the speech that was made in this House and the correspondence which was put on record by the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. McCurdy), who was at one time Parliamentary Secretary of this department. According to him, he was too conscientious to remain in the department and to draw

a salary where he could get nothing to do and where nothing was being done. That is the testimony of a member of this House who is responsible to a constituency and who was responsible to this House as an official of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. That information, to say the least, did not reflect any credit upon that department; it rather showed that no energy was exercised in dealing with the returned soldier; it demonstrated that the department had really not shown any anxiety with regard to the question of what was to become of the returned soldier. So far I have heard no answer to the statements made and the explanation given by the member for Colchester, who felt it incumbent upon himself to retire from the office which he held because he was simply receiving money under false pretences and doing nothing along the lines for which he was appointed.

I give this as a supplement to the very eloquent speech of our good friend the President of the Council. I am getting so used to those eloquent speeches and to his practice of painting rosy conditions that I must measure them and ask our members to measure them according to the evidence of such officials as the member for Colchester. That hon. gentleman had first-hand information; he had the experience of being in the department, but our good friend the President of the Council simply has what is handed out to him by the department. If I were hearing evidence as a court—and we are more or less of a court here—I would be obliged to take the first-hand testimony of the member for Colchester in preference to the second-hand case made out by the department on its own behalf and passed over to the able advocate who presents it to this House.

That, then, is the situation—entire dissatisfaction so far as the soldiers are concerned; entire dissatisfaction on the part of an official of the department, a member of this House, who presented his explanations to Parliament. On the other had, we have the glowing account which has been given to us by the President of the Council.

The Bill which we have before us is an amendment to chapter 42 of the Acts of 1918. On the 24th day of May, 1918, the Act creating the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment received the assent of the Governor General and became the law of the land. Since that time the officials of the department have had experience with this law. They know the powers that were given to them; they know their requirements; they know what they have to deal with. I submit, therefore, that such legislation should be introduced to this House as will embody these requirements. Surely the department should know by this time what powers ought to be vested in them by statute to enable them to conduct properly the affairs of the department. But instead of coming to us to-day with a Bill embodying those requirements and those powers which are necessary to the department in order to enable it properly to carry on its business, which powers and requirements we would be in a position to scrutinize and to approve if we thought them proper, the President of the Council comes to us asking that power be vested in the department to legislate for itself. The people of Canada and this Parliament are tired of that second-hand way of enacting laws. What are we here for if not to draft such legislation as may be necessary to carry on the affairs of the country? There was a reason for very wide latitude in the matter of making law by Order in Council while the war was on. Matters of emergency would suddenly arise for which a statute could not make provision, and it was desirable and proper in the interests of the country that the Governor General should at once provide for such contingencies by Order in Council. But these things are past. The war is over, we are back to ordinary conditions. I repeat that the department should know by this time what powers they require, and that those powers should be incorporated in a statute.

The Act provides simply that the Governor in Council may make recommendations for the control and management of hospitals, workshops, and so on; for the marking and stamping of artificial limbs; to forbid any false statement, suggestion or representation with respect to artificial limbs; for the disposal of any money payable by the Crown to the estates of deceased officers; for prescribing the pay and allowances to persons undergoing medical treatment or vocational training. It provides also that the Governor in Council may make regulations:

"(f) with respect to reciprocal or other arrangements with the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or the Government of any British Dominion or the Government of any of His Majesty's Allies in the late war, or the Government of the United States of America, for the treatment and training and the issue of pay and allowances to ex-members of the forces of any such

Government when undergoing treatment or training, or to their dependents; and,

"(g) with respect to any matter placed under the control and management of the minister:

Those are all very simple matters which could be dealt with by this House and the legislation passed. I understand the department has those powers now in the form of Orders in Council, and if it has, all that the minister would have to do would be to transform his Orders in Council into the shape of a Bill, submit it to the House and have it passed, and we would know once and for all what the powers of the department were. Is it not extraordinary for the minister, in time of peace, to ask us to vest in the Governor in Council, particularly, I may say, in the head of this department, powers to make laws in respect to anything that the Government, in its wisdom or otherwise, may submit to that department, because we are asked to give that department power to make laws with respect to any matter placed under the control and management of the minister? That seems to me an extraordinary latitude that is asked for, and taking it all in all, I am appealing to this House to see to it that our rights are restored, and I trust that hon. gentlemen will realize their responsibility to their constituencies, our duties as a Parliament, and will insist that this House shall deal with any laws that are to be passed in Canada in connection with the protection of our seamen and soldiers on the one hand and the moneys that come out of the pockets of the people on the other, the money too much of which has been extracted out of the pockets of the people of this country and which has been expended to such an extent that the Government tell us that they are at the end of their tether and that if our soldiers require further aid they must look elsewhere for it. That is the position at which we have arrived. Nevertheless, we find this Bill asking us to give further power to this department lavishly to expend money wherever they may get it without submitting the expenditure and the reason for it to this House for approval. It is well known to hon. gentlemen before me on the Government side of the House that it is not in our power on this side to enforce these things; all we can do is to appeal to hon. members to exercise the proper functions of Parliament and to deal with those matters. If they choose to give up those functions and to say: We will simply delegate all our powers to one or two ministers and let them legislate as they see proper; that responsibility rests upon the shoulders of hon. gentlemen supporting the Government, and it is only for us to bring the matter to their notice. Sometimes I see newspapers supporting the Government finding fault with the Opposition for being too easy, and saying that we do not raise enough trouble in the House; that we do not storm the Government sufficiently. Why, Sir, if they are dissatisfied on that point, perhaps it is not too late to level our batteries on the Government now. Of course, it is true that a broadside on the Government would not kill very many, because there are so many vacant seats.

Mr. BUREAU: We would lose our shot.

Mr. McKENZIE: And we would be sorry to annihilate them altogether. But the time has arrived, now that the war is over and the troops which we used to maintain have been demobilized, when it is possibly quite in order for myself and other hon. gentlemen on this side to satisfy the Unionist and the Tory press that we shall not spare in any way whatsoever the backs of the Government, but shall give them every inch that is coming to them.

Mr. EDWARDS: Lay on, MacDuff.

Mr. McKENZIE: That will keep us busy.

Mr. BUREAU: It's a big order.

Mr. McKENZIE: I have to-day pointed out some of the things which possibly some people may find fault with us for not having found fault with. Now that we are back to the days of peace, there being no particular rush or hurry about putting legislation through this House, except so as to give it due thought and attention, the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) should be called upon to lay upon the Table for the discussion of hon. gentlemen and in a proper way to bring before the House such legislation along these lines as he may require and to do away with Orders in Council. Those are things regarding which we on this side of the House discharge our responsibility by bringing them to the notice of the Government. The burden is then shifted to the shoulders of hon. gentlemen who are, as a Government and as supporters of a Government, responsible for legislation that may pass in this House.

I should like to say something to the minister in charge of this Bill regarding the enormous expense that he has been disclosing to us. Of course we must be and we are sympathetic with the soldiers and we want to do everything we can for them.

As was pointed out the other day by the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) in whose remarks in that regard I fully concur, the man who is crippled, or the woman whose bread-winner is taken away, or any person who is in any way dependent upon the public by reason of the war, should receive our full sympathy and support. But there is a vast quantity of loose machinery kept agoing by the Government in connection with the war, and involving an enormous expenditure of money of which the soldiers get very little. We have in the Dominion of Canada splendid hospitals; we have in my little province of Nova Scotia the Victoria General at Halifax; we have a splendid hospital at New Glasgow in the county of Pictou; we have four very excellent hospitals in my county of Cape Breton, all of which are willing and anxious to take hold of this class of work. Private or local arrangements could be made with these hospitals so that any returned soldier would receive the treatment he requires by the local doctors just as effectively as these returned men are being treated under the machinery created by this Government, and the expense would be very much less. I am mentioning Nova Scotia because I am familiar with the excellent doctors in those hospitals, but the same is true of the other provinces. Probably a little over a year ago we had in the city of Halifax the experience of the Victoria General Hospital, which is a provincial institution, offering to provide for all the returned soldiers in that city or thereabouts that might require treatment. Instead, however, of the Government making a simple arrangement with the authorities of that hospital, either one or two—I forget how many altogether—new hospitals were started and completed at an enormous expense and they will be kept going indefinitely at the expense of this country when a simple arrangement could have been made with the local hospital by which the same work could have been done equally well and very much more cheaply. I am reminding the minister of these things so that he may not only take cognizance of them himself, but bring them to the notice of the Government. I fear that vast machinery of a military character is being kept going throughout Canada which could very well be dispensed with and the same work done by other means in a very much cheaper way. I do not know whether it applies in this case, but representations were made to me last winter that certain officials were keeping men in the city of Halifax in connection with the Niobe doing nothing, simply for the purpose of giving the officers an excuse for staying there and drawing large salaries. I brought that matter to the notice of the Government, and the Minister of Militia took cognizance of it and in a very short time the men were disbanded. An expense was saved to the Dominion by dispensing entirely with an institution which had no right to exist and which brought no return to the country for the money expended. I am bringing this matter up simply in order that the Government may carefully inquire whether or not we have an army of officers on the pay list of this country who could be dispensed with, so that every dollar that we can save may be saved. I remember very well in the early days of the war, when extravagance and unnecessary expenditures were brought to the notice of the Government, hearing the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) say that he would begrudge the expenditure of any ten cents that could be avoided. That was in the early days of the war, when we had something to save, but now I am afraid we have reached the stage where recklessness has gone mad and we have nothing to save. Our reputation for saving has gone to the four winds of Heaven, and the Government have evidently come to the conclusion that there is no use trying to regain it. They tell us plainly that they have no money and are at their wits' end to know where to get any. However, they must take courage, be thrifty, and save. They must cut down every possible expenditure, for that is certainly expected of them by the good people of Canada.

The real point I wanted to make in connection with this Bill was that we should insist upon putting in the Act itself whatever powers this department requires. We should not be called upon to grant any more of those loose powers to be vested in the Governor in Council or any particular department. I have read the headlines, the real substance of everything in this Bill, and I find nothing there that requires a committee. I do not know what a committee has to do with the question whether we shall grant those powers to the ministers or the head of this department. It is true that if the minister in charge of this Bill is going to submit the Orders in Council to the committee, there will be some discussion and the committee may be of some assistance to us, but if those Orders in Council are not to be submitted to the committee, if they are

not drafted and we do not know what they are, I do not think the committee will be in any way armed with the facts that will enable them to decide whether those powers should be granted or not. I submit, therefore, that I can see very little to expect from the deliberations of a committee, as far as the facts contained in this Bill are concerned.

It is possible that the committee may travel from this Bill to other subjects, although we were told the other night they would not. We had a hope at one time that the request of the Great War Veterans would be dealt with by this committee, but we were entirely disillusioned on that point by the acting leader of the Government (Mr. Doherty), who told us there was nothing to decide on that point, as the Government had already decided, and he is too good a lawyer and too old a judge to think of hearing evidence in connection with any point which has already been decided by the court and the decision filed. I am sure I sympathize with the distinguished judge the other night when he was listening for hours to evidence being poured upon his head on a question which he had already decided, and which if he had been sitting on the Bench he would have regarded as contempt of court. I hope that when this Bill comes before the Committee such points as the House may regard as important may be brought out and dealt with.

Mr. H. H. STEVENS (Centre Vancouver): I do not rise to discuss the Bill at very great length. In fact, I had intended only to ask a question. Before doing so, however, I should like to refer to some of the remarks made by the leader of the Opposition. He states, and very properly, that there are good grounds for objection to government by Order in Council. I heartily agree with him in the enunciation of that principle.

Mr. BUREAU: In theory, but not in practice.

Mr. STEVENS: In theory and in practice. But we must be fair and recognize that there are some steps which it is absolutely necessary to take by Order in Council, for if we were to deluge this House with Bills covering every move of a Government and of its departments, not only would we not have sufficient time within the compass of a year to legislate, but it would be utterly impossible for this House to deal with the details of administration.

The Bill before the House provides for certain things, and I think my hon. friend should have applied his criticism directly to the actual facts before us. What are those facts? We are simply empowering the Governor in Council to deal by regulation with certain things; (a) the control and management of any hospital, workshop, institution, and so forth connected with the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment. I submit that it would not be reasonable to bring down to this House a Bill covering all the details of the management of a hospital or an institution of that kind, and I would invite hon. gentlemen to consider that point. For instance, suppose we provide for the bringing into existence of a large hospital in a city or province. We appoint a Board of Governors and the legislation provides for certain main powers. That Board of Governors in turn, draws up the regulations for controlling the hospital in all its details. That is exactly what we are doing here. By the original Bill we brought into existence an institution, and we are now empowering the authorities administering that institution to deal with the administrative details.

5 p.m.

Mr. BUREAU: That is not in this Bill. That was covered in the Bill last year relating to pensions.

Mr. STEVENS: By the original Bill we brought into existence the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment. Under this Bill we are providing for details in the management of the hospital, the workshop and other institutions established and arranged by Order in Council and I do not think we are violating the principles of parliamentary government in that regard. Paragraph (b) provides for the marking or stamping of artificial limbs. Such things as artificial limbs, which, unfortunately, must be provided for in very large numbers, have been, in connection with this department, brought into a very efficient state. We are simply providing for regulating the marking of artificial limbs. Surely it does not need an Act of Parliament to provide for a matter of that kind?

(c) To forbid any false statement, suggestion or representation with respect to any artificial limbs.

Again, I submit, this is a fit subject for regulation by Order in Council or by the minister at the head of the department.

(d) For the disposal of any moneys payable by the Crown to the estates of deceased or insane officers, soldiers or other persons.

There is already in existence legislation dealing with that matter. This simply provides for detailed regulations.

Mr. BUREAU: This is legislation to amend chapter 42 of the statutes of 1918 whereas the law that deals with pensions and payments is chapter 43 of the statutes of 1919.

Mr. STEVENS: I submit that the point raised by my hon. friend makes no difference because we are dealing with details. It does not matter how many statutes you put through you will have certain details that must be dealt with by Order in Council and I submit that this is the proper method.

Without going any farther into this, I wish to call attention to the point raised by the leader of the Opposition with reference to the expense in connection with the hospital arrangements. To the extent that there has been a duplication of hospital arrangements in connection with our military affairs—those under the Militia Department and those under the Re-establishment Department—steps have already been taken by the Government to solidify or consolidate these and bring them into one institution. As rapidly as possible that is being done and in many cases that has already been accomplished. The criticism which my hon. friend has directed against the Government in that regard has been anticipated by the Government and the condition of which he complains is being rectified as fast as it is practicable to do so.

I do not agree with my hon. friend when he states that no committee is required. Unquestionably, we require a committee on this Bill not only to study the provisions of the Bill but also to hear any representations which may be made by those interested in the re-establishment in civil life of our returned men. They have already been assured by the leader of the Government and by the minister in charge of this Bill that an opportunity will be given to their various associations, or to individuals, to be heard by the committee. I think that is not only wise but absolutely essential; otherwise, without any question, this House would be in duty bound to provide for some tribunal to hear what the soldiers or their representatives have to say on this subject. I think the Government should be commended and I differ entirely from my hon. friend in that regard.

Before taking my seat I would ask the minister if under clause 7 it will be competent for the committee which is to survey and deal with this Bill, to hear and consider the claim of Canadians who enlisted in the Imperial forces that their gratuity should be brought up to the level of the Canadian veterans' gratuity. I would ask if the committee can consider that request under that clause. If not I would like to ask the minister to consider an amendment which would make it possible. My own opinion is that the committee should do so and that assurance from the minister would be quite satisfactory to me.

Mr. ROWELL: I hardly think that the gratuity which my hon. friend mentions is a matter contemplated by the terms of the Bill. It is for the committee to settle its own procedure and to decide who shall be heard. I know that in the case of the Pensions Committee last year, they heard representations from anybody, and particularly from the bodies of returned soldiers, who came to present any matter connected with the subject to them. It will be for the committee to determine whether they care to consider a representation on the matter mentioned by my hon. friend or not. I am sure that they will deal with the utmost liberality with the question as to who shall or shall not be heard in connection with the matter.

Hon. HUGH M. CLARK (Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment): Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to discuss the Bill at any great length for the reason that it is to go before a committee. I just wish to make a reference to the remark made by the hon. the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) with respect to the deluge of criticism that has been coming towards this department largely from the Great War Veterans. I may say that in so far as I can recall, nearly all the criticism coming from the Great War Veterans has been based upon the view of the Great War Veterans that the department has not gone far enough. Representations were made to the effect that vocational training should be given to nearly everybody who had returned from overseas. Representations were made that assistance should be given to returned men should they desire to go into any other occupation than farming. Then, their education being interrupted by reason of the war, a good many men made representations that they should be given assistance for the completion of their university studies. All of these things of course would have meant a great increase in the expenditure of this department. The leader of the Opposition himself appreciates that the expenditure is very high as it is. I agree

with him in the statement that the expenditure is high. It is high largely because Canada is doing more in this way than any other country in the world. We have increased our pay and allowances for vocational training beyond the point that any other country has reached and we have been giving medical treatment in a way that no other country does. All this costs money but I think it is safe to say that we shall have reached the peak of the load probably in February next and that from that time onward there should be a very sharp decline in the expenditure for these purposes, particularly in reference to vocational training.

In connection with the criticism to which I have referred, I think it is a very good thing that the whole matter is to go to a committee so that all these subjects may be threshed out before that committee. It will be well to have a committee if for nothing else than to make known just exactly what is being done in each branch of this department because a good deal of the criticism has been uninformed criticism and it would be a great advantage for the members of the committee to know the limitations of the department, just how the work is being carried on and also to know that a great deal of the criticism has been caused by reason of the fact that the department is not authorized to go as far as a great many think it should go. Then the committee, too, can pass upon the question as to whether or not the criticism was right that the department should go beyond that point; as to whether or not we should extend our educational courses beyond the point to which they have been limited and as to whether or not the returned soldiers should have the facilities if they want to go into business, such as are now accorded under the Land Settlement Act and many other matters that might very easily be suggested to the committee.

It is not necessary that I should go into details now, because they will all be laid before the Committee and afterwards presented to the House. I merely wish to make that observation—that our expenditures were large because we were doing more for the returned soldier than any other country and, furthermore, we were attempting to educate men in a great many occupations in our vocational training schools. I think in Great Britain they give training in forty-six trades, whereas we train in over three hundred trades. We train in that large number of trades because we do not wish to glut the market in any particular trade; but it will be obvious to hon. gentlemen that to train in so large a variety of trades is a good deal more costly than confining the training to a smaller number. I say again that I think the minister of the department who, as hon. gentlemen will admit, is exceedingly capable and effcient, will be very glad indeed that some committee of the House should be placed in a position to go fully into the work of this department and to recommend such other steps in the direction of the rehabilitation of the soldier as they make think wise and proper.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR (Guysborough and Antigonish): I think it is unfortunate that the Government has not introduced a Bill which would admit of soldiers placing their case before a committee. There are a great number of matters that are omitted in this Bill, and the questions that are dealt with in it are of comparative unimportance. For example, the first clause in the Bill relates to the management of hospitals and workshops, and the next clause to artificial limbs.

Mr. BUREAU: The marking of artificial limbs.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Yes, the marking of artificial limbs. The third clause forbids any false statement regarding artificial limbs. For the life of me I cannot understand why it is important to make regulations to prevent people from saying things about artificial limbs. But my criticism is that there are important questions relating to the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment that this Bill does not admit of being considered. For example, take the advances that are made to returned soldiers engaged in farming. I do not object to that policy. It is right and proper, but I have never been able to understand why advances should be confined to men who desire to embark in that industry. Why not consider the great fishing industry of the country? I represent a constituency in which hundreds of men identified with that industry, who enlisted in the forces and have returned, would like very well to have an advance of a few hundred dollars to enable them to buy a motor boat, or fleet of nets. The amount of money required to equip a fisherman to carry on his business would be comparatively small compared with the sum the Government is advancing to farmers. I submit that the security in the case of the fishermen would be

just as good. There is no worse security you can find than an old farm that has been abandoned because the man who worked it cannot make it pay. Taxes have to be paid on it, whether it produces anything or not, and in its worn-out state it is of no value to any body, and will be a very poor security indeed for the Government. To my mind the security of a fishing boat and a fleet of nets which would be properly insured and cared for by the owner, would be much better and the loan would be just as likely to be returned to the Government. I might also refer to the lumber industry. I have in mind the case of a young man in my constituency who returned from the war. His father had died during his absence at the front and the only occupation that the young man knew anything about was the lumber business. His father had left a few hundred acres of timber land and the young man wanted to purchase a portable mill in order to help maintain his mother and sisters, and keep the family together. He did not need very much, ten or eleven hundred dollars would have sufficed, and he could have given the security of the mill and the lumber; but when he applied to the proper officials in the province of Nova Scotia, he could get no help because he was not a farmer. I say that is an unreasonable position to take and that the Government would have avoided a great deal of the discontent that has arisen among the returned soldiers if it had opened up a little and been a little more liberal in connection with the administration of this department.

The question of students whose course in college was interrupted by enlisting in the forces has also been pressed upon the Government, but I understand the Government has refused to do anything in the way of advancing money in the form of loans to students who are anxious to complete their college course. This matter has been brought to the notice of the Government and urged upon its attention by the leading educationists of Canada, and I submit it is one of very great importance. The Imperial Government, according to my information, has adopted measures to help the students who wish to complete their college course. It is also pointed out in a statement submitted to the Government by the educational authorities referred to that the Australian Government has taken a very liberal step in the same direction and in order to remind ministers of what has been done in Australia, I will read an extract from the statement in question which is signed by W. A. R. Kerr, of the University of Alberta; Dr. J. J. Tompkins, of the University of St. Francois Xavier; Joseph Sirois, of Laval University; and R. F. Ruttan, of McGill University, and was submitted to the department on behalf of these colleges by Sir Robert A. Falconer, Principal of the University of Toronto:

So generous is Britain that she is educating at public cost young Canadians who have been in the British service. We know of several who, returning home, and finding no financial help here, have gone back to Britain to be educated at the expense of the British taxpayer. That this should have happened is not creditable to Canada.

In Australia also, the Government has taken the following action: (1) Where an applicant for assistance produces evidence to the satisfaction of the State Board that he had, prior to enlistment, entered or intended to enter upon a university course or other course of professional training, the State Board grant to the applicant assistance.

Provided that an applicant who had not before enlistment entered upon such a course shall only be granted assistance if (a) He is not more than thirty years of age at the date of his application, and (b) He applies for the assistance within six months after discharge.

(2) Where the State Board is satisfied that assistance should be granted, the State Board may, if it approves of the course selected:

(a) Pay by way of gift from time to time the fees payable in connection with the course.

(b) Grant to the applicant, by way of loan, such sum as is necessary to purchase the books, instruments, and other articles required by him in connection with his course.

(c) Pay to the applicant by way of gift such allowance as will insure him a weekly income inclusive of his own pension of 42s. for one academic year, including the period ordinarily required to enable him to attend the qualifying examination for that year.

(d) Pay to the applicant by way of loan such allowance as will insure to him a weekly income (inclusive of pension) of 42s. for each subsequent academic year of his course, including the period ordinarily required to enable him to attend the qualifying examination for that year.

Provided that no allowance shall be paid under this regulation during the period between the termination of one academic year and the commencement of the next, except for such periods as the attendance of the applicant at the university or other institution is compulsory.

(3) The applicant shall give personal security for the re-payment of the amounts granted under paragraphs (b) and (d) of the last preceding sub-regulation.

(d) The continuance of the granting of the assistance provided by sub-regulation (2) shall be subject to the receipt from time to time by the state board from the university or other institution of a report that the applicant is making satisfactory progress with his studies.

That is what the Government of Australia is doing for its students whose college courses were interrupted through enlistment, and I submit that the Government

of Canada should not do less than Australia has done.

A well-known educationist in the province of Nova Scotia has written to me on this question, and I would like to be permitted to quote an extract from his letter:

> I do not see why the Government could not loan money to bona fide students as they do to farmers. What we want in Canada to-day is trained brains. If we have not that how shall we bear our burdens? We must have brains to make two blades grow where one grew before. We can only do this by training our young men scientifically and otherwise. Think of the enormous educational progress of the United States of America. Even England is up and doing beyond all expectation considering her financial burden.

Now, Sir, I submit that it would be only proper to include in this Bill clauses providing that consideration should be given to the case of fishermen, lumbermen, students, and also to the case of every returned soldier in any station in life, who requires assistance to complete their college course, or to become settled in civil life.

A question that seems to me of urgent importance at the present moment is the care of those returned soldiers who, with winter approaching, are still without employment. That condition of affairs is admitted but, so far as I know, no provision has been made by the Government to meet it. The very least we must do as a temporary measure, and with as little delay as possible, in view of these facts, is to provide unemployment insurance for our returned men. If we are unable to find them immediate employment so that they can settle down in civil life, then I say it is the duty of the Government to provide at once for that state of affairs, otherwise those men will be in want during the coming winter, and it will be generally admitted that the best way to meet that situation is by providing for unemployment insurance. The Government cannot and should not refuse our soldiers any reasonable request they may make, and certainly the matters that I have brought forward are very modest. I am disappointed that the Bill has not a wider scope, and that it is not such a Bill as would enable the returned soldier to come before the committee and ask a cash bounty or anything that he thinks that he has a right to. The committee could then report on the requests, and this House could afterwards decide whether they should be granted or not.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: One word—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Before the hon. minister proceeds, it is my duty to inform the House that he is exercising his right to close the debate, and, therefore, if any other hon. member desires to be heard he should speak now.

Mr. DUNCAN C. ROSS (Middlesex West): I wish to say a word or two before the debate is closed, Mr. Speaker. I have no objection to this Government spending all the money that may be necessary for the re-establishment of what the President of the Council always calls "our gallant men." He rather over-works that phrase sometimes; but overlooking that fault, I can join with him and every other hon. member in saying that I am always favourable to doing anything that is in the interests of the returned soldier. But at the present time, Sir, there is a great deal of unrest among the returned men, and recently I have had occasion to see a good many of them in regard to it—not of my own motion, but theirs—and I find that one cause of this excessive unrest is the fact that the soldiers argue this wise: That the Government refuses to grant the returned soldier an additional gratuity—and I am not stating whether that refusal in my opinion is right or is wrong—giving as their reason that the country cannot afford it.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): Might I ask the hon. gentleman a question? What is his opinion on that matter?

Mr. ROSS: That matter has apparently been closed by this Government. I may say frankly that so far as granting a gratuity of $2,000 to each soldier, irrespective of his service and of his necessities, is concerned, I am not in favour of it. If my hon. friend wants any plainer answer I can give it to him.

Mr. BUREAU: No, no; that is enough.

Mr. ROSS: However, that is not the point. We have had ministers of the Crown in this House and out of it saying that this Government cannot spend any more money to assist the returned soldier in the way of additional gratuity because the country cannot afford it. Last session the hon. Minister of Public Works—who has since taken a place of safe refuge on the Railway Commission—told us of the dire necessities of the country and that we were in a dangerous condition financially. The ex-Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech, told us the same thing. I think there is a great deal of truth in what they said and that their warnings are worthy of serious consideration. But

what the returned soldiers say is this: That the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment and the Department of Militia and Defence are at the present time wastefully spending sufficient of the peoples' money to provide more liberal treatment for the soldiers, and that if the Government would only make the necessary changes in the public services they would have sufficient funds in hand to meet the just demands of the soldiers. They further say that in connection with the manning of these two departments, not merely hundreds of thousands of dollars could be saved per year, but actually millions of dollars—that there are thousands of absolutely unnecessary officials employed in these departments who are drawing excessive salaries although they have nothing to do, and, in short, that their retention is simply a waste of public money. I noticed the other day in the press that two hundred women had been dismissed from the Separation Allowances and Assigned Pay Branch, and in the same item the statement was made that these women had been absorbed by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. If that is so it confirms what these returned soldiers say to me. I noticed, also, in the remarks made by the President of the Council this afternoon several things that lead me to believe that these statements of the returned soldiers are true to a great extent. He pointed out in regard to the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment that the Government had actually manned thirty hospitals, nineteen in one branch and eleven in another, and were using another twenty-eight throughout the country. That seems to me a great many hospitals to be used in that way, but, of course, it may not be more than is necessary. He pointed out, moreover, in connection with the allowances paid to the soldiers who were sick in these hospitals and to their dependents, that a sum of $420,000 per month was disbursed, or in round figures $5,000,000 a year. He also pointed out that in connection with vocational training $940,000 a month was being disbursed, or about $10,000,000 a year. In other words, the whole amount being spent on returned soldiers' pay and allowances seemed to be about $15,000,000; yet we know that in the estimates last year $30,000,000 was appropriated for this department.

When this Bill goes into Committee, I would like some information from the minister with regard to how the other $15,000,000 that was appropriated last year for this department has been spent. I should like the full details; it seems to me that there is a very large hiatus there which needs explanation. If we are to go at this thing properly; if we are to see to it that the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment is administered honestly and efficiently, we should have these details. I ask the minister to furnish also a statement of the number of employees in, say, District No. 1—or in all the districts, for that matter. I would like him to give their names, if possible, though I will not insist upon that. I would like to have them classified in some way in order that their salaries—or wages, if you cannot dignify their remuneration by the name of salary—may be shown. I refer to all employees and officials of the department; I would like to know the details of expenditure in this connection all down the line.

I am told that in small towns where only two or three men are taking vocational training, four or five officials go there weekly in order to see that this vocational training is being properly administered. I am informed that in London, Ontario, at least half a dozen medical boards are operating and that their work is overlapping; that there are three doctors on each board, receiving large salaries; that half of them are not necessary, and that, as a matter of fact, although there are so many doctors on these boards they are not attending to their duties as they should and are not giving the soldier the prompt examination and treatment that he should get.

As I said at the outset, I have no fault to find with the expenditure of any money that is honestly and properly spent to help re-establish the soldier in civil life. But I think it is very unwise for this Government to allow a situation to prevail with which, it is quite apparent, the soldiers are dissatisfied, and which leads them to believe that the Government is squandering money in a most wasteful manner that might better be given to them and to their dependents.

Mr. F. L. DAVIS (Neepawa): Mr. Speaker, I have not given a great deal of thought to the specific plan I now suggest, but it occurs to me that the Government might do something similar to that which has been undertaken by the United States in their federal farm loan plan for the assistance of the soldier.

In my experience a number of cases have come up in which it has not been possible for a man to go to the ordinary sources of finance for assistance. For instance, one young man came to me who had bought a

blacksmith shop and needed more capital. He could get some friends to endorse his paper, but he could not see any means ahead of paying the money back within less than a year and a half or two years. Now, there was no use in taking a proposal of that kind to the ordinary bank. The bank must keep its funds in a fluid state; it must see a return on them within at most a year. So that the banks would not consider his proposition at all. If there was some means of financing a proposition like that ,a means would be afforded of meeting one of the demands for the assistance of returned soldiers who desire to set themselves up in some smaller business.

There was another case of a returned soldier who wanted to buy a house. He had been overseas four years, and had a wife and small family. The day after he returned he took service on one of the railways. He needed to buy a small residence, but he had not the means wherewith to make his purchase and he had to seek assistance outside. But there was no use in putting a proposition like that before a loan company, because he needed more money than the percentage which they were willing to advance. Again, some corporation, properly financed, which could go wide of the general restrictions imposed by banks and loan companies would, if properly managed, meet a great many of these cases of hardship, and would obviate any demand for a gratuity or for assistance other than that which could be given through the loan of a sum of money at a time when the soldier has just returned and has not found his feet. In this way, the soldier would, in re-establishing himself, be able to do so without being subject to any encumbrances.

Hon. N. W. ROWELL (President of the Council): The question raised by the hon. member (Mr. Davis) is a proper subject for the consideration of the committee. As I intimated to the House when the subject came up for discussion under another Order, it was my intention to ask the House to refer not only the Bill but all the Orders in Council which were laid on the table of the House on Tuesday last to the committee for its consideration. These Orders in Council and the Bill raise the whole question of the provision which has so far been made to assist the soldier to re-establish himself in civil life; it is quite open to the committee, therefore, to consider the suggestion which my hon. friend has made.

I would point out, however, with reference to the last point that my hon. friend mentioned, namely, housing, that if the case to which he referred arose in Manitoba, it is provided for. The province of Manitoba has already adopted a housing scheme and is entitled to receive from the Federal Government a loan on the same basis as the other provinces, to assist in meeting just such cases as my hon. friend has mentioned. If a soldier, or indeed, any other man, desires to build a house either upon his own land or upon land which he may buy, he may do so if he complies with the provisions of the Housing Act.

My hon. friend also referred to the United States Land Settlement Board, but the case he cited was that of a man starting in a particular class of business rather than settling on the land. So far as land settlement is concerned, it is fully covered under our Land Settlement Act. So far as assisting him to start in business is concerned, my hon. friend will realize that this is a very large problem and one of great difficulty. I should point out that in considering that matter one must recognize the limits of the finances of the country and the difficulties which the member for Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark) so cogently pointed out in referring to cases of that kind.

Referring to the remarks of the member for West Middlesex (Mr. Ross), there is not the slightest objection to giving him the fullest possible information with reference to the questions that he has put concerning the number of employees in District No. 1 or any other district in Canada, and the salaries they are receiving. No one is more anxious than the Government to see that not a dollar is unnecessarily expended in paying a single employee who is not required to carry on the work. The Government is sensible of the need of retrenchment, economy, and saving at every possible point, consistent with the efficiency of the service and doing justice to our soldiers who come under the charge of this department. My hon. friend need have no hesitation in asking for the fullest possible information in reference to matters of that kind. If it can be pointed out where any saving can be made, the Government is only too anxious to receive any suggestions in that regard.

My hon. friend (Mr. Ross) took exception to my reference to our "gallant men." I trust that he does not think that they are not gallant men. To my mind, to describe these men as gallant men is to describe

them in language which actually characterizes their services. I am rather surprised to hear my hon. friend taking exception to the word "gallant" when applied to our soldiers.

Mr. JACOBS: He objects to the minister's monopoly of the word.

Mr. ROWELL: I have not the least objection to my hon. friend's adopting it. The word is good enough, strong enough, and apt enough to permit my hon. friend's using it occasionally if he desires to do so.

Mr. BUREAU: The over-working of it is the bad part.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend may feel that it is over-worked.

Mr. BUREAU: By you.

Mr. ROWELL: I am quite sure that the people of this country do not feel that that expression in reference to our soldiers is over-worked. They deserve recognition when we speak of what they have done.

Mr. BUREAU: They do, but it all depends on the time and place.

Mr. ROWELL: The hon. member for Middlesex West (Mr. Ross) referred to the information I gave as to the expenditure in connection with the work of this department. My hon. friend takes the sum I mentioned as being disbursed by the department in paying the allowances to soldiers, and then says that the balance is expense. But the pay and allowances to the soldiers, while a most important item of expenditure—

Mr. ROSS: I do not object to that.

Mr. ROWELL: But that does not cover all the work, all the medical treatment, all the instructors for vocational work, all the public institutions that have to be provided, their care and maintenance—all that must come under the heading of expenditure for carrying on the work of the department, and my hon. friend or any other hon. member will be able to get the fullest possible information in reference to all such items of expenditure.

Just a word with reference to the remarks of the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) who has pointed out that he thinks the questions of granting assistance to men engaged in fishing, and to students in the way of education, should come within the scope of the work of the committee. It certainly does come within the scope of the work of the committee, because the Bill, together with all Orders in Council dealing with the work of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, is to be referred to that committee. One of the objects of having the committee consider the matter is in order that they may give attention to the question whether the present provisions are adequate or not, or whether provision should be made for other classes of cases. One of the important matters which will be dealt with by that committee is undoubtedly the question of assisting our students. I intimated that at an earlier stage of the debate. The other question is a proper matter for consideration, but it is subject to the observations made by the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark) with reference to such a class of expenditure. It is perfectly clear that the financial resources of Canada would not admit of loans being made to all our soldiers, or a large number of soldiers, on anything like the scale on which loans are being made to those who are going on the land. There are special considerations that apply to land settlement, and it will cost this country an enormous sum by way of loan under this Act; indeed, I understand the present estimate is $130,000,000, and in the case of land settlement we have the security of the land, the buildings and the improvements. The financial resources of Canada are not adequate to lend similar amounts to the other soldiers if such a policy should be suggested. We are limited by the country's resources and the needs of the situation.

As regards the observations of the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie), this Bill with all the Orders in Council, goes to the committee, and they consider the whole situation, so I do not understand the reason for my hon. friend's objections. If the committee think that the Bill should be amended in any respect, it is quite within their power so to amend it. If they think that some of the matters that are covered by Orders in Council should be covered by statutory provisions, it is quite within their power to recommend that such provisions to be included in the Bill. I am quite sure no hon. member would suggest that we should put upon the statute-book all the provisions of all these Orders in Council. As the hon. member for Vancouver (Mr. Stevens) has pointed out, a large number of the matters are matters for regulation. In practically every Bill creating a branch of the public service, the Governor in Council is given power to make

regulations to carry out the objects of the Act.

Mr. BUREAU: Does the President of the Council not think that under section 5 of chapter 42 he has sufficient power, for instance, to make the artificial limbs and to do all these things that in the Bill he is asking us to do. Section 5 reads:

The minister shall have the management and control of all matters relating to the establishment in civil life and activities of all persons who have served in the naval or military forces of His Majesty or any of His Majesty's Allies during the present war, and the dependents of such persons, and the administration of any statutes or of any regulations or orders enacted or made by the Governor in Council for such purpose.

Mr. ROWELL: With all respect to my hon. friend, I do not think there is the power, because it is of the essence of the situation, in order that the regulations may be enforced, that there should be penalties imposed. I do not think that statute would give the minister power to make regulations or enforce penalties in case the marks were defaced or the regulations violated. In order that penalties may be imposed, there must be statutory authority clearly given.

Mr. BUREAU: That is why I object to the statute. I do not think the Governor in Council should have the right to impose penalties because that is a matter for regulation by Parliament as in imposing penalties we are interfering with the rights of citizens.

Mr. ROWELL: In that case it would be possible for the committee to embody suitable provisions in the Bill.

Mr. BUREAU: What committee?

Mr. ROWELL: The committee to which this Bill is to be referred.

Mr. BUREAU: That means a new motion. Do I understand the present motion is for the second reading?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes, and then a new motion will be made to refer the Bill to a committee, and in order that the matter may be disposed of before six o'clock, I will defer any further answer to my hon. friend.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

Mr. ROWELL: I move:

That Bill No. 10, An Act to amend the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Act, and the Orders in Council relating to the work of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, laid on the table of the House on Tuesday, 16th day of September, be referred to a special committee composed of Messrs. Calder, Arthurs, Beland, Bolton, Brien, Chisholm, Clark (Bruce), Cooper, Copp, Edwards, Kennedy, Lang, McLean (Royal), Nesbitt, Pardee, Power, Tremain, Tweedie, White (Victoria), for consideration thereof, and of all matters pertaining thereto, with power to call for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses under oath, and to report from time to time, and that Rule 11 be suspended.

Rule 11 is suspended because it limits the number of members on a special committee to fifteen.

Mr. BUREAU: Before that motion is adopted I should like to know why we are not following the ordinary procedure in this case. In 1918 we passed the Bill which my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council is now seeking to amend, because he claims that under that Bill he has not the power to impose penalties for violations of the Orders in Council which it may be necessary to pass to give effect to the Act. We are now asked that this Bill should be referred to a special committee with power to send for persons, administer oaths, and make an investigation. Why? I say that the whole subject ought to be discussed in Committee of the Whole. On the second reading questions have already been raised by different members of the House. There seems to be a conflict between two Acts. We are seeking to amend the Act passed in 1918, giving the Governor in Council power to dispose of moneys which might be due to estates of deceased soldiers, or of deceased dependents. Then we had the Pensions Act last session. I do not think this Bill ought to be sent to a special committee. We all know what is done to a Bill when it goes to a committee. The members of that committee hear evidence and make a report to the House, and when the report is presented to the House we take it for granted that the members who were picked for that committee were the best ones for that work and that they will make a proper report, and nobody outside the committee takes much interest in the subject. Of course, it may be said: "Why don't you go to the committee?" Now, these committees generally sit during the sittings of the House, and we cannot be present at both. We have had experience of these committees in the past. We had a special committee on the Railway Act, and afterwards we had to thrash the whole matter out in the House. If the Government are not satisfied with the administration of the Act, or if they think people outside are not satisfied with it, let a committee be named to consolidate the different Acts, or

let these Orders in Council be enlarged or emasculated or re-arranged in some such way that they shall be acknowledged as being the regulations necessary for giving effect to these Acts. I do not think it is fair that five or ten members of this House should consider this matter in a special committee and make a report, while the rest of us are attending the sittings of this House. My hon. friend might answer that the evidence will all be printed and that I shall be able to read it, but he knows very well that half the members of this House do not read the evidence taken before these committees to whom matters like this are referred. They have not time to read the evidence. If there is any particular reason why this course should have been adopted I would be disposed to acquiesce in it, but I say that the President of the Privy Council has given absolutely no reason why the various clauses for amending Chapter 42 of the Statutes of 1918 should not come before the Committee of the Whole House, where we would have the privilege of putting questions, reading the Orders in Council, and having them explained by those responsible for them, and of going into all these matters. As it is, I cannot see my way clear to vote for the second reading.

Mr. ROWELL: There is, of course, in addition to the other considerations, this important one: It is the intention to permit the Great War Veterans and returned soldiers to come before this committee to make representations with reference to the re-establishment of the soldier in civil life. That, of course, could not be done if the Bill was considered in Committee of the Whole. When the Bill is reported from the special committee there will be ample opportunity for the fullest discussion of the provisions of the Bill and the fullest information will be given to hon. members.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. McKENZIE: Mr. Speaker, just before six o'clock I had intended to say a few words about this motion sending this Bill to a committee. The minister assures us that the different phases of the management of the military system in Canada will be dealt with by that committee. When the Soldiers' Land Settlement Bill came before the House, I pointed out to the hon. the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) that the policy of the Government in connection with the assistance to be given to the soldiers should be put on all at once; that every phase, whether it was by grants of money, grants of land, or whatever it was going to be, should be placed before the public and before the soldiers so that they would have an opportunity of selecting for themselves whichever branch of that assistance they would care to avail themselves of. The land settlement policy was placed before the country and a great many have taken advantage of it. There is talk about other assistance that has not yet been disclosed. I would suggest to the Government that when this Bill is dealt with, whatever policy the Government is going to put forward in regard to other branches should be announced so that we will have it all, and so that soldiers, sailors, or whoever are entitled to assistance by the Government by reason of their services to the country, should have an opportunity of selecting for themselves whichever branch or phase of that assistance they are going to adopt.

I was pointing out when the Bill was up for the second reading that I thought the hospital treatment that soldiers are now receiving is rather too expensive and could be carried on much more cheaply. I wish to remind the Government again that from Halifax eastward in the province of Nova Scotia we have quite a number of hospitals. I am not so very well acquainted with the hospital facilities west of that point, but I know that in Windsor, Kentville, Yarmouth and at other points they have hospitals. I think it is at Kentville that they have a hospital in which they treat tubercular cases and I think such cases would be treated in that hospital. The cheaper way would be to arrange with the province of Nova Scotia and to equip that hospital so that any tubercular cases could be received there. In Halifax we have the Victoria General Hospital, which is a large well conducted institution. In New Glasgow, Antigonish, Sydney, North Sydney, and Glace Bay there are well equipped hospitals while in Sydney there are one or two hospitals at least, one of which is a first-class hospital. I venture to suggest that in all these hospitals patients who require treatment either at the present or some future time, as pointed out by the minister, can be dealt with and treated very much more cheaply than by maintaining hospitals and staffs particularly for these cases. These hospitals that I have mentioned have private staffs and they must maintain them. If we are going to have separate hospitals for soldiers we must maintain staffs when perhaps there will be

very little to do. The minister tells us that for at least a year they are going to receive any cases of this kind and to give them sufficient treatment, and that if, at any time in the future, a soldier becomes ill, or has any trouble which may be traced in any way to his service in the field, he shall be entitled to free hospital treatment and such allowances as he received when he was in the service. I am sure that it would be a bad policy, and a very expensive one, for the Government to maintain hospitals in different parts of Canada so as to be ready to receive men of that kind. However desirable it is that they should be received, I think it is better that a private arrangement should be made with the hospitals in different parts of the country in which they would receive patients and be paid specially for any services that they would render.

I trust that the general policy of the Government in the different lines in which they expect to assist the soldiers will be announced and also that the question of hospitals, and the treatment of cases, not only in the province of Nova Scotia but elsewhere, may be arranged for on the basis that I have mentioned. I only mention the province of Nova Scotia because I am familiar with the hospitals there, but I am quite sure that all the other provinces are equally well equipped to look after cases of this kind. I trust that the committee under the direction of the minister who has charge of this Bill, and of the Government generally, will see to it that the fullest possible information is obtained in connection with the matter and that officials, no matter how capable they may be, will be dispensed with if it is found that the country can get along and that the service which they render can be obtained as well and with less trouble and expense to the country. These are the only observations I wish to make in connection with this Bill before it goes to the committee.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. ROWELL: Mr. Speaker, with the consent of the House, I beg to move:

That the name of Mr. Morphy be added to the names already composing the committee to which Bill No. 10 has been referred.

Motion agreed to.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty the House returned to the consideration of Public Bills and Orders.

THANKSGIVING DAY.

BILL TO MAKE THE SECOND MONDAY IN NOVEMBER THE PERMANENT THANKSGIVING DAY.

Mr. ISAAC E. PEDLOW (South Renfrew) moved the second reading of Bill No. 2 respecting Thanksgiving Day. He said:

As the House is well aware this is a Bill which has been before Parliament for a great length of time. The subject was introduced by me by way of resolution on the 11th of March last. On the ensuing 4th of April I brought in a Bill and it received its first reading, but owing to the pressure of business last session the measure made no further progress and was held over until now. Since I gave notice of my resolution last March, and doubtless owing to the publicity which it was accorded in the press of the country, I have received many communications from citizens and associations and organizations of various kinds, endorsing the principle of the Bill. So that hon. gentlemen will thoroughly understand its provisions I will read the measure which is very brief. It is entitled "An Act respecting Thanksgiving Day," and reads as follows:

His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

The annual thanksgiving day, heretofore held on a day fixed by proclamation of the Governor in Council, shall hereafter be held on the second Monday of November in each year, as a perpetual memorial of the victorious conclusion of the recent war, in addition to such other reasons as may be prescribed by proclamation of the Governor in Council for that purpose published.

Then the Bill proceeds to enumerate the various alterations to the law that would be rendered necessary by the enactment of its provisions.

Now, Sir, it may be wise on my part to make a reference to the Thanksgiving Days that have been observed in this country for some time past. As a matter of fact I intend to go back to the early history of Canada, draw attention to some of the dates observed as Thanksgiving Days, and give the reasons therefor.

The earliest date in Canadian history recognized as a day of special thanksgiving was observed in Lower Canada. This was proclaimed on December 22nd, 1798, and observed on Thursday, 10th January, 1799. It may be of special interest, perhaps, to those present here at this time, to know that the reason for this day of thanksgiving was because of "The signal victory over our enemy";—our enemy at that time

being France. The Thanksgiving proclamation also stated that the day was observed for "the manifold and inestimable blessings which our kingdoms and provinces have received, and daily continue to receive." The next date which was observed as a day of thanksgiving in Lower Canada was on Thursday, August 12, 1802, and the reason then announced by proclamation was "for His mercies." No doubt that had reference to a bountiful harvest, and peace and prosperity in the land. The next thanksgiving day was observed in Lower Canada on Thursday, April 21, 1814, "for glorious victory over our enemies—"France." Another day of thanksgiving was observed on Tuesday, 13th September, in the same year, 1814, for "the end of the sanguinary contest in Europe and to give the Dominions the blessings of peace." Then on Thursday, April 6, 1815, was observed as a thanksgiving day by Lower Canada, "as the end of the war with United States of America and the restoration of the blessings of peace." Tuesday, May 21, 1816, was observed by Lower Canada as a day of thanksgiving, "for the end of the war between Great Britain and France," —the Napoleonic Wars. Wednesday, February 6, 1833, was the next date observed as thanksgiving day by Lower Canada and the reason was "for the cessation of cholera." Wednesday, November 1, 1834, was observed as thanksgiving day because of the inauguration of quarantine of ships at Grosse Isle, and Monday, February 26, 1838, was observed as thanksgiving day by Lower Canada for the termination of the Rebellion. This was the last thanksgiving day observed by Lower Canada separate from the province of Canada.

In Upper Canada, the first thanksgiving day of which there was any record was observed on Tuesday, June 18, 1816, "because of the end of the war between Great Britain and France." This was about a month later than the date on which the same event was celebrated in Lower Canada. Thursday, 14th February, 1833, was the next thanksgiving day date in Upper Canada, observed "to continue His mercies." Thursday, 30th October, 1834, was the next thanksgiving day date, and it was observed for the same reason as in 1833. On Tuesday, 6th February, 1838, the last Thanksgiving Day was observed in Upper Canada. The formation of the province of Canada followed. This thanksgiving was for the same reason as in 1833, namely, "to continue His mercies." No notice, apparently, was taken in the proclamation in Upper Canada, as was done in Lower Canada, of the termination of the Rebellion, so as to whether Upper Canada was thankful or not for the termination of that stirring event, the Rebellion of 1837-38, the citizens of the Dominion at the present time are left in doubt. After the formation of the province of Canada, which comprised Upper and Lower Canada, the 3rd of January 1850 was the first thanksgiving day date observed in the province, the reason assigned being "for His mercies and cessation of grievous disease, Asiatic cholera." Wednesday, 4th June, 1856, was the next Thanksgiving Day date which the province of Canada observed, "for the restoration of peace with Russia," this being at the termination of the Crimean War. The three subsequent dates on which Thanksgiving Day was observed in the province of Canada were Thursday, 3rd November, 1859, Thursday, 6th December, 1860, Wednesday, 11th November, 1863, all observed for the same reason, namely, "abundant harvest and continuation of peace." Wednesday, 18th October, 1865, was the last Thanksgiving Day date in the province of Canada before Confederation, and it was observed "for His mercies." This came after the termination of the American Civil War. No attention was paid to the many important events in Canadian history that took place between 1865 and 1867.

After Confederation in 1867 Monday the 15th of April, 1872, was the first thanksgiving day observed, and that was "for the restoration to health of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales," afterwards King Edward the Seventh—just eleven years after his visit to Canada. Since Confederation thanksgiving day has been observed yearly without interruption, beginning with Thursday, the 6th of November, 1879, and continuing right up to the present time, and in every case it has been observed "for the blessings of an abundant harvest." Twenty-two of these thanksgiving days were observed in the month of November on dates running from the 3rd to the 28th; eighteen were observed in the month of October as early as the 8th and as late as the 31st, one on Wednesday—in 1880—and afterwards always on Thursday up to the year 1908, when Monday was decided on because of special representations made by business representatives and the commercial travellers associations of Canada. Since Confederation special days of thanksgiving have been observed, in addition to the one I have already referred to in 1872, on the following dates: Tuesday,

the 17th of November, 1887, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland; Tuesday, the 22nd of June, 1897, was observed as a special day of thanksgiving on account of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee; on Thursday, the 26th of June, 1902, the coronation of King Edward VII was to have been observed, but owing to the serious illness of His Majesty the date was changed to the 9th of August, 1902.

Now, Sir, the proposal embodied in the Bill before the House has been endorsed, as I have already stated, by many institutions and associations, the principal of these being: The Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada (Toronto); the Dominion Commercial Travellers' Association (Montreal); the Ontario Commercial Travellers' Association (London); the Retail Merchants' Association of Canada; the Ontario Associated Boards of Trade—in annual convention assembled, representing delegates from fifty-seven Boards of Trade of Ontario; the Hamilton Methodist Conference—assembled at Kitchener on June 2; the president of the Great War Veterans' Association, Captain W. P. Grant, of this city, and many other citizens in every walk of life as well as hon. members on both sides of the House.

I might perhaps call the attention of the House to a few of the resolutions to which I have referred. The first is from the Retail Merchants' Association of Canada, which association represents over 200,000 commercial institutions in the Dominion. I read this communication because in their discussion of the proposition they decided very sensibly on the day of the week instead of the date of the month as the most suitable to meet their requirements. Their communication is as follows:

> Moved by— seconded by—
> "That it is the opinion of this meeting that in order to preserve the memorable date of November 11th as a day of Peace, we ask the Dominion Government to have Thanksgiving Day of each year fall upon this date."
> After considerable discussion, it was resolved that, owing to the fact that November 11th might fall on Saturday or Sunday and greatly inconvenience the general public, as well as the retail merchants, it would be inadvisable to support the resolution, but the members felt that, in their opinion, it would be appropriate for Canadians to celebrate a Peace day, which could very well be considered a day of Thanksgiving, and they would recommend that if it was the intention of the Government of Canada to combine a Peace day with Thanksgiving day it should be permanently fixed so as to fall on a Monday.

I read that with much pleasure, because it endorses absolutely the position which I have taken. I might also read the resolution adopted by the Methodist Conference held at Kitchener. I take this from a copy of the Toronto Globe of June 3 last. It is in the form of a despatch from Kitchener, dated the previous day:

> The delegates at this afternoon's session of the Hamilton Methodist Conference almost unanimously passed the amendment to the report of the Committee on Conference Memorials recommending that the Monday nearest November 11 be fixed by the Government as Thanksgiving Day in Canada hereafter, and supported the proposal to fix November 11 of each year as Armistice and Thanksgiving Day. This latter proposal was submitted to the Conference by the Simcoe district.

The Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada addressed me in the following terms:

> Our American Allies have for years past fixed the fourth Thursday in November as Thanksgiving Day and as the Armistice was signed on Monday, November 11th, 1918, we would be fully in accord if your motion read fixing said day on the second Monday in November.

You will notice that while endorsing the principle of observing the day on which the Armistice was signed ending the great World War, they prefer the second Monday in November to the date on which the Armistice was actually signed, so that the Thanksgiving Day would always fall on the same day of the week in each year. They further state:

> We have always understood that Thanksgiving Day was set aside for returning thanks to Providence for his many blessings during the year. It was understood, that people as a general thing would attend divine service, in the different churches. Until Thanksgiving Day was set on Monday, this part of it was a total failure and churches were meagrely attended and a great many of them did not open their doors, while outside the theatres, picture shows, horse racing, sham battles and everything of a secular nature was engaged in.

That was an argument in favour of Monday, so that the Thanksgiving service should be held in the churches on Sunday and horse-racing, sham battles and other amusements could be indulged in on the following day. The same idea runs through the communications of the Dominion Commercial Travellers' Association, having its head office in Montreal, so that Montreal and Toronto are a unit in that respect. I am glad to find that they agree on some things, and in particular on Thanksgiving Day. The Commercial Travellers' Association of London, Ontario, passed the following resolution:

> That Parliament be requested to fix the second Monday of November of each year as a public Thanksgiving Day.

I have also a communication from outside our own borders. It is from the editor of one of the most important trade journals published on the American Continent, if not in the world, and he says, in replying to my inquiry:

It seems to me that your suggestion that the Dominion and the United States should celebrate Thanksgiving Day on the same day each year is a very sound one.

The arguments which I adduced in its favour were that it would be a great convenience to commercial, banking and stock-broking institutions of the two countries, and would obviate the necessity of disturbing business on two different dates.

As I have already intimated, I have received many favourable notices through the press since the Bill was introduced. As a matter of fact, some newspapers were advocating it before the matter was drawn to my attention by a commercial traveller whose name I should like to associate with the proposal, because I do not wish to claim credit for originating the idea. The idea originated with Mr. David Adair, a commercial traveller, of Ottawa, who has given a good deal of study not only to this matter but to other important questions of considerable interest to Canada. The following letter from Mr. Adair appeared in the Montreal Star of March 13th last:

As Thanksgiving Day is usually held late in October or early in November, and as there is no special date named until a few weeks previous, we would suggest that Nov. 11th, the day we celebrated the triumph of right over might in the war waged by Germany and her allies against Great Britain and her allies, 1914-1918, and in memory of our illustrious dead soldiers and in honour of our gallant living heroes and noble nurses who have represented us so splendidly in the great conflict just ended, be permanently settled by the Government as our future day of thanksgiving, to be known as "Armistice Day." By doing so we would be able to call up some of the enthusiastic comradeship and thanksgiving which touched the heart of all Canada on this ever to be memorable day, the most glorious in all our history.

It would also give future generations a splendid opportunity of doing honour to the memory of their forefathers who suffered, bled and died for the freedom of the world. We believe the setting apart of Nov. 11th as Armistice Day for all time to come is a national duty and ought to be taken up by the House now in session.

I wish to read also a short editorial from the Montreal Star with reference to this subject, and then I will not weary the House with any further extracts of that kind. This is one of many that I have clipped from various newspapers:

[Mr. Pedlow.]

A National Thanksgiving Day.

The Star is glad to note that a Bill is to be introduced during this session of Parliament to make November eleventh, the anniversary of the day on which the armistice was signed, the national Thanksgiving Day of Canada. A suggestion to this effect was made—

You will note this, please.

—in this column of The Star on the day following the signing of the armistice. Hitherto Thanksgiving Day has been unfortunately a vague festival. The date of its observance has varied from year to year, and has been fixed by Order in Council annually. It has never been associated with any particular event in history and has meant too little to most of us.

I think that the editor is somewhat in error in that, because judging from the list of events that I have read to the House tonight, a different conclusion could be reached. However, that has not much bearing upon the matter which I have under consideration. The editorial continues:

The opportunity is now presented of making this day the most significant and in many ways the most important of all our holidays, a day in which Canada can give solemn thanks for deliverance from the most terrible crisis in its history, a day of real thanksgiving, not only for our safety but for the splendid record of our sons, in a word a day which can be consecrated to patriotism in the best sense of the word. We should not let this opportunity go by of fixing once and forever upon a day for national remembrance of a great moment in the world's history.

That opinion has been endorsed by many leading newspapers in all the provinces.

Mr. Speaker, every nation has its memorial days. "What mean ye by these stones" was the question provoked in their children by the setting up by the Israelites of their crude memorial at Jordan. During the past year we have heard much of the various kinds of memorials, but is it not exceedingly fitting that we should have memorial days and memorial services wherein sorrow sits with gratitude, enthroned in the memory of noble deeds?

We have in mind the memory of such stirring events in the Great War as Ypres, Passchendaele, Valenciennes, the Hindenburg line, Mons, the Marne, Courcellette, Vimy Ridge, Amiens, Cambrai, Festubert, the Somme, Givenchy, Loos, and many other events of equal interest and importance where our Canadian boys from the farm, the shop, the college and the office covered themselves with imperishable glory and engraved these names upon the flag of Canada, not in flaming letters of such base metals as silver or gold, but in a pigment more precious still—even in the

heart's blood of the nation's noblest, best and most beloved sons. It is to the memory of these brave men that, if the Bill now before the House is approved of, this day—Armistice Day—the second Monday in November each year, is to be consecrated throughout all the ages of our history. They brought not only to their relatives and friends, but to the whole of Canada, undying glory to the fullest measure, and although the bodies of many of these noble lads lie buried in foreign soil far from the Canada they loved, their memories shall live forever in the land they died to save.

I trust, therefore, Mr. Speaker, that the Bill will receive the favourable consideration of the House and will become the law of the land during this year, so that there may be no break in the observance of this memorial.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Mr. Speaker, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the eloquent address with which the hon. member (Mr. Pedlow) supported his motion for the second reading of this Bill. There are doubtless very many reasons why we should desire to bear in mind the great cause for thankfulness that we had on the eleventh of November, 1918, when the great struggle ended in which our men, in common with the men of the Empire as a whole and with the men of the allied powers, took so glorious a part. The hon. member has enumerated a number of days in the course of the war when the sons of Canada covered themselves with glory and earned for themselves and for their country a name which I am satisfied will never die. Each one of these days would be worthy of commemoration. Perhaps each one of them is as worthy of commemoration as the day which marked the termination of the struggle; some of them, indeed, may be more worthy of commemoration. Because, after all, we are, I think, not disposed to forget the fact that the war ultimately terminated. But that, perhaps, is not the thing that we have most reason to be proud of. It is the achievements that brought the end, rather than the mere fact that the war ended, that we have special reason to be proud of and special reason to desire to remember. I point out this consideration which I think it is worth our while to have in mind in dealing with this question.

There is another point of view from which they may be viewed. Thanksgiving Day has come to be with us an annual festival; it has come to be associated with the special thanks which, as the years go by, we owe to the Almighty for the blessings and mercies that have come to us during that year. It would seem to me that, if it be thought that Armistice Day required a special day to be set aside for its celebration lest we should forget it, we should consider whether we should not give it a day for itself. It does not seem to me to be desirable that we should abandon the custom, which has become time-honoured, of setting aside one day in each year for thanksgiving to the Almighty for His blessings during that year. The day after all, in its nature as we have observed it up to the present, is not a day intended to be a day of commemoration; it is one day out of the whole year that the country sets apart to thank the Almighty for the blessings that he has bestowed upon us during that particular year, and for my part I would be sorry to see that custom of setting aside a day for that particular purpose departed from.

We should also give thought to certain practical considerations. After all we desire this day, which in its nature is a day of thanksgiving, to be a day of rejoicing, of happiness, of enjoyment, for our people. When you take this country from one end to the other, I think I may safely say that past experience has shown us that selecting a day in the month of November exposes us to falling upon a day which will very probably be entirely unsuitable for anything in the nature of enjoyment of outdoor amusement of any description. That, perhaps, is the most wholesome form of amusement, and it is well to give consideration to that fact in determining the day upon which we should celebrate our day of thanksgiving. It is true that for quite a number of years our Thanksgiving Day was fixed in the month of November. I would not speak positively, but I think that, to some extent at all events, that fixing was influenced by the desire to make our Thanksgiving Day fall upon the same day as was fixed in the republic to the south of us, and no doubt there were advantages to be derived from Thanksgiving Day being celebrated on the same day in both countries. But, notwithstanding that consideration and in response to what was the expression of a very general and widespread opinion in the country, Governments for quite a number of years past, now have found it wise, with a view to meeting the desire of the public and in view of the considerations that I have already mentioned, to fix Thanksgiving Day at an

earlier date in the season. Both because I think, whether it be deemed desirable to set apart a special day to commemorate the signing of the armistice or not, we should maintain this custom of setting apart one day in each year for thanksgiving for the blessings that we have received, and because of the practical considerations which I have pointed out, resulting from climatic conditions in this country, I for my part would be disposed to adhere to the old custom, day and practice, so far as Thanksgiving Day is concerned.

The other question, whether it would be desirable to set apart an additional day for thanksgiving for this particular great blessing that came to us in the particular year of 1918, is a separate and distinct question. It seems to me that that is an event which we are not likely to forget, and that in any annual thanksgiving day that we may set apart, even if it should be a week in advance of that particular date, so long as we live at all events—and, I have no doubt, for many generations to follow us, there will be a feeling of thanksgiving whenever the memory of that day comes to us.

I have expressed my opinion of the measure; I am not setting forward that opinion as any settled conclusion to which this Government has come nor as expressing any determination of this Government. The question is not one that affects such serious public interest as to make it seem necessary for the Government to take a position as a Government upon the subject, and I do not want to be understood as doing so. The best manner in which this question can be decided is that we should have expressions of opinion, either as set forth in the form of speeches or possibly even by a vote alone, of those who are qualified to represent the feeling upon the subject prevalent in the different portions of the country. After all, it is a question which ought to be decided in such a manner as will meet whatever may prove to be the predominant feeling with regard to it of the entire population of the country. While, therefore, I have expressed my views, it is a matter for each member of the House to speak or to vote upon in accordance with the view which he may entertain himself, or that which he may find to be the view of the particular portion of the country which he represents in this House.

[Mr. Doherty.]

Mr. WILLIAM FOSTER COCKSHUTT (Brantford): Mr. Speaker, about a year ago I placed upon the Order Paper of the Associated Boards of Trade of Ontario a resolution similar in principle to that which is embodied in this Bill presented by the hon. member for South Renfrew (Mr. Pedlow). That resolution was placed on the Order Paper at the solicitation of the Brantford Chamber of Commerce, and it passed the Associated Chambers of Ontario by a unanimous vote. There was not a single dissenting vote although there were some seventy-nine chambers represented, and probably about two hundred delegates present from all parts of the province. I think that is a fair expression of the view of the business men of Ontario. That view is that it is desirable to have a fixed date for Thanksgiving Day. Also it was their opinion, as expressed at that time, that Armistice Day was the best day that could possibly be selected for that purpose. Therefore, with the principle of the Bill I am in full accord. Last session I had on the Order Paper for almost the whole session, a motion in line with the resolution on which this Bill is founded. But that resolution differs from the hon. gentleman's resolution in this respect, that, instead of having it the second Monday in November as selected by my hon. friend, and as embodied in the Bill, the resolution of which I was the author called for the 11th day of November, no matter on what day of the week that should fall.

After the hon. member for South Renfrew (Mr. Pedlow) had placed his resolution upon the Order Paper I referred the matter to the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Brantford and told them the situation, and I was instructed by that organization to retain the original motion that was sent down, for the 11th of November, rather than the second Monday in November. The 11th of November was Armistice Day. The second Monday in November may or may not be Armistice Day. It certainly cannot be Armistice Day at all times. It is true that it was on a Monday that the Armistice was signed, but the second Monday in November will not always fall on the 11th. I think the people of Canada believe that thanksgiving is a just and proper thing, and that a day should be set aside for that purpose. In ordinary years we have plenty of things to be thankful for, even if the year does not mark the conclusion of a great war, and in my judgment no better time could be selected than the 11th of November. I am sorry to disagree with the hon. gentleman

leading the House (Mr. Doherty), who thinks that the 11th of November is too late in the season. The farm work is not more than completed by that date. The roots are not all gathered in, and very often there are late fruits still out, in our part of the country, at the 11th of November; so I do not think that it can be contended that the 11th of November is too late in the season. I am very strongly of the opinion that this offers a settlement of a question that has caused a good deal of unrest in the business world for many years. The fact of not knowing on what day Thanksgiving would fall has often occasioned and will continue to occasion, a great deal of inconvenience to business men who have obligations to meet about that time. For various reasons they like to know a long time in advance on what date a movable holiday will fall. That seems a very reasonable request.

I understand that the hon. member for South Renfrew has been actuated largely by the views of the commercial travellers, a body with whom I have the fullest sympathy and whom I recognize as the livest wires we have in the Dominion. If you want to know the pulse of the people you cannot do better than ask the commercial traveller. The commercial traveller visits every town and city in the Dominion and comes in contact with all classes of the community;—I do not say that one man does, I am speaking of commercial travellers as a body. They know the feeling of the people on most questions. I am pleased to call the commercial traveller "the man with the hearty grip." The commercial traveller is a splendid handshaker, and in that respect he would make an excellent politician, but that is not his only qualification. He is a man of the world and understands human nature. He performs a very important function in the Dominion of Canada. I should like to meet the views of the commercial travellers in this matter, but all our fixed holidays are in just the same category as Thanksgiving Day would be if fixed for the 11th of November. The Government never thinks of changing Christmas Day, for instance. Whether the 25th of December falls on a Sunday or a Monday, Christmas Day it is, and the same with regard to New Year's Day and the first of July. Nearly all our great holidays fall on fixed dates, and if they happen to fall on a Sunday the holiday is celebrated on the Monday. So taking all these things into consideration I think that this will be settling the matter in a very reasonable way. I am sorry the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) has not seen it in that light, but I trust that the difficulties in the way are not such as to prevent him modifying his opinions to the extent of moving them on a little and fixing Thanksgiving Day permanently on the 11th of November.

It is not necessary to say that that date marks a great epoch in the world's history, but that is another great reason, and if this generation should live two or three times as long as the ordinary generation it would not forget the great war nor the great issues that were settled by the signing of the armistice on the 11th of November last. This was the date that the world's carnage came to an end. Millions of blood and treasure had been sacrificed to the winning of that great war, and if ever there was an occasion on which the whole country could unite as one man to celebrate a day of thanksgiving it was on the 11th of November, when triumph came to the Allied nations, and civilization throughout the world was benefited, and will be benefited for all time I believe, by the signing of the Armistice and the peace that is now being concluded.

I give the hon. member for South Renfrew (Mr. Pedlow) credit for having got a little start of me in this respect; I had hoped to do what he has done. I put a resolution on the Order Paper not knowing that he had a resolution of a similar nature there, and I did it, as I have intimated, because of the action of the Chambers of Commerce. I received instructions from them to push the matter as far as I was able. I am only speaking as a private member of the House and I do not suppose that anything I say will effect the vote of any member on this question, but it does seem to me that the fixing of November 11 as Thanksgiving Day would be an admirable solution of what I believe has been more or less of a difficult question. It would be a fixture for all time, and would mark an epoch in the world's history that is well worth commemorating. I think the members of this House and the people of this country generally cannot be too

9 p.m. thankful to Almighty God for bringing success to our arms, after much trial and tribulation and the loss of tens of thousands of our citizens, as well as the lives of millions of men throughout the world who had hopes, and had as good a chance, of living as long, or longer than you or I. The war brought them to an untimely end, but the issues were worth the sacrifice. The issues were worthy of all

the hardships and dangers they encountered because the civilization of the world, yes, Christianity itself, appeared to be tottering in the balance, whether might should prevail over right.

In view of all these considerations and the desirability of marking for all time our thanksgiving for this great victory I have very cordial feelings towards the proposal of my hon. friend, and if he would consent to making the date the 11th of November instead of the second Monday of November I would have very great pleasure in doing all I could to help him carry his resolution.

Mr. J. A. LEDUC (Westmount-St. Henry): I think I should not let this occasion pass without saying a word on the matter. I wish to say a few words on behalf of the retailers. My hon. friend from Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt) has said that he would have no objection to seeing Thanksgiving Day fixed for the 11th of November. Now the 11th of November might fall on a Saturday, and there are a great many retailers who do not observe Thanksgiving Day when it falls on a Saturday. Why not make it the second Monday of November as proposed by the hon. member for South Renfrew (Mr. Pedlow)? Then every retailer and merchant would know exactly on what date it would be. You can thank God as well on a movable day as on a fixed day, and if we decided on Monday for Thanksgiving Day we could thank God on the Sunday before, and then enjoy Monday. I am also speaking on behalf of the Montreal Live Stock Association, of which I am a member.

I have no objection to the day being fixed as Monday, but Saturday, which is the day on which the retailers do a large amount of their business, is the worst day that you could choose. If you choose Monday I think I am safe in saying that every one will be satisfied to have it on a fixed day as the hon. member for South Renfrew has suggested.

Mr. L. A. LAPOINTE (St. James): Mr. Speaker, my views on this subject are very much the same as those which have been expressed by my hon. friend from Westmount-St. Henry (Mr. Leduc). I would be in favour of a fixed day for Thanksgiving. My first reason is that the calendar would mention Thanksgiving Day as any other non-judicial day is mentioned as a federal holiday. The business people would be prepared to observe that day and would know exactly how they stood. It makes a difference whether the day on which we are to thank our Lord is fixed by statute or by Order in Council. I think I would rather have it fixed by statute. The Government might fix a day by Order in Council that would perhaps not suit the business community. The peeople would be taken by surprise. It is not everybody who knows what an Order in Council is. A day that the calendar would mention would be a day that would be known to everybody. I second this motion with pleasure, and I think in doing so I represent the views of the people of Montreal who would like to know exactly how they stand in reference to Thanksgiving Day. The Government has decided that Thanksgiving Day shall be in October. It varies by two or three weeks sometimes. Some people are expecting it to be fixed for November, but it has been set for October this year. That is not a good thing for the country and we would be very pleased if the Government would see fit to accept this Bill. I understand that the hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) does not make it a party question. When it is stated that Montreal and Toronto agree it seems to me that this Parliament should not interfere but should allow it to go by common consent.

Mr. ALPHONSE VERVILLE (St. Denis): If I correctly understand the suggestion which is before the House it is that Thanksgiving Day shall be fixed for the second Monday in November. I agree that the day should be set for Monday. We are accustomed to celebrating some of our holidays on Monday. Labour Day is the first Monday in September. As far as the workingmen are concerned if a day in the middle of the week is fixed it interferes with the week's work. If a holiday happens to fall on Tuesday or any other day of the week, except Monday, it puts the men in such a position that they suffer a great loss of time and it is a loss to the community commercially as well as economically speaking. There is a Saturday half holiday in a great many of the cities in Canada. Any body who wants to visit friends can start on Saturday and he has the benefit of Sunday and also of Monday, if Monday is the day fixed for Thanksgiving. Every one knows that the workingmen have very few opportunities to visit their friends, and they can thank God as well in a country town as they can in the city. I would strongly support the proposal to have a fixed day and, in order that it might be beneficial to the labouring classes, I would urge that Monday be decided upon so as to ensure

that the people would have two days of rest instead of one and a half. I feel that the change would be of great advantage to all classes of people.

Mr. HERBERT M. MOWAT (Parkdale): As representing a constituency which contains, probably, the homes of the greatest number of commercial travellers, I desire to throw any weight I may possess in this discussion on behalf of a fixed day, and that day Monday. Commercial travellers would not then need to start out on Sunday night, as is usual, to be at their work on Monday. They would have a much longer time to spend with their families, and if it is to be a day of thanksgiving, how better can a man give thanks than when he is at home with his family? For that reason I hope that the Bill as drafted by my hon. friend from South Renfrew (Mr. Pedlow) will pass.

There is another reason that should be given for the acceptance of this Bill, namely, that it is a new Bill for Canada and it gives recognition to Canada's effort in the war. Our ancestors, and those of us whose ancestors came from the British Isles, had no special thanksgiving day. They gave thanks for a bountiful harvest every day after the harvest was gathered in. We are no more pious than they were and yet we think we ought to observe a particular day on which to give thanks. We adopted a thanksgiving day from another country and not our own. Therefore it is a matter of rejoicing to me to see that we are starting out, as we will by this Bill, with a thanksgiving day to give thanks not only for a bountiful harvest but for the greatest event in the history of our country that probably any of us will ever experience.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the second time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS ACT AMENDMENT.

Mr. S. W. JACOBS (George Etienne Cartier) moved the second reading of Bill No. 9 to amend the House of Commons Act, and to provide that polling days at elections shall be public holidays.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I would like the hon. gentleman to explain the Bill.

Mr. JACOBS: This measure, Mr. Speaker, is designed to correct certain abuses which have arisen under the House of Commons Act with respect to electoral matters. It provides for automatic bye-elections. As is well known, under the present system there is no provision for elections to be held at a certain stated period when a seat has been declared vacant and the result is that vacant seats have been made political footballs by the party in power ever since the House of Commons Act was placed upon the statute-books. I submit that the law as it now stands is undemocratic, that it is not according to British precedent, and that it is high time that some change be made whereby constituencies which have become vacant shall not be kept disfranchised for periods ranging from six months to three years.

I might say that under the Liberal rule vacancies were filled much more expeditiously than they are at present, but I am free to admit that very much was left to be desired, even under that Administration, with respect to this matter. I have only to mention the case of the disfranchised county of Glengarry; no representative from that county has sat in this Parliament, although we are now well on into our second year. We also have the ridings of North Ontario, Quebec East, Assiniboia, and other divisions, which have been disfranchised for many months. I submit this should be put an end to and this measure seeks to accomplish that result.

The second section of the Bill makes provision against two seats being held by the same member. It is inconceivable, Mr. Speaker, that the present system should continue. One would imagine that the importunities of the electors of a single constituency would be quite sufficient to satisfy any one member; but to be obliged to submit to the demands of the electors of two divisions seems to my mind to be a cruelty from which the member ought to be protected. Now, this system of electing one member to occupy two seats is manifestly something which should no longer continue in Canada. The voting strength of the parliamentary party to which the member belongs is lessened and weakened by the present system, often a first-class man is kept out of the House, and it is certainly time that we should make some change whereby a member can sit for only one seat.

The third section of the measure is one which I almost hesitate to refer to at this moment, and it is this: That election day shall be declared to be a general holiday throughout Canada. In view of the fact that we are about to add an additional holiday, it seems to be—

An hon. MEMBER: No, not an additional holiday.

Mr. JACOBS: At any rate we are fixing Thanksgiving Day for a particular time. From the remarks of the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) in the Thanksgiving Day debate, one would be led to believe that we ought to have a Thanksgiving Day and also an Armistice Day, that both of them are so important that they afford particular occasion for thankfulness by the people of this country. However, the rule which is incorporated in the Bill, whereby a holiday is to be declared on voting day, is one which, I think, will make for actual benefit—actual tangible benefit—to the people of this country. The reason for incorporating it in the Bill is that every voter should be given an opportunity of going to the poll free from restriction and untrammelled so far as action by his employer, or some person who has some supervision over him, is concerned. We know it to be quite often the case that in elections, particularly by-elections, where it is almost vital that the Government should carry the seat, pressure is sometimes brought to bear by employers to see that the voter goes to the poll and votes according to the wish not of the voter but of the employer, or the superintendent, or the manager of the department where he works. This should be done away with. The voter should go to the poll untrammelled and unafraid, and I think a measure of this kind will make for general benefit. The whole measure, I submit, is one in line with legislation throughout the world. In England, as is well known, elections take place automatically within, I believe, three weeks after the seat is declared vacant. We pride ourselves on being fashioned on the English system. Why not adopt this rule? I submit, the Bill ought to receive the support of members on both sides of the House. I may say before closing that this was the view of the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) when on January 16, 1908, he introduced a measure and spoke as follows:

> The Bill has the same purpose as a Bill introduced last session or the session before. It is to provide that, in case the seat of any member of this House is vacated for any cause and the writ for the election of a new member is not issued within a prescribed time, it shall be the duty of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery to issue the writ for a new election.

It is rather curious that measures of this kind, fixing elections automatically, are usually introduced by the Opposition. When the Opposition succeeds to office, interest seems to be lost in the measure, probably on the principle that "When the devil was sick the devil a monk would be. When the devil was well, the devil a monk he'd be." However, I intend to hold the Prime Minister and his cohorts down to the view he expressed on January 16, 1908, and I trust the Bill will receive the approbation of the members to your right, Mr. Speaker, who are following the Prime Minister.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Springfield): I have one objection to the hon. gentleman's Bill and that is that it proposes to make election day a public holiday. I must confess I may hold extreme views with respect to this question of holidays, but I am absolutely opposed to a multiplication of public holidays. It is a serious interference with business and, speaking of my own profession, a handicap in the publication of a daily newspaper. I very much dislike the prospect of election day being proclaimed a holiday. In the city from which I come the polls are usually located in the schools and an election results in a school holiday. Children have a holiday on polling day, but there would seem to be no good reason why the general business of the country should be suspended because an election is being held.

Perhaps I might be pardoned for introducing the matter, but I felt more like supporting the views of the sponsor of the previous Bill because the 11th of November would occasionally fall on the Sabbath, and I do not see why we should not give thanks on the Sabbath as well as on any other day. It also occurred to me that this Government ought to approach the German Government with the view of getting them to adopt the 11th of November, Armistice Day, as a holiday, as I think they have more reason to rejoice at the signing of the armistice than we have.

As to the by-elections being held automatically, I quite agree with my hon. friend that it would appear to be a desirable practice. It is the practice in England, and I suppose that is a very good country to look to for an example. I have always observed that the party in opposition is strongly in favour of having bye-elections brought on expeditiously, but when in power it is not so anxious to have that practice carried on. It may be that that sentiment exists to some extent even at the present day; I remember it did in the old days. I have not considered the merits of the Bill and therefore have not any further remarks to offer in regard to it, but I am entirely opposed to making election day a public holiday.

Mr. ALPHONSE VERVILLE (St. Denis): If I understand the wording of this Bill

aright, it means that a bye-election at any time would be made a public holiday. If that is the case, I am opposed to the Bill. Let us take a large city where there are ten or twelve subdivisions: Are we going to proclaim a legal holiday for one corner of the city and order all the stores and factories to close, and leave those in the other parts of the city open? Is that fair? The proposal might work very well in the country, but it would not be practicable in a city. It would be absolutely unfair to deprive a great many working men of their wages because they happened to be in a certain section of the city in which a bye-election was being held, and it would be equally unfair to the manufacturers and other employers. At first I thought the proposal was restricted to a public holiday during a general election, which I have always been in favour of, because a date can be fixed to suit everybody; and I believe when the people are choosing a Government for three or four or five years they should be given a chance to go to the poll, for it is an occasion of great importance, and probably we are celebrating other holidays which are not nearly as important. Especially is a general holiday needed for a general election with women now in a position to exercise the franchise, and it is quite likely that in the very near future they may ask that the day be set apart as a public holiday. I am sure my hon. friend (Mr. Jacobs) would not want to have the shops and factories closed in his own little riding wedged in among four other ridings—and the shops and factories in the adjoining ridings open for business. It would be absolutely unfair for every one concerned. I would therefore ask my hon. friend not to press that part of his Bill.

Mr. JACOBS: I am not wedded to that section.

Mr. RICHARD C. HENDERS (Macdonald): Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to say anything about the matter of holding bye-elections at a stated time after vacancies occur, I desire rather to deal with the other feature of the Bill. As a farmer representing an agricultural constituency I would like to call the attention of the House to the inconvenience that would be experienced in the event of an election coming, say, at this time of the year and a public holiday being declared for it. Take the western part of our country where the threshing machines are running and we have hundreds of thousands of dollars of interest at stake. If it was a suitable day for those machines to run, would you tie up the threshing of perhaps one or two million bushels of grain for the sake of giving everybody a holiday to vote, particularly if we had weather like that which we have been passing through during the last ten days, with the machines tied up every other day on account of rain? I am quite sure that if we declared a holiday under those conditions we would have the people up in arms about it. It is quite possible for every voter to have an opportunity to register his vote without stopping threshing for a minute. Suitable arrangements to this end are made from time to time during elections, and I do not think any serious difficulty is experienced in doing so; but to tie up every machine for an election and particularly a by-election I think is going entirely too far.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, I think this Bill introduces what may be regarded as a very useful reform in connection with elections. I have very little to add to what has already been said in regard to it. I agree altogether with the mover of the second reading and the author of the Bill (Mr. Jacobs), that it is desirable to have elections held as soon as possible whenever vacancies occur. We have noticed from time to time that even in the midst of the war whenever a vacancy occurred in any constituency in the United Kingdom the Mother of Parliaments immediately brought on an election and the constituency was again represented in Parliament at the earliest possible moment, as it ought to be. As that system has worked very well in the Old Country—where I am sure they would not adopt such an obsolete system as we have—I think it will be a wholesome law for us to establish. I trust therefore that as far as the general policy of the Bill is concerned the Government will decide to adopt it.

I am in favour of a general election day being a public holiday. My good friend from Macdonald (Mr. Henders) spoke against stopping people from working, but as far as I know there is nothing to prevent any person working on a holiday if he wants to.

An hon. MEMBER: He won't work, though.

Mr. McKENZIE: If he has a threshing machine working, or is taking in his hay, or is engaged in any other farm work, and he finds it would be a great loss to him to observe the holiday, there is no punishment to deter him from continuing opera-

tions; but as a general rule the holiday would be observed. I am in favour of the general election date being a public holiday because I think it will tend largely to greater purity in elections. I run about as cheap elections as any man, otherwise I would not be able to run them at all, but I have been told that in some other parts of the Dominion some voters will say: "I will not lose my day's work unless some provision is made for it." That is "put up" to candidates very often, and they have got to do a lot of "arranging" or they will probably lose the support of such voters.

If the day is a public holiday and factories and works of that kind are closed, that condition is not put up to the candidate. The adoption of this measure, therefore, making election day at general elections a holiday, would be a great step in advance; it would tend to make elections less expensive and, indirectly, to bring about purity in elections, as we call it. I can see the force of the argument put forth against declaring the days on which by-elections are held to be public holidays, particularly in large cities, because that would interfere with the people outside of the riding in question. But general elections do not come round more than once in four years; under our Constitution they are required to be held at least once in five years; and a public holiday once in five years will not be very much felt in the long run. If the Government will accept the Bill, I believe that they will be bringing about very wholesome reforms in connection with the different points which the Bill covers.

Mr. A. L. DAVIDSON (Digby and Annapolis): Mr. Speaker, there is much to be said in favour of the proposal that has been brought forward by the member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs). The question, however, is a somewhat complicated one. When I first saw a reference to it on the Order Paper, it occurred to me that it was a matter upon which I would wish to speak at some length. I am sorry that the discussion was brought on so speedily and so unexpectedly this evening for I should have liked to be in a better position to discuss it.

But there is another reason why, in my opinion, this matter should not be disposed of at this sitting. The House is somewhat slim and the only member who might give us a valuable opinion on this thing based on actual experience is absent from his place; I refer to the hon. member who represents the constituency of Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux). We certainly ought to hear from him on a matter of this kind before we advance the Bill any further. I therefore move the adjournment of the debate in order that we may have an opportunity of discussing it later.

The House divided on the motion of Mr. Davidson, which was agreed to on the following division, and the debate adjourned.

YEAS.

Messieurs.

Allan,	Keefer,
Anderson,	Knox,
Argue,	McGibbon (Muskoka),
Armstrong (Lambton),	McGregor,
Arthurs,	McIsaac,
Ball,	Martin,
Best,	Mewburn,
Blair,	Morphy,
Blake,	Mowat,
Bonnell,	Munson,
Boyce,	Myers,
Brien,	Nesbitt,
Calder,	Nicholson
Casselman,	(Queens, PE.I.),
Chaplin,	Nicholson (Algoma),
Charters,	Paul,
Clark (Bruce),	Porter,
Cockshutt,	Richardson,
Cooper,	Rowell,
Cowan,	Sexsmith,
Crothers,	Shaw,
Crowe,	Sifton,
Davidson,	Simpson,
Davis,	Smith,
Foster (York),	Steele,
Fraser,	Stewart (Hamilton),
Fulton,	Stewart (Lanark),
Glass,	Sutherland,
Green,	Thompson (Weyburn),
Griesbach,	Thompson (Hastings),
Harold,	Thompson (Yukon),
Harrison,	Wigmore,
Hartt,	Wilson (Wentworth),
Hay,	Wilson (Saskatoon),
Henders,	Wright.—69.

NAYS.

Messieurs.

Baldwin,	Lesage,
Béland,	McCrea,
Bourassa,	McGibbon (Argenteuil),
Bureau,	McKenzie,
Cahill,	Maharg,
Cardin,	Michaud,
Casgrain,	Molloy,
Crerar,	Papineau,
d'Anjou,	Pardee,
Déchêne,	Pedlow,
Demers,	Pelletier,
Desaulniers,	Prevost,
Euler,	Proulx,
Fournier,	Reid (Mackenzie),
Gauthier,	Savard,
Gauvreau,	Seguin,
Gervais,	Sinclair Antigonish &
Halladay,	Guysborough),
Hunt,	Sinclair
Jacobs,	(Queens, P.E.I.),

Johnston,	Tobin,
Lafortune,	Trahan,
Lanctôt,	Truax,
Lapointe (St. James),	Turgeon,
Leduc,	Verville,
Leger,	White (Victoria).—50.

PAIRS.

The list of pairs is furnished by the Chief Whips.

Messieurs.

Ames, Sir Herbert,	Lemieux,
Burrell,	Chisholm,
Doherty,	Marcil (Bonaventure),
Borden, Sir Robert,	Devlin,
Wallace,	Murphy,
White, Sir Thomas,	McMaster,
Tweedie,	Copp,
Middlebro,	Robb,
Redman,	Ross,
Andrews,	Fielding,
Armstrong (York),	Power,
Bolton,	Ethier,
Bowman,	Marcile (Bagot),
Boys,	Mayrand,
Bristol,	Kay,
Buchanan,	Lavigueur,
Burnham,	Denis,
Butts,	Fortin,
Campbell,	Fortier,
Chabot,	Parent,
Charlton,	Vien,
Clark (Red Deer),	Boyer,
Clarke (Wellington),	Cannon,
Clements,	Delisle,
Cochrane,	Deslauriers,
Cruise,	Du Tremblay,
Douglas (Strathcona),	Gladu,
Douglas (Cape Breton),	Archambault,
Edwards,	Brouillard,
Elkin,	Fafard,
Finley,	Kennedy,
Foster, Sir George,	Lapointe (Kamouraska),
Maclean (Halifax),	McCoig,
Hepburn,	Pacaud,
Reid.	Duff.

UNOPPOSED MOTIONS FOR PAPERS.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:

For a copy of all the reports made to the Government by Dr. R. J. McFall, Cost of Living Commissioner.

Mr. GAUVREAU:

For a return showing the number of timber and mining areas (licenses) in the Povinces of British Columbia and Alberta, on which arrears of yearly rentals were allowed to remain unpaid and not cancelled, during the years 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918 and 1919; also showing the amounts of such yearly rentals.

Mr. LEMIEUX:

For a copy of all correspondence exchanged between the Dominion Government and the various provincial executives in connection with the promotion of technical education.

On the motion of Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 10 p.m.

Friday, September 19, 1919.

The House met at Four o'clock.

DEPARTMENT OF SOLDIERS' CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT AMENDMENT ACT.

FIRST REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE MEASURE.

Hon. J. A. CALDER (Minister of Immigration and Colonization) presented the first report of the Special Committee on Bill No. 10, to amend the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Act, 1918, as follows:

Your committee recommend that they be granted leave to have their proceedings, and such evidence as may be taken by them from time to time, printed from day to day for the use of the committee, and that rule 74 be suspended in reference thereto.

Your committee also recommend that they be given leave to sit while the House is in session.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Calder the report was concurred in.

REPORTS AND PAPERS.

Extracts from instructions to Dominion Police with regard to the use of firearms.—Hon. Mr. Doherty.

Statement showing expenditures made on account of miscellaneous unforeseen expenses since the last session of Parliament; list of Governor General's warrants authorized since the last session of Parliament; statement respecting superannuation and retiring allowances for the Civil Service for the year 1918-19.—Hon. Mr. Maclean.

PRIVILEGE—STATEMENT BY MR. ARCHAMBAULT.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly-Verchères): I rise to a question of privilege. On page 396 of the Hansard of September 17th the hon. member for Perth South (Mr. M. Steele) is reported to have said in reference to me:

In fact, if I am not mistaken, my hon. friend did suggest, during the war, that Canada should refrain from assisting in the fight for freedom.

I regret that the Rules of the House do not permit me to use an expression which adequately conveys the opinion I have of the hon. member who made that statement. I wish to say that it is utterly unfounded in fact, and uncalled for.

BOARD OF COMMERCE—SALARIES OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

On the motion of Mr. Doherty the House went into Committee on the following proposed resolution; Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Resolved, That it is expedient to amend The Board of Commerce Act, chapter thirty-seven of the statues of 1919, by providing that the Chief Commissioner shall be paid an annual salary of ten thousand dollars, and each of the other commissioners an annual salary of eight thousand dollars; such salaries to be paid monthly out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: My recollection of the Act creating the Board of Commerce is that the salaries of the commissioners are to be determined by the Governor in Council. Has it been found necessary to depart from the provisions of that Act and to resort to the present procedure?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: In view of the Board of Commerce being in effect a court, it was thought desirable that the remuneration of the commissioners should be fixed by statute and not be determined simply by Order in Council which might possibly leave the remuneration open to modification. It was thought desirable, the members of the court occupying positions analogous to those of judges, that their salaries should be fixed and defined by statute.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK (Red Deer): Does the acting Prime Minister think it likely that this board is to be a permanent part of the machinery of government in Canada?

Mr. DOHERTY: The Act of Parliament which created the board appears to have contemplated that it would be permanent, in the sense at all events that its services would be needed for a number of years. I draw that inference from the fact that provision is made that the tenure of office of the commissioners should be for a period of ten years.

Mr. J. A. ROBB (Chateauguay-Huntingdon): Could the acting Prime Minister tell us for what term the commissioners are appointed, and what the salary of each commissioner was prior to 1914?

Mr. DOHERTY: The board has just been created; it did not exist prior to 1914.

Mr. ROBB: But I meant by my question to ask what incomes were they earning prior to 1914?

Mr. DOHERTY: I have not that information, and it is quite impossible for me to furnish it.

[Mr. Archambault.]

Mr. ROBB: The minister has not answered my other question. For how long are they appointed?

Mr. DOHERTY: I have just answered the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) that under the statute their appointment is for a period of ten years.

Mr. JACOBS: Is it intended to appoint a French speaking commissioner?

Mr. DOHERTY: The matter of appointment is at present under consideration. I am not in a position to say that it has been determined that the gentleman appointed shall be of any particular nationality.

Mr. JACOBS: It is not a question of nationality; it is a question of ability to speak French.

Mr. DOHERTY: That is a matter which most certainly should have consideration.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: When may we expect the appointment of the third commissioner?

Mr. DOHERTY: I think the hon. gentleman may expect it at any moment.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I understand there is a big fight in Montreal as to who is to be the third commissioner.

Mr. M. CLARK (Red Deer): Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to offer any opposition to the salaries to be paid to these gentlemen. So long as they are serving the State in accordance with the wishes of the majority of this House, they have to be paid. At the same time, if it is in order, I should like to say that I do not think we can make any worse expenditure of money than on the salaries of gentlemen who are performing the economic antics that some of these gentlemen are indulging in. I saw in the newspapers the other day that one of them had actually threatened that unless prices came down along certain lines, he was prepared to go the length of forbidding exports. I venture to say that the gentleman who made a threat of that kind must be close to the verge of economic insanity. Just think for a moment of contemplating the results of forbidding the export of agricultural products! I have said again and again in this House that we use in this country every year about sixty million bushels of wheat; but we try to produce as near as we can from three hundred million bushels to four hundred million bushels, and some years have been successful. The very threat of such a restriction upon the commerce of the country is a menace against wheat production, as a child may observe.

I do not want to go further into this question; it would be very simple for me to talk an hour on it. But I would like to call attention to the general policy of appointing this board and the object it had in view. The object was laudable—to reduce the high cost of living—and I have no doubt the Government were sincere. I do not wish to cast any doubt on their sincerity, although at the time I debated the creation of the board I expressed a doubt as to whether the Government expected much results from it, because some members of the Government had expressed a doubt whether anything could be done by artificial means of this kind to reduce the cost of living. But I just want to call attention to the fact that while the Board of Commerce was appointed at the end of last session, we had scarcely gone home before the Government appointed another Board—I think they called it a Wheat Board—and one of the first things that that board did was to order a fixed price on wheat. Now, Sir, I have been studying economics all my life, and I confess that I cannot understand the state of mind of a Government that supports both boards. How can you, Sir, on the one hand depress the cost of living by going to the extent, if need be, as one of these gentlemen of the Board of Commerce has threatened to do, of preventing all export, and, on the other hand, keeping the price of wheat at an artificial figure? I leave the problem with the Government, and I leave their boards with them. I have made my protest not for the first time, and I repeat it.

Mr. STEELE: Mr. Chairman, I do not purpose following the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) in his remarks on this question; but he expressed a thought which I wish to make use of. He said that the threat of a member of this board to stop the export of certain lines of foodstuffs indicated economic insanity. It occurs to me that perhaps that would explain the remarks of a certain member of the House who spoke a few days ago and advocated restriction of the export of foodstuffs, and who a few minutes ago made certain references to me on a question of privilege. Economic insanity is perhaps one form of insanity; there are various other forms that afflict the human race; and possibly that will account for the remarks he made on the question of privilege.

Mr. NESBITT: Mr. Chairman, I have no objection to the salaries which are now proposed. When the Bill was introduced, if I remember correctly, I said that I did not think the salaries should be as low as then fixed, as it would not be possible to get the right type of men to fill the position; but I think the salaries now proposed are quite sufficient to secure the proper type of Commissioners. The fear I had when the Board of Commerce was established was that members might be appointed on the board who would do more harm to the business of the country than they would do good. One of the members of the board at the present time reminds me of the sort of swashbuckler that you read about, who, in the olden days, used to go up and down the country roaring what he was going to do. I never heard of a judge—and this gentleman emphatically states that his tribunal is a court and that he is a judge—I never before heard of a judge stating in the public press what he was going to do in regard to a case that was coming before him before even he had heard the evidence. This gentleman repeatedly states what he is going to do before he hears the evidence, and he is liable, as my hon. friend from Red Deer (Mr. Clark) has pointed out, of curtailing production in place of increasing it. Those of us who have studied the question at all know that the greatest assistance that can possibly be given to decreasing the price of food and every other commodity is more production. Now, when this man threatens all kinds of businesses that he is going to do this, that, and the other thing with them, why, there is certainly no encouragement to business men to go ahead and try to increase production and make their businesses a success. I hope that this gentleman will not be so keen to advertise in the newspapers what he is going to do. I have no objection to his doing all he possibly can do to decrease the cost of living, not the slightest; but I want him to act, and not to talk about what he is going to do so long before he gets at it. If he follows that practice I think perhaps he may do some good; but if he continues his present course of advertising what he is going to do with his almighty powers, I am afraid he will do more harm than good.

Mr. ROBB: Mr. Chairman, when I inquired from the minister what salaries the commissioners were earning prior to 1914 it was not because I had any objection to the salaries now proposed. But there is a suspicion in the public mind that the commissioners who are advertising themselves as the opponents of profiteers are themselves somewhat in the same class. It is

quite within the knowledge of a good many people that at least one of these commissioners was not earning prior to 1914 nearly the salary that he is now earning. There is another feature of this that must appeal to hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House.

This Board of Commerce, I imagine, is under the Department of Trade and Commerce or some other department of the Government. One of the commissioners has stated that he is going to prohibit the exportation of farm produce in order to bring prices down. The commission has advertised widely—indeed, has issued an order to this effect—that if the farmers put up the price of milk or cream they will be put in jail or fined $1,000. It is well known that the price of milk and cream to-day is much lower in Canada than it is in the United States. This means that the Board of Commerce, representing this Government and carrying out its policy, says to the producers of Canada: If you put up your prices to the level of prices prevailing for the export trade we will put you in jail or fine you $1,000. I would like to know whether that is the policy of the Government.

Mr. DOHERTY: The hon. member is quite mistaken in saying that this board is under a department of the Government. The board is a court and the members are no more under a department of the Government than the judges of our courts are under the Minister of Justice simply because they are appointed on his nomination. This board exercises the functions conferred upon it not under instructions from the Government, but in accordance with the judgment of its own members. With regard to the statements that have been made concerning the announcements of different commissioners, perhaps we all have had experience which has caused us to realize that the newspapers cannot always be relied upon as being absolutely accurate. Perhaps it is not absolutely fair for us to judge a man upon newspaper reports without our having before us evidence of the authenticity of the statements alleged to have been made.

Mr. McMASTER: If this Board of Commerce is a court—and, of course, it is a court, because the Minister of Justice says so—

Mr. DOHERTY: Because the statute says so.

Mr. McMASTER: Because the statute says so, and the statute is something like the young Anglican curate who said: "I say—and the Apostle Paul agrees with me." Well, the statute says so, and the Minister of Justice agrees with the statute. This body being a court, then, the commissioners must behave as judges, and if they do not do so the Minister of Justice should lay his kindly and restraining hand upon them.

Mr. JACOBS: They ought to be impeached.

Mr. McMASTER: The Minister of Justice says that we should be charitable; that we should not, without obtaining further information, take it for granted that this judge spoke in the loose way that it is reported he did; that the newspapers may have made a mistake. Well, my acquaintance with the gentleman whose reported sayings are before the committee is limited, but I think that the words found in the press bear his imprimatur. I represent the foremost dairy county in this country—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, no.

Mr. McMASTER: —for its size.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, no.

Mr. McMASTER: You will note, Mr. Chairman, that I said "for its size." Other counties larger in area may produce larger amounts of butter, cheese or milk, but no county of its size produces butter, cheese and milk of as fine quality as those produced in the county of Brome.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McMASTER: Why do I make that vaunting assertion? For this reason: That to attempt to control the price of milk without attempting to control at the same time the prices of cheese, butter and beef is absolutely futile. If you endeavour to keep down the price of milk below that which will pay the farmer to turn it into butter, or to take it to the cheese factory and have it turned into cheese, you will only reduce the supply of milk and increase its price. If I mistake not, an attempt was made some months ago to fix the price of milk sold in New York city. The result was that the farmers dried off their cattle and sold them for beef. Everybody wants to see milk plentiful, because it is the best drink, after water, that human beings can absorb.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Question.

Mr. McMASTER: There should be no question on that point in this House. Everybody wants to see milk plentiful, because it is a most necesary food, especially for

children. But to endeavour to control the price of milk in an arbitrary and offhand fashion is economically futile and politically unsound. I commend to the Minister of Justice the wisdom of inquiring into the bona fides of these newspaper reports about one of his judges, and, if the reports are correct, of dealing with him in that kind, courteous and firm manner which, as a lone student of the Minister of Justice, I know to be characteristic of him.

Mr. PROULX: Some time ago the Government passed an Order in Council prohibiting the export of raw hides. Was this procedure recommended by the Board of Commerce?

Mr. DOHERTY: My impression is that the Order was made before the Board of Commerce had been constituted. I am not in a position to say that it was made upon any initiative of theirs.

Mr. PROULX: This is a great hardship to the farmers; it decreases the price of their cattle from $8 to $10 each. I assume that the object of the Government in passing this Order was to increase the quantity of leather available for Canadian manufacturers.

Mr. M. CLARK: And bring down the price of beef at the same time.

Mr. PROULX: To remove the duty on raw hides imported from the United States and other countries would have a more beneficial effect than to prohibit exportation. I do not believe that the course which has been adopted will have the effect of reducing the price of shoes. It has not had that effect as yet; indeed, the price has increased since the Order in Council was passed.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Comment has been made in this House as well as outside of it upon the tendency on the part of blatant jingoism to excite and agitate the mind of the people. When the Board of Commerce Bill was before the House I expressed my views upon it, and I need not repeat them now. I said that if the people wanted something of that kind, or a new toy, I was not going to stand in the way of their having it. During the last few days some of the members of the Board have been making statements which would seem to justify the remarks that have been made here this afternoon by some of those who have spoken on the resolution now before its committee.

We have just been told by the Minister of Justice that this is a court which is wholly independent of the Government or Parliament. The Bill that was put through gave them certain powers, and I quite agree with the statement that has been made that it is something unusual for a court or judge to make a statement regarding a matter to be dealt with before hearing all the evidence upon it. In view of those statements that have gone abroad throughout the country during the last few days, and this resolution coming before the House at this time, my opinion is that if we pass this resolution, it means that this House is approving the statements that have been made by the members of that board. We ought to be very careful to find out whether they have been correctly reported or not. I thought it impossible that Mr. O'Connor should have made the statements which he is credited with having made a few days ago at Toronto and Hamilton; but when I saw them in a number of papers, and not only that, but repeated on the following day, I came to the conclusion that the press of this country had not been altogether in error, and that Mr. O'Connor is deserving of being recalled for the purpose of giving an explanation to some one. So long as we have responsible government and members of Parliament elected to represent the people of this country, we should not delegate our authority to any body that is independent of us. To do so is not in keeping with responsible and representative Government nor with the times in which we are living.

Further, I believe—and this was referred to by the hon. member for Prescott (Mr. Proulx)—that one of the first acts of this board was to recommend that an embargo be placed on the exportation of hides. I do not know whether that was done by an Order in Council or by the action of this board, but I think it was the Commissioner on the Cost of Living (Dr. McFall), who recommended this course to the Government. But it is something that affects one matter that, according to press reports, has been referred to by Mr. O'Connor at Toronto and Hamilton during the last few days, namely the price of milk. What was the object to be attained by the embargo on hides, and what is the effect of it? The direct effect of this legislation is that to-day thousands, aye, tens of thousands, of cattle are being shipped to the United States by reason of the fact that their hides will command a much higher price in that country than they will in Canada. What is the con-

dition of affairs in this country to-day? Not during the past twenty-five years has this country experienced so serious a condition as regards its livestock as it is experiencing just at the present time. In Ontario, we were never shorter of feed, and food for stock was never before commanding so high a price as it is at the present time. There is not sufficient food to carry the stock over winter; cattle are being placed on the market by the thousands, and are being killed and cut up as canners, and the hide is a very important and essential source of revenue to those farmers who have to dispose of their stock in this way.

As regards milk, we find in every dairy district in Canada, many of the herds are being reduced by one-half as a result of a scarcity of feed in the country. Does a member of this Board of Commerce mean to tell the people of this country that the price of milk must not be increased or the farmer will be sent to jail while this condition prevails—and it is the condition, as is well known to every one who is engaged in agriculture in Canada.

Moreover, it is a reflection upon somebody in this country when our greatest industry is not represented at what is termed a National Industrial Conference, which is being held in this building at the present time. These are some of the things that ought to be dealt with before this convention and that have a vital bearing upon the cost of living in this country. We have heard so much about profiteering and that sort of thing that it is as well for us to get right down to brass tacks and see what we are doing and what the real condition is. It is of no use trying to put the blame on some one else than ourselves. We are facing a condition such as this country has never faced before as the result of the energies of 50,000,000, nay, 100,000,000 people having been directed into channels, not of production, but of destruction, in order to bring about the victory which we have recently won in the war. And to think you can appoint a Board of Commerce to go through this country and, as a result of their actions, bring prosperity to the people, is the most absolute nonsense that I ever heard of. There is no possible chance of their accomplishing that object. They may lay their hands on a few profiteers here and there; but let me impress upon this House that those profiteers will not be found amongst those who are engaged in agriculture in this country. The hope for the future of Canada rests upon our broad agricultural lands, and there is a conspiracy on foot in this country not to promote, but to damn agriculture during the years to come as it has never been damned before. Think of a National Industrial Conference at which agriculture, Canada's greatest industry, and those engaged in that occupation are not represented either directly or indirectly, and yet you find the Civil Service of Canada and those engaged in almost every other walk of life represented. At that Conference they are discussing the high cost of living and the effect it is having on this country, and they are endeavouring to provide redress for the condition that is confronting us by restricting labour and fixing minimum wages. For my part, I want to state most emphatically that I do not approve the statements credited to this Board of Commerce. I hope, for their own sake, and for the sake of this Parliament which appointed them, that those statements are not true. I can scarcely conceive of men being placed in so responsible a position over and above Parliament and at this time with Parliament in session, acting in open defiance of the interest of this country, and I am not going to signify by my action in this House that I am in accord with the statements they are making. I am here to protest, on behalf of the people who sent me to the House of Commons as their representative, that this increase in the salaries of those men is not in keeping with the statements they are credited with having made during the last few days.

Mr. BEST: Mr. Speaker, I just want to ask the acting minister how many of the members of the Board of Commerce have been actual producers of farm products, or are actual producers at the present time? What we believe is this, that there are appointed to deal with farm products too many boards, the members of which know nothing whatever about producing food on the farm. The most serious situation that the people of Canada are facing to-day is a lack of farm products, and there is nothing that we can do that will tend to lessen production more than what some of these boards are credited with doing at the present time. We have had the Board of Fuel Control, the Board of Food Control, the Board of Commerce, the Cost of Living Board, and the Purchasing Commission. Is this country going to be run by commissions, or are the people's representatives going to have any say whatever? It is high time that the people's representatives in this House should have some say in these matters.

While I am not opposed to the appointment of a commission when it is really required, I do think in all fairness to the representatives of the people in this House and the people of Canada themselves that the men who are appointed to a commission should know something about the subject with which they are dealing. Don't appoint men to deal with farm products who don't know a hog from a sheep or potatoes from buckwheat; but that is what has been done in the past. I believe there are men in Canada to-day quite capable of dealing with these matters who would be able to tell whether or not a witness was giving evidence to the facts. I hope that in the future the Government in making appointments to any commission will see that at least some of the members know something about, and have had some personal experience of at least some of the subjects with which they will be called upon to deal.

Mr. J. H. BURNHAM: Would the minister be good enough to tell us what are the economic principles upon which this board acts?

Mr. DOHERTY: It is very difficult for me to define the principle upon which a board constituted as this board is, and appointed for the purpose for which it was appointed, acts. The purpose, of course, in creating that board was to provide a method whereby it might be ascertained to what extent, if any, and by whom, what has been described in general terms as profiteering was being indulged in, and to provide means to check it.

Mr. JACOBS: I am a little surprised that the Minister of Justice should have permitted the attacks which have been made here this afternoon upon members of the judiciary. I think it was his duty as Minister of Justice to rise and protest against the attacks made by his followers on the members of the bench. He has just told us that the gentlemen who constitute the Board of Commerce are judges. That is true, and I should like to cite the following rule in Bourinot (page 358):

> All references to judges and courts of justice and to personages of high official station, of the nature of personal attacks and censure have always been considered unparliamentary and the speakers of the British and Canadian Houses have always treated them as breaches of order.

It goes on:

> Members have even been interrupted in Committee of the Whole by the chairman when they have cast an imputation upon a judicial proceeding.

It seems to me that the Minister of Justice, who is the guardian angel of the judiciary of this country, should at least protect these new judges from the improper atacks which are being made on them this afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to ask the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) is he now raising a point of order.

Mr. JACOBS: I am raising a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN: In view of what has been said, I consider that the point is well taken.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON: I think a tempest in teapot is being raised in this discussion here this afternoon. It is perfectly true that Mr. O'Connor, who is not the chairman of the board but only a member of it, did, if correctly reported, make use of certain expressions that were not wise. However, he is not a trained judicial man, and I have no doubt that when he is sitting jointly with the chairman of the board, Hon. Judge Robson, he will learn discretion, and perhaps the discussion here this afternoon will have done no harm.

I have said all I propose to say with reference to Mr. O'Connor. I should like, however, to say a word about Judge Robson, the Chairman of the Board. He has occupied the position of Public Utilities Commissioner in the province of Manitoba, aud during his administration of that high office he commanded the very highest respect and support of the entire population of Manitoba. When he decided to retire from that position a general wave of regret passed over the minds of the people of that province, because they felt they had lost one of the soundest and ablest public servants they had ever had.

The hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon inquired what salaries the members of the board were drawing previously. I cannot say as to Mr. O'Connor, but I am in a position to state that the salary which Judge Robson was drawing before he consented to accept the position of the board was very much higher than the salary provided for that position in the Act of last session, and higher, I believe, than is proposed in the present resolution. It seems almost unfair for hon. members to criticise at this stage the appointment of a Board of Commerce All hon. members of this House know that when the board was ap-

pointed there was no question that more agitated the people than the high cost of living. The country was aflame with unrest. All the people were cursing profiteering and denouncing the high cost of living, and it was in response to a general demand for some action that this board was appointed. Of course, it followed the recommendation of the committee that inquired into the high cost of living last session. I do not think any responsible member of this House would stand up in his place this afternoon and say that this board should not have been appointed. Hon. gentlemen who follow the trend of events in other countries know that similar agitations exist there and that means are being taken by the Governments of those countries to deal with the situation. In appointing the Board of Commerce the Canadian Parliament was simply following the line that had been adopted in the United States, which has appointed an Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate profits. It seemed to be generally agreed last session when the Bill creating the board was passed that no set of men would be able to fix costs but that they might be able to regulate profits, and if in their zeal one member of the board, without judicial experience, has happened to give expression to an indiscreet phrase I do not think it would be wise for this Parliament to be too hard on that gentleman, although I fancy—I will not go any further, Mr. Chairman, I see you are looking at me; I am quite willing to conclude the sentence right there, because I think hon. gentlemen understand what I mean. I do not think it would be wise to be too hard on a man for using an expression that may have been given offhand. I fancy that the discussion here this afternoon will have the necessary regulating effect on the conduct of that gentleman in the future.

In conclusion, I believe that the country will receive the very highest and most earnest and patriotic service, at least from the chairman of this board, and when the board is sitting jointly the chairman will be able to exercise a dominating and restraining influence upon the actions of the board.

Mr. DENIS: I fail to see either the propriety or the need of asking the Committee to pass the resolution now under discussion. The Bill creating the Board of Commerce was passed with little consideration during the dying days of last session, at a time when Parliament, having been called upon by the Prime Minister and the Government to sit day and night continuously, had through sheer physical exhaustion virtually ceased to exist, so far at least as any mature discussion was concerned. Section 19 provides that the salaries of the Chief Commissioner, the other commissioners, the secretary and all the staff shall be determined by the Governor in Council. The board has entered upon its work, and from all parts of the country criticism is being levelled at it; and less than three months after its creation we find the Government seeking to shoulder upon Parliament its self-assumed responsibiity of fixing the salaries of the officers. It is the duty of the Government to fix these salaries. They have the power to do so, having reserved it in the Bill, and I do not think that the general criticism of which the board is now the object is a sufficient warranty for interference by Parliament in this matter. My view is that the House should say to the Government: The Board of Commerce is of your own making. It has only just begun its operations and is not giving the service which we expected of it; it is not giving any satisfaction to the country at large, and the duty devolves upon you to see that effective means are taken to make the board efficient. We are not opposed to the principle of fixing the salaries of these officials, but that is not the question. We passed a Bill giving the Government full power in this matter and I do not think we should have anything further to do with it. Let the Government discharge the responsibility which they sought. There is no need for calling upon Parliament to consider this question again, and for this reason I oppose the motion.

Mr. HOCKEN: I think the Government is to be commended upon their establishment of the Board of Commerce, which is at least an evidence of a sincere desire to do what is possible to reduce the cost of living. But I was surprised when the board was named to note the absence of a commercial man from its personnel. It is composed of two lawyers and a former newspaper man who was a civil servant. Naturally I have a very high regard for the capacity of newspaper men, but it seems to me that a board of this kind should have an outstanding business man as one of its members. I am not so sure that two lawyers were required. I believe that with one lawyer and perhaps a representative of agriculture and a business man we should likely obtain better results than are possible from a board constituted as this is. I have no objection

to the salaries. Indeed, I think that one of the difficulties that have to be reckoned with in conducting a public business is the inability to pay a sufficient salary to attract good men. I am therefore perfectly satisfied in that respect. But I think that the people of the country will discover, as the work of the board becomes manifest, that it is essentially weakened by the lack of a man with an extensive training in business affairs. I do not object to Mr. O'Connor, but I have wondered whether his appointment was due to the fact that he had that capacity for advertising himself to which objections have been raised here. I am of the opinion that the people, when the board was formed, expected Mr. O'Connor to find a place on it. I do not know whether that is the reason he was selected, but the propaganda that was carried on by the newspapers made it perhaps inevitable that he should be chosen. As to whether his temperament adapts him to this kind of work is a matter of grave doubt in my mind. I suppose I am not at liberty to discuss the question of his fixing prices, but I know that when the Committee on the High Cost of Living was sitting he was absolutely and unqualifiedly opposed to fixing any prices. He may have undergone a change of heart since then. If he has, then the inference seems to be that he had not thought out the proposition to a final conclusion when he was before the Committee. However, I think it is altogether too soon for us to estimate what can be done or what is likely to be done by the board. It is unreasonable for us to criticise the operations of this body until it has really had an opportunity to get into its stride. Six months from now perhaps we may have occasion to discuss the work of the board and shall be better qualified then to deal with its achievements than we are in a position to do at the present time. So far as the purpose of the resolution is concerned, I may express myself as being absolutely in accord with it.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: May I put a question to my hon. friend. Does he not see that when all the responsible men in the country are demanding production to the limit of all agricultural produce, that production must be inimically affected even by a threat to prevent exportation of such produce?

Mr. HOCKEN: I do not want to be understood as giving my unqualified approval to the fixing of prices. I did not intend to convey that impression, if that is what the hon. member for Red Deer supposed.

Mr. CLARK: Canada produces annually vastly more agricultural produce than she can use herself. That is elementary, and unless that goes on Canada's prosperity is threatened at its very source. Under these circumstances, I ask my hon. friend if he does not see the unwisdom of a person in a responsible position threatening the prevention of the export of agricultural produce, which is the only method by which we can get rid of our excess products.

The CHAIRMAN: Before the debate goes further I must refer to the point of order raised a moment ago by the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs), who at the time drew my attention to the fact that we were discussing in Committee in the House of Commons the personal conduct of a judge, and read the following from Bourinot:

> All references to judges and courts of justice and to personages of high official station, of the nature of personal attacks and censure have always been considered unparliamentary and the speakers of the British and Canadian Houses have always treated them as breaches of order. They have always insisted that, "Such expressions should be withdrawn" and that "When it is proposed to call in question the conduct of a judge, the member desiring to do so should pursue the constitutional course of moving an address to the Crown."

I should, perhaps, have asked hon. members present for their opinion upon the point of order before giving my ruling upon it. It is never pleasant for a chairman to reverse a ruling he has given, but I think it is preferable that he should take that course if good ground exists for doing so, than to allow a bad precedent to be established.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

The CHAIRMAN: Since the ruling was given I have sent for the statute creating the Board of Commerce. If the members of that board had been absolutely in the same position as judges of the Superior Court my ruling would have been absolutely correct, but I find that clause three of the statute, constituting the Board of Commerce, reads as follows:

> Subsection 3 of clause 3.
> Each commissioner shall hold office during good behaviour for a period of ten years from the date of his appointment but may be removed at any time by the Governor in Council for cause.

Thus the position of members of the board is altogether different from that of a judge

of the Superior Court, who can only be removed by the Governor in Council upon an address of the Senate and House of Commons, and I therefore declare that the discussion was in order.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. JACOBS: May I say a word in explanation of the point of order which I raised? It was the Minister of Justice who directed the attention of the House to the fact that these gentlemen were judges, and upon that I raised my point of order.

Mr. DOHERTY: If hon. gentlemen will look up what I said they will find I stated that the statute declared the members of this board to be a court. I did not use the expression " court of record," which is the term employed in the statute. Speaking of the position of the members of the board, I said that it was in a sense analogous to the office of judge. The ruling of the Chairman explained precisely the reason why I did not raise the question which the hon. member (Mr. Jacobs) brought up, and which he suggested it was particularly my duty, as Minister of Justice, to raise. These gentlemen—though I still adhere to the statement that their position with regard to dealing with questions that come before them is analogous to that of a judge—have absolutely nothing to do with the administration of justice. There may be judges to judge other matters than questions that arise with regard to the rights of individuals under the law, as between one another. These gentlemen, however, have nothing to do with the administration of justice. They are members of a body that is given the powers of a court of record and they are in a position analogous to judges in the sense that they determine the questions that come before them, but they do not hold positions pertaining to the administration of justice.

Mr. GLASS: There was no doubt a purpose, as the hon gentleman (Mr. Hocken) has well said, in the creation of this Board of Commerce, but I think the hon. member for South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) has given the House a very important warning this afternoon, and I desire to associate myself with every word he uttered. The Prime Minister, the Minister of Finance, and other members of the Government, have laid down to the people and to the producers of Canada that the fundamental requisite to meet the enormous cost occasioned to this country by reason of the war is increased production. Yet, Sir, no man in this House would dare to admit, I think, otherwise than that the course that is being pursued in the attempt to curb or to limit, prices to the producer, is going to have the very opposite effect. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland) has just pointed out the condition that exists in reference to the ban put on the export of hides. Not only in my opinion has it been seriously detrimental to the interests of the country, but it has created among the farming community of Canada an unrest and a dissatisfaction that is becoming serious. Limiting the price of milk at the very foundation of supply, as is proposed by the ruling of Mr. O'Connor, given a few days ago, has resulted already, and will result continuously in a largely decreased production in the quantity of milk. All the commissions that this Government can appoint cannot compel the Canadian farmers to turn out or sell his produce below cost. So soon as you attempt to regulate that among the farmers of the country that very moment you are going, as some hon. gentlemen have already pointed out, to decrease the amount of production. Sir, if there was one thing that was more important than another in this country last year, and one that was not given sufficient attention to, it was that the propaganda in favour of greater production was not pressed home strongly enough upon the farmers of the country; they were led to believe that the armistice having been signed there must be an enormous reaction and that prices were going to sink to a lower level, and that notwithstanding the increase in the cost of labour which was a serious problem to them, hon. members of this House who are acquainted with the facts, should have known, and doubtless did know, that that would not likely be the result. Last year the United States fixed the price of wheat for the farmers in that country, which was a bold and important stroke, and Congress made provision for an enormous sum of money to meet the possible loss that might accrue as the result of that action. But if we leave our wheat markets to the farmers and producers at the present time, and let the foreign market, or the export market, regulate prices in this country, it will encourage our farmers and result in largely increased production. I am opposed to the fixing of the prices for the products of the farm in any respect. If you leave the farmers alone, let them produce and take the markets as they are, they will be better satisfied; they have so expressed themselves in their different organizations throughout the country. They

do not want any more paternalism, they do not want to be directed and guided by commissions such as the one we are discussing. If the commission is going to perform the function expected of them, it may be right and proper that they should inquire into the dealings of individuals and middlemen who obtain abnormal profits. We do not need to go outside this city—in fact we can go into any town or village almost in Canada—to get evidence of that. In the retail stores to-day exemplification of undue profit is illustrated because there certainly is inequality of profit. It was shown here that a spread in price of over twenty cents a pound in the price of one commodity, bacon, prevailed between different stores in this city. That has been going on for a long time. I know from personal knowledge and from a personal investigation of the prices in the retail stores for this commodity that we use every day for our sustenance, that there is a spread to the extent of from twenty to twenty-five cents per pound in different stores in the same community. Now that is not right. These stores all buy at the same market and no doubt at the same wholesale cost. I must admit that every retailer, and every distributor of food, has not got an equal overhead cost, but certainly they cannot attribute to overhead cost the large spread between the rate of the dealer, who is selling at a fair charge, and that of the dealer who is trying to extort an enormous price.

Now, Sir, in the matter of cheese we know that in Western Ontario—and I presume similar conditions exist in the eastern part—there has been an enormous decrease in production. And yet the farmers have been asked to sell their milk at a lower price than the condensed milk factories are paying. We have said to the farmers that the prosperity of the country rests on the basis of agricultural production. If that is right, then in the name of Heaven let us give every possible encouragement to our agriculturists to increase production. I hope the Government will take cognizance of the importance of giving this encouragement to the farmers so that, notwithstanding the difficulties they labour under, they will exert their utmost efforts next year to secure increased production. Increased agricultural production will be necessary for some time to come, so do not let our farmers be led to believe that their markets are going to shrink to such a point that it is of no interest to them to produce. They must produce, and if there is one thing more than another that the members of this Government might direct themselves to it is in assisting to solve the problem of farm labour. I regret very much that the great farming industry is not represented at the Industrial Congress, a regret which has also been voiced by the member for South Oxford. It is unfortunate and I think in the days to come it will be the subject of severe criticism that the farmers were not invited to send representatives. An industry which represents very nearly sufficient in production to repay the total debt of this country in a single year is an important industry, and yet in this most important congress that ever assembled in this country its representatives are not invited. I describe the congress as the most important because we hope that its deliberations will prove a mighty force in allaying unrest and promoting industrial development.

My hon. friend from Toronto has suggested that we should not criticise the members of this board, but that we should give them six months or a year to see what they can do. Why, if they go on for the next six months doing what they have done during the last six days to limit the prices to be paid to the producers of farm products, you will see such a stagnation and decreased production next year that it will be a serious blow to this country. Let us give the farmers every encouragement to greater production. And let us realize at the very commencement that we cannot regulate the prices of farm products with advantage to the country. Therefore leave them alone. If the export market will give our farmers better prices than the home market, let us face the situation and acknowledge that we must bring our prices up to the level of the export value. I think the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) put the question concisely and correctly, and there is no doubt that we must let the export market regulate the home prices. This Board of Commerce may attempt to regulate prices as much as they like, but they are not going to change the result. The farmer is going to get the price or he is going to stop producing; and if there is anything more than another that this country wants at the present time it is that all our ingenuity and all our energies shall be devoted to giving the farmer every encouragement in the direction of larger and greater production.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Chairman, it is

some satisfaction to see the distinguished Free Trader from Red Deer and the equally distinguished Protectionist from Ontario standing upon the same platform in complete agreement. I have heard it said sometimes by an Appellate judge when reviewing a decision of an inferior court: " I disagree with every reason given by this judge for his decision, but nevertheless he arrived at the right conclusion." I am sure that my hon. friend from Red Deer and the good Protectionist from Ontario must be arriving at the same conclusion by entirely different routes. It is not for me to inquire how they get there, but it is gratifying to know that they agree.

I must say for myself that while I am in favour of the greatest encouragement to personal activity in every line of life —and that is the reason why I must be guilty of not being in favour of this great cry about Governement ownership, I am in favour of Government ownership in some things, which have nothing to do with this subject, but I am in favour of the greatest possible encouragement to individual activity and you cannot have that individual activity at its best unless there is some personal incentive behind it. That is human nature. If you have men working for somebody else, as in Government ownership, you never have them working with the same zest or with the same ability that they would put into their own personal business. That is why I like to see individual activity in trade as in other directions.

I wish to say that I do not agree with the severe strictures which we have heard on the gentlemen composing this board. They may be perhaps indiscreet—I am not saying they are—in their observations, but they must make it known, Mr. Chairman, that they exist. They are to some extent, preaching a new gospel, and they must some way or other bring to the notice of the people the fact that there is a court, appointed by Parliament in its wisdom to look after matters of this kind. I am sure that that court would not reach any conclusion unless it was to a very fair extent at all events based upon the evidence adduced before them. And it must be remembered that their decisions are not absolutely conclusive, for there is a provision in the Act giving a right of appeal from their decisions to the Governor in Council, which can either reverse or modify their decisions in any way they may deem proper. Therefore if any person feels that this board are reaching conclusions not justified by the facts, he can appeal to the Governor in Council, and it will be dealt with upon its merits.

It is a very drastic thing, I suppose, to pass an order prohibiting the exportation of any article, but nevertheless there may be conditions existing where it is perfectly justifiable and necessary to take such action. If it so happens that the price abroad is so attractive that it will put up the price of the commodity locally beyond the capacity of the local men to buy, and that the great inducement for sending the commodity out of the country makes it impossible for the local man to get as much out of it as is necessary for the subsistence of himself and his family, it may be quite proper to stop exportation for a while at all events and let legitimate local competition do its work as far as prices are concerned.

The Government has created an artificial condition in this country which makes proper local competition impossible; a condition under which we are ourselves putting up money in order to create competition among ourselves. The man who is working in a coal mine has to find money out of his own earnings with which to provide for the needs of his family. If the producer of cheese wants to make money he knows that he has simply to deliver at Montreal any quantity of cheese that he likes at a price which is fixed in London by a trade commission created by this Government. That trade commission has been given the money of the people of Canada with which to buy that cheese. So that there is no proper local competition; money is transferred from the public exchequer by the Government to a commission in order that we may buy goods from ourselves. One section of the country, therefore, get their money easily, get any prices they ask, while another section which are not in a position to cater to that trade have to look in other directions. The result is that the good old-fashioned line of competition is altogether destroyed. I was always opposed to the creation of an artificial condition by the giving of our money to a foreign country in order that that country might buy our goods. That condition should not prevail and the sooner we get out of it the better.

We have far too many traders in this country, far too many grocery stores. It would be well to ask this board to inquire whether or not we are flooded with small stores and with trading people, and paying

for rents, profits and overhead expenses in far more business establishments than we require.

Mr. GLASS: Assuming that the board found that there were too many traders, what remedy would my hon. friend suggest?

Mr. McKENZIE: The Provincial Government or the Dominion Government would have to license those who start upon any business. They would have to satisfy themselves that there was a proper field for that business in a particular place, that a proper amount of capital was behind it, and that there was real necessity for it. I believe that this sort of thing is done in Great Britain and in other countries. This is not a matter upon which I speak for the first time, or without previous consideration; it is a question which many people are thinking about, and it is well worthy of the consideration of this board or of any individuals or bodies of men who have at heart the interests of the working people who are non-producers and who must buy at practically whatever price is asked the commodities that they require.

When I spoke on the Address on the 4th of September last I cited to the Government a long list of articles, the price of which had fallen materially in the United States because of the fact that the cost of living board over there was very active in trying to effect a reduction of prices and to put matters on a fair basis. I said on that occasion that if the prices of these foodstuffs were not falling in equal degree on this side of the line, if the prices were being unjustly maintained here at a high figure, the Government would be justified in taking the duties of these articles and opening up a fair field of competition between the American people and dealers on this side. I noticed a few days ago that Judge Robson, Chairman of the Board of Commerce, made some comments in Winnipeg along the line that I followed when I spoke on the occasion referred to. I trust that the Government will bear this matter well in mind and see to it that we in Canada get the same benefit through a reduction of prices as that which is accruing in respect of similar goods to the people on the other side of the line.

The real subject before the Committee is this question of the salaries of the commissioners. The amounts look large, but the minds of those of us who are not very young are trained to the old conditions and to the old ideas of the value of the dollar. But the purchasing power of the dollar today is only fifty per cent of what it was four or five years ago; a salary of $5,000 then would be equal to the salary of $10,000 now. So that when we are naming salaries for men whom we want to be comfortable and independent and to devote their entire time to the work which they have in hand, we must not be too close in our calculations.

I do not know the judge who is Chairman. I am glad to hear that he is a capable man and that he is sure to do justice to the position which he occupies. I do, however, know the Assistant Chief Commissioner. It is a mistake to suppose that a lawyer, because he is a lawyer, knows nothing more than something about statutes, the decisions of courts, and that sort of thing. A lawyer who is in good practice in his profession has a better chance of coming in contact with every phase of life than a member of any other profession. Take the matter of building houses. If you wanted a man to decide whether or not a house was properly built—to act as inspector, for instance—and a lawyer was suggested, you might say: What does he know about that? But possibly that lawyer has tried three hundred cases involving the whole question of how a house should be built and every single thing about it from cellar to garret—how its walls should be built, how it should be plastered, how the windows should be put in, and so on. He had to go over matters of that kind in the courts three hundred times and is thoroughly trained down in them. A lawyer must know all about any matter that comes into court; otherwise he cannot try his case. So that when we refer slightingly to a lawyer as knowing nothing about those things we are very much mistaken.

For that reason, I think we have a very capable man in Mr. O'Connor, whom I have known for the last twenty years. Mr. O'Connor comes from that little province down by the sea; he has had a very extensive practice in the courts of our country, at nisi prius, courts of appeal and every other phase of his practice; he is a very keen, capable man, and I expect good things of him in regard to these matters. Although these reports get into the newspapers, Mr. O'Connor is not a man to blow his own horn; he has never been, unless Ottawa has spoiled him since his coming to this city. We should give this board every opportunity of handling the exceedingly difficult task with which they are confronted. If, as the hon. member for Toronto West (Mr. Hocken) said, after

six months or so, they show they are not doing what they should, perhaps it will be time for us then to say something about the way in which they are handling the business. For the present, speaking for myself, I should like to encourage them and to give them to understand that the House of Commons which appointed them a short time ago is willing to give them every consideration and help. For those reasons, I think we should pass this resolution empowering the Government to grant them the salaries for which they are looking. One hon. gentleman speaking the other day stated that we on this side of the House were bitterly opposed to the appointment of this board. That, of course, must have been said for political purposes. I have never heard from this side of the House a bitter word or, indeed, a word at all opposing the appointment of this board. Far from that, we on this side of the House, advocated this course long ago, indeed, long before the Government took any notice of the matter at all. I remember the first time it was mentioned, perhaps as far back as 1916, by myself, and the hon. member for Richmond who was here at that time. The Prime Minister of to-day, who we regret is not in the House, told us flat-footedly that he would do nothing of the kind. Somewhere away back in those days, that language will be found in Hansard, and further that it would be absurd to inquire into or to try to control prices. Another minister of the Crown told us that it was ridiculous to suppose that prices could be controlled; that every soap-box orator at every grocery store in the land thought that he knew the remedy for these difficulties, and that matters had to take their natural course. The idea which we were then advocating evidently grew and got some consideration in the land; otherwise, this board would never have been appointed. We were always in favour of it, and if it will do any good, it had its origin and foundation on this side of the House, and I trust it will be something of advantage to the country. The English people, who are at all events just as wise as we are, who are better acquainted with the effects of legislation and what parliamentary remedies may be or do, practise this, and they get good results from it. The United States Government, which have to deal with 100,000,000 people to our 8,000,000, and with vast wealth and vast combinations, have adopted a course of this kind and they are getting some results. That encourages us to believe that we shall get some results in this country.

[Mr. McKenzie.]

While we do not want this board to do anything that is wrong, we must stand behind them in doing what is right, and our first duty is to make them independent by paying them sufficiently well so that they need not fear much about to-morrow. Those are the few observations that I wish to make, but I particularly took this opportunity of reminding the Government of the observations which I made on the 4th of September, when I pleaded for this remedy to be taken. If our dealers, our wholesalers and retailers, insist upon keeping up prices, there is at least one effort we can make, and that is to make these articles free.

Mr. M. CLARK: I do not want to detain the committee, but I should like to refer in a single sentence to a couple of points that have been raised by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie). He has referred to the falling prices on the other side of the line. I do not know whether a constant study of financial journals is part of that universal knowledge which he claims for his profession, but I hope he will take it in good part if I inform him that months ago the financial and trade journals of the United States prophesied a fall in prices along certain lines of food products as a result, not of any actions of the Board of Commerce, but as the obvious result which would happen when our soldiers came home from fighting and more people got into production and trade began to return to normal channels.

I give my hon. friend and the committee that information if they do not have it, because it was on record in those journals months ago—I read it myself—that those results would happen from the operation of certain economic causes.

I do not know that I was understood as opposing the salaries, although I would venture to remark that a rise of $2,000 in three months in the salary of the chairman of the commission would not indicate that the commission had had any great success in reducing the cost of living up to now, if the argument of my hon. friend is to hold water that their salaries must be raised because of the increased cost of living. It seems rather a contradiction in things that we should be increasing the salaries of the commissioners on account of the rising cost of living, these commissioners having been appointed to reduce the cost of living, and I hope they will be so successful that they will not come back next year for another increase.

Mr. McKENZIE: My hon. friend possibly does not understand the situation. As I un-

derstand it, we are not increasing salaries. The salaries of this board were never fixed before; these are the initial salaries.

Mr. PEDLOW: To be consistent on this subject, I rise to oppose the proposition before the House. During last session it will be remembered that when this Board of Commerce was about to be organized I opposed it for the reason that I concluded from my experience that it was being asked to perform the impossible. Events that have transpired since that time have confirmed me in that conviction. While the Bill was rushed through with a good deal of haste and apparent urgency at the last session, practically nothing was done by the Board of Commerce until the last few weeks. The first effort made by the board was not a success. They attempted to control the selling price of sugar, giving the retailer only one cent per pound to cover the cost of distributing that commodity. At the same time they obtained the information that it cost the retailers on the average from 18 to 20 per cent to conduct their business. It is only a matter of simple arithmetic for any one with even a moderate degree of intelligence to arrive at the conclusion that no man could sell sugar costing him 11 cents per pound for 12 cents per pound, if his average expense to do business amounted to 18 or 20 per cent, and still continue in business.

The result is that retail merchants throughout this country are objecting to handling sugar, and how the consumers will obtain their supplies is a conundrum to the man in the business.

I agree entirely with the hon. member for Red Deer and the hon. member for South Oxford in their views on the prohibtion of the export of foodstuffs. Does it not seem an anomaly that this Government is endeavouring through the Board of Commerce to prohibit the export of farm produce over and above the amount that can be consumed in this country, when at the same time they are bonusing the export of textiles and other materials that this country absolutely needs? This country is an importing country for textiles. Up to the beginning of the war it had always imported fully 75 per cent of its requirements. If the Government had prohibited the export of textiles last session they would have done this country a real service by retaining in Canada the goods that are absolutely needed here to-day. You cannot get a manufacturer in this country to supply over 20 per cent of the requirements of any section of the country, yet we are absolutely dependent on our manufacturers for the supply of merchandise at the present time. I therefore think that the Board of Commerce will obtain no better results than the Cost of Living Committee obtained, upon whose recommendation the board was created. Instead of allaying the unrest that existed at that time the Cost of Living Committee only aggravated it by the reports they allowed to circulate through the press of the country last session. We have now exactly similar conditions in connection with the Board of Commerce, which is going around the country saying what they intend to do to the farmer and the retailer, and so on. They can do nothing with them, and if they start that sort of thing the first thing they know they will have a rebellion on their hands. They do not know what they are talking about. I am sorry I have to disagree with my leader in this matter, but that is one of the privileges we enjoy on this side of the House, for Liberals cannot be Liberals unless they are allowed liberty of speech and action in all matters. My leader has ascribed omniscience to the judiciary of this country. They may, and indeed do know law, and doubtless many other things outside of law that come within their range of study and experience, but they are certainly not omniscient.

Mr. McMASTER: That qualification pertains only to the retailers.

Mr. PEDLOW: I certainly do not concede to the judiciary the omniscience my leader is inclined to ascribe to them. It has been claimed that there are too many stores in this country. I have also heard lawyers say that there are too many lawyers in this country, and I have heard doctors and dentists and insurance agents say the same thing of their professions. Even the preachers say there are too many preachers. A friend of mine not long since heard a preacher who was attached to the Universalist Church, whose doctrine is that every body will be saved, and my friend said, with considerable logic, that for the preacher to preach that doctrine was simply preaching himself out of business.

A week ago I had the pleasure of visiting a farmer in the constituency of South Oxford. That farmer had been the proud possessor of a cow that had been sold only a short time previously for $26,000. I do not know whether the chairman of the Board of Commerce and his associates would say that the farmer was profiteering

in that transaction. That cow was raised on a South Oxford farm.

The hon. member for East Middlesex referred incidently to the variation in prices of commodities even in the city of Ottawa. Is not that a natural thing? No two beans are alike, no two hairs on a man's head are the same length, and no two people think exactly alike. The truth of the matter is that free competition very soon levels up prices. If a man tried to sell his goods constantly at a higher price than his competitors, he would be put out of business in a very short time. This is a matter that does not require any action by a cost of living committee or a board of commerce. The best cost of living committee and the best board of commerce is the purchasing public of this country. I say that the Board of Commerce will do no more good than the Cost of Living Committee, which was a failure in toto, and instead of allaying unrest it will only aggravate it. The board will accomplish nothing but raising the mischief generally. I know that the Board of Commerce was appointed last session in response to the cry which we heard in this House and outside "Something must be done." I even heard the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's, who was member of the Cost of Living Committee say in this House that very same thing. In response to that cry the Government did do something, without thinking what they were doing. They have appointed a Board of Commerce that will be of no more benefit to this country than the Cost of Living Committee. The board will only succeed in making the last state worse than the first.

Resolution reported and concurred in.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY thereupon moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 12, to amend the Board of Commerce Act.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Adjourn.

Mr. DOHERTY: So far as the Government are concerned, we had been anxious to give an opportunity this evening to private members to put forward any measures in which they were interested. If those hon. gentlemen do not feel that they are being deprived of a right, and if it is the desire of the House that we adjourn, I am prepared to meet that desire.

Mr. McKENZIE: When the leader of the Government says that Private Bills would be taken up if we met to-night, does he promise that we shall resume the debate on the Bill of the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) this evening?

[Mr. Pedlow.]

Mr. DOHERTY: That was the very purpose in my proposal to meet to-night.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: The hon. member for George Etienne Cartier may probably have gone to Montreal.

Mr. DOHERTY: I did not say what I said without having had communication with the member concerned. However, I am quite willing to meet the desire of the House and adjourn.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty, the House adjourned at six o'clock.

Monday, September 22, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

DEATH OF THE HON. MR. COCHRANE.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Acting Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, we all learned with profound sorrow this morning of the loss that this House and the country have sustained in the death of our friend Hon. Mr. Cochrane. We and the people of Canada have known him as a man who throughout a lengthy career earned a reputation for sterling integrity, and whose every action was inspired by a desire to do his duty, and to do it in full measure. Not only in his private life was he distinguished by those qualities, but he brought them to the service of the people, first of his own province and then of this Dominion. I am satisfied that this House would desire to pay to him that tribute of respect and admiration which his devotion to the public service, the sterling qualities that he brought to that service, and the splendid record that he leaves behind him, command.

I do not know that in offering this tribute there is open to us any action that might be more expressive than mere words, but I am sure what I have said, entirely inadequate as it is to do justice to the memory of our late confrere, will find a unanimous echo in this House; I am equally sure that we all of us join most earnestly in tendering to his bereaved widow and family our profound sympathy.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria: Mr. Speaker, I join the acting leader of the Government in expressing our profound regret at the demise of our friend,

the Hon. Mr. Cochrane. Speaking for myself, and I am very sure for every member on this side of the House, I can with the greatest sincerity join in everything that has been said regarding our much beloved departed friend. We on this side of the House did not have the privilege of the close intimacy with the late gentleman that those who sat around him had; but still we had the opportunity of seeing him attending to his duty as an earnest, strong worker, and one who was determined, once he had made up his mind with respect to the public affairs of this country, to translate his conclusions into action. While we on this side did not on all occasions agree with the policy of the Government of which our departed friend was a member, we all believed that the Hon. Mr. Cochrane was following a conscientious line of action in the best interests of Canada, as he saw those interests.

I was really fond of the late Mr. Cochrane, and from my observations of his actions I reached the conclusion that he was a gentleman of sterling character, of lofty views, and of strong convictions. He has left behind him a record that will do justice to himself, to his family, and to his party. I always respected him because I believed him to be a firm party man, a man who represented all that was best in his party, and for that reason, although I could very seldom agree with his policy, I had the greatest respect for him as a gentleman who believed that the policies he was supporting were best for the country. I am sure, Sir, that we are unanimous in paying our tribute to the worth of our departed friend.

DOMINION BY-ELECTIONS ACT, 1919—AMENDMENT.

Hon. Hugh Guthrie (Solicitor-General) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 13, to amend the Dominion By-Elections Act, 1919.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Explain.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE: The object of this Bill is to amend the Act passed last session in regard to by-elections. It simply provides that where any disqualification exists as against any particular race it shall be continued in the case of by-elections. It really raises the question of the Oriental vote.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk.)

CANADA—U.S. RATE OF EXCHANGE.

Mr. MICHAUD:

1. What rate of exchange is now prevailing between Canada and the United States?
2. What action does the Government intend taking to deal with this matter?

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN:

1. New York funds, Montreal, September 17, 3 per cent premium.
2. The rate of exchange is variable and is governed by financial and commercial conditions. In 1919 the rate has ranged from about 1½ to over 5 per cent premium. No action by the Government at the present moment is contemplated.

VICTORY LOAN—WINNIPEG.

Mr. HAY:

What was the total amount subscribed to the last Victory Loan in the city of Winnipeg and on what amount was commission paid?

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: The total amount subscribed to the 1918 Victory Loan in the city of Winnipeg was $29,850,250. The amount on which commission was paid was $7,535,450.

PROPOSED DOMESTIC LOAN.

*Mr. LEMIEUX:

1. What commissions have been agreed upon between the Department of Finance and the various brokerage firms, in connection with the new loan?
2. What sums will be paid in advertisements for said loan?

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: Detailed arrangements respecting this and other features of the loan have not yet been arrived at. The general basis of last year will be followed.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS—UNIFORMS.

Mr. POWER:

1. In what manner are contracts for uniforms, to be used by employees of the Transcontinental Railway and of other Canadian Government Railways, given out?
2. Are tenders asked for?
3. Are contracts usually given to the lowest bidder?
4. Are contracts given by districts? If so, which firms in Quebec and Montreal are asked to tender?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. On the Canadian Government Railways section, uniforms were formerly obtained on the basis of competitive bids, but the results were so unsatisfactory that for

the past five years the work of making uniforms on that section has been entirely entrusted to the firm of W. J. Inglis & Co. of Montreal.

W. J. Inglis & Co., Montreal, have contract for uniforms for Quebec divisions of Canadian Northern Railway system, and for Ontario and western lines competitive offers are obtained.

2. For former Canadian Government railways answered by 1. For Ontario and western lines of Canadian Northern Railway system, yes.

3. Yes.

4. Contracts are not given by districts. See answer to question No. 1 for answer to balance of question No. 4.

TREATY OF PEACE WITH AUSTRIA.

*Mr. LAPOINTE (St. James):

1. Is it the intention of the Government to submit to Parliament, for its consideration, the Treaty of Peace signed between the Allied and Associated Powers and Austria and which was signed on behalf of Canada by Sir Edward Kemp?

2. If so, when?

3. If not, why?

4. Will a copy of this Treaty and all documents appertaining thereto be available to the members of the House?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: The Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Austria, signed at Saint Germain on Sept. 10, 1919, follows in general the lines of the Treaty with Germany, which has already been approved of by Parliament, while in the most important features, namely, the League of Nations Covenant and the labour sections, it is identical therewith. If the authenticated copy of the Treaty with Austria arrives in time, the Government will submit the Treaty to Parliament at the present session; if not, the Government would not feel justified in summoning another special session for the purpose, but will take the responsibility of advising the ratification of the Treaty in view of the action of Parliament above mentioned. In any case copies will be distributed to members of Parliament as soon as available.

DR. GERVAIS ET AL.

Sir SAM HUGHES:

1. Were Dr. Gervais, Victor Carmel and Jean St. Germain convicted of the murder of Sheriff Mackay and Corporal Horsley in the vicinity of Prince Albert, Sask.?

2. If so, has clemency been granted by the Governor General in Council?

3. Will the Government table an explanation with all correspondence relating to this matter?

[Mr. J. D. Reid.]

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. Yes.

2. No.

3. Answered by No. 2.

QUESTIONS PASSED AS ORDERS FOR RETURNS.

Mr. TOBIN:

What is the total number of persons of both sexes now employed by the Federal Government of the Dominion of Canada?

Mr. LEMIEUX:

1. How many returned soldiers have been given employment in the various departments since the 1st of January, 1917?

2. In what departments were such returned soldiers given employment?

CANSO HARBOUR MASTER.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR (Antigonish and Guysborough) moved:

For a copy of all correspondence and other papers and documents in the possession of the Government or of the Civil Service Commission relating to the appointment of a Harbour Master for the port of Canso, N.S.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: This motion asks for a copy of all correspondence in the possession of the Civil Service Commission. That I do not understand to be under the control of the Government, but there is no objection to bringing down any correspondence which is under the control of the Government.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I am asking for the correspondence in connection with this particular appointment; I do not think it should be voluminous. I am not certain that there is any correspondence, but if there is I should like to have it.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: How far does my hon. friend propose to proceed in asking for papers by this motion? I am not sure as to the facts when I suggest it, but possibly some private correspondence may have passed between the members of the Civil Service Commission and applicants; applicants might transmit to the commission letters and information which they would not desire to be made public. I am very much in doubt at the moment as to what extent papers and documents of that kind should be made a matter of return to Parliament. If my hon. friend will intimate that he does not desire anything of that nature, the motion may pass; otherwise, I think Parliament should consider the motion very carefully before establishing a precedent.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I am not able to intimate the exact correspondence that I want in connection with this case, but I

see no reason why the correspondence should not be given. There should be no secrets in connection with appointments to the Civil Service. If the Civil Service Commission obtain information from any quarter with regard to appointments, that information should be open and above board. We are informed that civil servants are appointed on their merits and that there is no back-door influence in connection with their appointment.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I regret to have to inform the House that this motion is not debatable. The hon. member is proceeding to discuss a matter of principle which cannot possibly be discussed on this motion. The motion must either pass or stand.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I am not satisfied with the position which my hon. friend takes, although I realize that everything in connection with the matter of public appointments should, as far as possible, be submitted to Parliament. I therefore ask that the matter stand until we shall have had an opportunity of considering it further.

Motion stands.

HOUSES FOR SOLDIERS IN GARDEN CITIES.

Mr. H. M. MOWAT (Parkdale) moved:

That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to assist repatriation and civil re-establishment by advancing moneys to provide houses; that these houses should be erected in model townsites or garden cities, one in each province; that land sufficient for market gardening should go with each house; that occupants should be encouraged to buy their holdings by payments extended over twenty years; and that the properties be so constructed that the owners can work at home with electrical power.

He said: Mr. Speaker, I propose this motion again not for the purpose of discussing it at length, because I did so last session, but in view of a statement made by the Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Hon. J. A. Calder) at the conclusion of the debate last session. He said:

The subject introduced to the House by the hon. member (Mr. Mowat) is an exceedingly interesting one. I am sure he realizes that it is a matter that should not be pressed at the present time. The Government should have the fullest opportunity to consider the matter in its various details and I am sure hon. members will desire very full light on this question before committing themselves to it.

Nothing so far as I have heard has been done by the Government in this very important matter. I desire shortly, without discussing the particular arguments advanced last session, to state to the House what seems to me to be the present opinion of the country on this question.

There is no doubt that discontent or unrest prevails among some of the returned soldiers. The particular cause for unrest is the fact that they are unable in the large centres of population to obtain suitable houses for themselves and their families. The returned soldier has become a domestic man. Many returned soldiers married in the Old Country, and upon coming here they find it impossible to get houses which are suitable for themselves and their families. In Toronto, where I come from, the soldier very often has to house his family, consisting perhaps of a wife and two or three children, in two rooms in an apartment house at a very high rental; he cannot obtain a house which is suitable for his purposes. The consequence is that the matter has been taken up by the different branches of the Veterans' Association and by the press, with a view to pointing out that this is one of the particular causes of discontent. If a man is uncomfortable in his life, if he cannot look forward to having a comfortable home in the future, that worries him more than anything else, even more than the fact that he may for the time being be out of work, and throughout the country there has been this demand for increased housing facilities. This particular proposition does not come under the housing resolution which was passed last year for giving aid to Provincial Governments in housing schemes, because that resolution referred particularly and, indeed, only to housing schemes, housing settlements and townsites in congested districts already in existence. That is the very thing to which the people who favour the scheme I am now proposing, object. As an eminent architect said, we do not want to be tied down to some old settlement which has already got anything but a good reputation; we want to start anew. The result is that we have as yet no scheme for homes in an entirely new settlement, such as the schemes they have in England and other parts of Great Britain and in the United States. It is to prevent Canada from being backward and behindhand in this most important matter that I bring this resolution to the attention of the House.

The idea is that land should be acquired initially near cities, large centres of population, so that the man who has never lived outside of a city shall not be taken away to an environment and conditions to which he is not accustomed. We have done a

great deal in the way of soldier settlement on farms, and with that everybody will be in enthusiastic accord; but there is many a man who left for the war and gave up his little business either in trade or in some kind of manufacturing work, and who, when he came back found it gone, either his business having been acquired by somebody else who did not go to the war or his customers having faded away, and who has no capital to start afresh. That is the man for whom I have the sincerest regard; that is the man who has my sympathy. The farmer always has an occupation and a living before him, but the man who depended on some small business and found it gone when he came back, is in a dire plight, indeed. Therefore, if we could construct initially a garden settlement of from 500 to 1,000 acres near some city in each province, I am convinced that the scheme would so appeal to the people of the country that that would be only the beginning of similar settlements throughout Canada. The idea is this, namely, that say 100 six-roomed houses at a time should be erected on this plot where the returned soldier, including, perhaps, the man who is slightly incapacitated and the man who is in receipt of a pension, will have a comfortable, up-to-date, architecturally well-built house in a settlement where he will find people of like nature to himself, and he will be given the municipal motive for creating and enlarging the village. This scheme will also be open to other citizens, because it should not be confined to the returned soldier. If we have 200 houses in a settlement like this, with, say, one-fifth of an acre attached to each house for garden purposes, with other land near at hand where market gardens can be put; if we have in these houses electric power so that a man can do his work at home; if we have a clearing house where raw materials can be bought and the finished goods afterwards sold to the best advantage; if we can have in such a settlement social amenities, such as a concert hall, a moving picture show, a post office and other things that make for the comfort of a community—if we can have all these things in a plot laid out as plots are and as experience has shown that they can be laid out in England and the United States, we shall be doing a great deal more for the returned soldier than we are doing now.

I do not think the returned soldier, as a whole, wants gratuities and charity; what he wants is to be given a fair start to work out his future in Canada. This is not charity; this is not a giving of something to a man simply because he has been at the front; it is a scheme by which only the financing of his home can be done by the Government, and I know of no other way in which it can be financed. If suitable houses such as this, costing, say, $3,000 apiece, can be financed so that the returned man can acquire a house by purchase and pay it off by an amortization plan in, say, twenty years, he will look forward to the future in an entirely different way from his viewpoint if he is hugger-muggering in a two-roomed apartment house in a city. The settlement must be near a city, because very often the occupants or owners will want to go to work in the city, and facilities must be provided for their getting there. Many a man with his family would be perfectly miserable in a far-away place different from the environment in which he was brought up and who yet would be more than content to go to a model village built on the best plans and adjacent to a city and life and amusements and intellectual entertainments to which he had formerly been accustomed.

Let me now read one or two statements that have been made since this matter was introduced last session. This is from the organ of the Great War Veterans' Association, The Veteran, of September, 1919, under the heading " Houses for Returned Men ":

> The men most seriously affected by the great scarcity of houses are those recently returned from overseas services. Many of them are bringing home their wives and families who have been residing in the Old Country; numbers are coming back to find their families sharing cramped premises with another family for economy's sake, or because of the impossibility of securing accommodation at a reasonable rate; others are coming home with brides. Great hardships and discomforts are being endured by these returning citizens because of the house famine, therefore The Veteran again urges the Government to bring its Housing Scheme under the Soldier Settlement Board. Such a plan would tend to equalize opportunity for re-establishment by giving the city dweller the same privilege as is now afforded to his farmer comrade. The security would be safe and sound and easily arranged, the difficulties of provincial and municipal co-operation avoided, and thousands of men would be given a stake in the country and thereby made contented citizens. Last, but not least, the manufacture of every article which goes into a house would be stimulated to the benefit of industry and employment.

I may say, in passing, that The Veteran not only appears to me to have great literary ability on account of the skilled journalists that seem to be controlling it, but shows great prudence in its selected articles. In fact, it really takes its place as one of the

best magazines in Canada. The July number of The Veteran refers to the matter in this way:

Such settlements should not be entirely confined to disabled soldiers. There are a number of occupations which would afford scope for establishing industries, some of them formerly controlled from foreign markets. Among these are mechanical toys, fans, paperknives, glass cutting, enamel jewellery, art metal work, brush and broom making, poultry and gardening, harness making, bookbinding, lens grinding, novelty making, pottery, basket (wicker), bench carpentry, etc.

One of the saddest legacies of the war is an army of mutilated men shattered and hopelessly disabled and handicapped. These men cannot be consigned to drag out a weary existence in hospitals and institutions. Their great sacrifice demands generous treatment and an opportunity to lead lives of interest and usefulness, and in no better way could this be provided than by the establishment of industrial villages. Mr. Calder's fear that such a scheme might tend to develop an undue leaning upon the State would not materialize, for provision should only be made for those who were practically helpless, and thus rightfully wards of the nation.

The Great War Veterans' Association must not forget, in the natural desire to establish comfortable club houses for more fortunate members, that a solemn obligation to care for the helpless and the widow and orphan, forms the basis of its foundation, and that this work has not yet been begun. No more worthy memorial of the imperishable record written upon the plains of France and Belgium could be erected in Canada than a beautifully planned industrial centre in each province where the war-wrecked heroes of the nation might find a peaceful and happy abiding place, secure from want, and surrounded with that contentment which can only be found in useful occupation.

This matter has also been considered by a gentleman whom we hope to see in this House the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who after a visit to Great Britain said in an interview on July 24:

The most hopeful features of British life, in my opinion, are the garden cities at Bourneville, Hampstead and other places. If such splendid living conditions can be obtained for factory operatives, there is no reason why the same idea should not spread from industry to industry until all the British Isles show a like spectacle. The cost of building is more now, but these cities show that good, artistic houses, with fine gardens, at low rentals, can be brought within the reach of every worker, if the proper co-operation and intelligence are shown.

While Mr. King had in mind the labouring man as such, his observations upon these garden cities are equally applicable to villages such as I have suggested, where men could work in their homes if they did not care to go into factories.

Another gentleman who has viewed this subject recently, Professor Leonard Hill, director of the Department of Applied Physiology of the British Medical Research Committee, said in an interview:

Garden cities should be built and big towns not added to. The Government should choose new sites with beautiful surroundings and with all the conditions that favoured a happy and healthy life. The whole question should be gone into as boldly and as thoroughly as they had faced the war. That was the only way to get better conditions, and it was the one way to escape the perils which had overtaken Russia. An immediate and pressing demand should be made for garden cities and the bringing up of the young in the discipline of taking pride in and keeping perfect bodily health. The present system of national education weakened the vigour and lessened the happiness of the nation. It was imperative that all children should receive the education that public schoolboys obtained on the playing fields.

I desire to do what I can to further that immediate and pressing demand. This gentleman also said that if there was one thing more than another that would dissipate the Bolshevistic feeling of this discontent it was to give people proper homes.

Another authority, and a good one, the Canadian Military Gazette of September 12, 1919, has this, copied, I believe, from some other paper, but none the less important:

Village Centres for Disabled Men.

We are asked not to pity a disabled man, but to give him a job. It is, however, not always an easy matter to fit the job to the man or the man to the job, and any well-thought-out and properly run scheme that provides for the training of disabled men that they may be fit to take up jobs which are urgently required commands respect and support. This scheme—village centres for disabled men—has a strong and very representative council, the names of which appear on the pamphlet issued by the Village Centres Council from 5 Little College Street, Westminster, S.W. 1. The objects of the scheme, briefly, are these:—To accelerate the restoration to health and fitness for work of disabled ex-service men by new methods of medical treatment and physical re-education, and to associate such training in both outdoor and indoor occupations as can be practised in workshops and land cultivation. The Enham Estate has been selected as the site for the first village centre. It lies about 2½ miles north of Andover and comprises over a thousand acres. There are four farms, three large houses, two smaller houses, village hall, post office, smithy and over 20 cottages. It is required to raise £100,000 for the first centre, to take 1,000 men.

Then in an article from London, copied in The Mail and Empire of September 10, we have this:

Millions of pounds are to be spent in the creation of industrial garden cities which ultimately will rim metropolitan London. The scheme just outlined is the most elaborate building city project ever undertaken in England. The town will be self-supporting, and will cover several thousand acres. Within its precincts will be an agricultural area. Its populace will be supported by several engineering industries to be located there.

All this goes to show that in the opinion of up-to-date and intelligent observers,

unless the Government eventually follow the best thought of Great Britain and the United States and erect these villages at not a great sum, taking security for the repayment of the houses which are to be put up, we shall have a crying discontent in Canada which will exist for many years. If there is anything we desire in Canada it is that we shall not be backward. If we are not able to initiate good schemes for the reconstruction of the returned men—and we have initiated many good and novel things for that purpose—the next best thing we can do is to adopt the schemes which have been tried out and found by experience to be successful in other countries. I do hope that the Government will see its way clear, not to put the matter off by saying it must consider it, as it did last session, but to elaborate some scheme in the early future by which this matter can be taken up with energy and brought to a successful conclusion.

Mr. H. C. HOCKEN (West Toronto): The hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) who presented the resolution to the House is to be highly commended. I do not know whether my view will prevail with many of the members, but I think this is one of the most important questions with which the Government of Canada has to deal. While I think both the civic and provincial governments have a greater responsibility, there is an opportunity now, as pointed out by the hon. member for Parkdale, to take the initiative in this movement in connection with the repatriation of our soldiers.

I submit that comfortable housing is the first essential for the moral and physical well-being of a community. It is quite impossible for children who have been brought up in the narrow streets of a great city, where two, three or four families are living in one house, to turn out as well morally as they might have done if their parents had houses of their own and were living in the clean countryside with a garden about the house, such as my hon. friend has described.

There is another side. Nothing will add so much to the efficiency of the worker as good home surroundings. The man who goes to work in a factory at 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning, and works eight or nine hours a day, will do more work in that period if he owns his own house in a healthy quarter than the man who comes from a congested section and shares his house perhaps with two or three other families. He finds a greater satisfaction in his work and gives better results to his employer.

He is a better workman and a better citizen and under present conditions does not live, as so many have perforce to live, not as matter of choice but of necessity. If the plan which the hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) has outlined were put into effect it would make for the steadying of public sentiment to a degree that very few of us really appreciate. I have given this matter some thought in the past, and I am quite satisfied that if we could make it possible for every man who works in a factory or in an office to own a piece of land and have on it a house which he could feel some pride in being the sole owner of, it would be a tremendous stride in the direction of national contentment; for such a man could bring up his family under conditions that would tend to sound morality, and in the final result we should have a far better citizen in every respect, a man who would be of great value to the country and would exercise a potent influence on the life of his particular community. In regard to some of our big centres—and I refer particularly to my own city—the reason why there has not been more unrest than exists to-day is the fact that at least fifty per cent of the people of our city, for instance, own their own homes. Now, I should like to see the time when ninety-five per cent, indeed, a hundred per cent, of the people could own their own dwellings. In such a condition you would have better communities from every standpoint, physically, mentally, and morally; and what the hon. member has proposed tends in that direction, and therefore has my unqualified approval. The greatest menace to the good order of the country is the large city with its crowded quarters and oftimes its unwholsesome slums. It could not be other than a menace. When a group of men living in places contiguous to one another for two or three blocks go home after a hard day's work and have nothing to do but sit around the doorstep or stroll idly around the pavements, inevitably they become discontented with their lot, and their discontent breeds the same feelings and sentiments in others. So that very soon the spirit of discontent permeates quite a large field and is found to prevail wherever tractable material affords it lodgment. I say that it is the business of the Government to correct that state of affairs and make it possible for every man who works in a factory to have his own home so that he may rear his family under heal-

thy and hopeful conditions in order that they may be useful and admirable citizens.

Nothing better could be done for the country, if it were possible, than to take 200,000 people out of the city of Toronto, or out of Montreal, and distribute them around in the smaller centres of the provinces. If 10,000 people could be taken from Toronto and transported to Woodstock, and 10,000 to Guelph, a similar number to St. Thomas, and so on, the result would be wonderful. If some of these smaller places could be increased in population to 25,000 or 30,000 and Toronto be reduced to 300,000, the advantage in the social conditions would be mutually great. Every one of the places increased would be better, and it is unquestionable that Toronto would be greatly benefited; certainly it would be a better place to live in. In a town of 25,000 or 30,000 it is possible for a man who works in any factory to cultivate his acre or half acre at least. His family is then brought up under the very best conditions available anywhere, and the hope of this country is in the health of its children and their home influence. If we put the citizen in the position to instruct his children in the principles of hygiene and sound morality, and above all to enable them to get out into the fresh air where they will have every opportunity to develop themselves physically, we shall do something that will show an immediate benefit in every corner of the country and in every class of our people. In a campaign in which I was interested in Toronto, I discovered the fact that, in one section of the city, men had come out from the big centres of the United Kingdom, Manchester, Birmingham, London, and so forth, and a minister who was working in that neighbourhood informed me that they were nearly all undersized and anaemic people. He said, however, that their children would compare favourably with those in any town in the province because they had gone out a distance from the limits of the city, had acquired their own little homes—some of them, comparatively speaking, hardly any bigger than packing boxes—and had given their children plenty of opportunity to play around in the fresh air, with the result that they had benefited immensely in physique, as was evident in their faces and figures every day of their lives. That is the kind of thing in which this and every other Government ought to be interested. I do not think that this Government could take 200,000 people out of any city and spread them around, but I am undoubtedly of opinion that the men who are operating the big industries of the country would find it in their own interests, as well as in the interests of the whole country, if they would scatter, one here and another there, so as to distribute the population a little more evenly over the province than is the case at present. I believe they would have more contentment among their men and would experience fewer labour troubles, and I am quite sure that the men who work in their factories, together with their wives and children, would benefit to an enormous extent. I do not see how we can do it in any other way.

As I see this project I think that the civic and Provincial Governments have responsibilities. If I understand the motion of the hon. member for Parkdale, he takes the ground that as we are now engaged in the great work of repatriation and re-establishment of the men who fought overseas, that particular work can be made use of to initiate a movement which ought to be taken up by the Provincial and civic governments and extended practically without limit. If this Government could find it a wise and profitable enterprise to use the moneys, or at least part of them, that are to be expended for repatriation in the way suggested by the hon. member, I have no doubt whatever that such a step would inspire the Provincial Governments, and the provinces might very well undertake a large campaign in that direction, because it is a form of legislation that comes peculiarly within their purview. After the provinces had done their part, there would still be something to be done by the civic governments in the great cities within reach of which such model communities might be established. I am not familiar with the geography of the surroundings of Montreal, but I know that in our own city a community such as the hon. member for Parkdale has suggested might be established a little west of Brampton, or going up Yonge street at Thornhill. For an expenditure of a few hundred dollars per acre, and with an electric line running up the main street and easily accessible, sufficient land could be obtained averaging four or five acres upon which these soldiers would make a handsome living if they were able and willing to work. It would be in close proximity to the market, and for all they could produce they would obtain the very best prices that can be commanded in Canada. In my office I have had returned men who formerly were among the steadiest in my employ, but when they sat down to their machines they could do nothing. They would say to me : "Mr. Hocken, I cannot

possibly do this job." Before the war they were on the job every day, and were in every way steady, industrious and reliable. But three or four years of war had made it impossible for them to settle down before their machines and resume their former occupations. They could not do the work and consequently left the job that had been waiting for them. Now a man of this type if he were assisted to go on five acres of land and were given such advice and guidance as could be provided by the Agricultural Department, would I fancy in a couple of years' time make enough from the produce of his little farm to keep him in comfort, and he would be living under conditions of outdoor life which his service at the front had made indispensable.

The proposition made by the hon. member for Parkdale ought to be received with very great sympathy by the members of this House and the Government. I hope, as he does, that this matter will be taken up seriously. I do not think it is something we should throw aside and say that it is a dream—that it is something that is impracticable. It is one of the most practical questions that has ever been introduced into the House, and it goes right to the fundamentals of our community life throughout the Dominion of Canada. I sincerely trust that the question will receive immediate attention.

Hon. J. A. CALDER (Minister of Immigration and Colonization): Mr. Speaker, there is just a word or two that I desire to say on this resolution brought to the attention of the House by the hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat). The matter was before us last year. It was not discussed at very great length; as a matter of fact, I think the hon. member for Parkdale was the only member of the House who spoke on the resolution which he introduced at that time.

The proposition which he has placed before us is merely one phase of a very large question and I am sure that every member of this House will realize that. It is but an aspect of the general question as to what shall be done in the direction of re-establishing the returned soldier in civil life. I am in thorough accord with all that has been said—and I think properly said—in regard to doing everything that is possible in the way of providing for the proper housing of our people in Canada. I do not think there is a member in this House who will disagree with the proposition that it is the duty of the Government to see to it that all of our people are housed to the greatest possible advantage and that it means a great deal not only to the people themselves but for the nation as a whole. I think I can say as well that conditions in this country are not just similar to the conditions in the old country. While we may have our housing problem, it is nothing in comparison to the housing problem which they have in Great Britain. I am not saying that for the purpose of intimating that nothing should be done in this direction in Canada; far from it. We will remember some statements that were made here when the question of housing loans to our provinces was up for discussion; we will remember the pictures that were drawn by one of the hon. members for Montreal and by members from other parts of Canada as well.

4 p.m.

But, there is a phase of this question that this House would be bound to consider, and that is the question as to the extent to which this is a Federal duty, and the extent of jurisdiction over a matter of this kind. Personally I am inclined to think that the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Hocken) has put his finger on at least one of the causes that has led to the conditions prevailing. If the managers or owners of the large corporations which have established industries in this country had just given a little thought to the care of their employees I think we would not have had the crowding of these industries into our larger centres. The tendency would have been to place these industries in villages of the class that has been referred to by the hon. member for Parkdale, and they might very well have been started there.

The most important work that is now being carried on in Great Britain in the way of establishing garden centres and model cities is being very largely undertaken by those who are interested in the establishment of industries. That is true to a very large extent; although it may not be entirely true. It seems to me that if something can be done in the future to prevail upon those who are establishing industries, not to establish them in or near our large cities, where we have crowded conditions, very much can be done in this direction. I thoroughly agree with what the hon. member for West Toronto said. This is not a dream; it is a practical thing. It would be the easiest thing in the world to put through a law to establish model

cities such as have been referred to by the hon. member for Parkdale. We could buy land, put up houses and, I dare say, get people to go there and live, but do not make any mistake about it—that sort of thing costs money. It is a question of finance. The whole question to my mind, is: What shall we do in connection with all these various schemes and proposals that have come before the Government? Which is the most practical; which is the one that will do the most towards securing the results that we have in mind ? That is something that must be considered.

We know that the committee that has been appointed by the House to consider the question of re-establishment will have before it, twenty, thirty, forty or fifty different schemes for carrying out that work. We have had a number of clear intimations from the House that endorse the carrying out of some of these schemes, but the Government is limited only by the financial condition in which we find the country at the present time. Although we may desire to carry out certain classes of work, the general financial conditions of the country are such as to make it impossible. This problem will come before our committee. It should be dealt with there just as various other propositions will be dealt with, and I would suggest that the hon. member for Parkdale himself attend in order that we will have an opportunity of going into the question, of taking it up from every aspect and of seeing whether or not it will be possible to come to some conclusion that will be practicable and that will be in the interest of those whom he desires to serve. I am quite sure that he does not desire to press this motion to a vote at the present time, particularly as that committee has been appointed by the House and will be sitting during the course of the next two or three weeks for the purpose of considering problems such as this in order that it may make a report to the House upon which the House may take action.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, I wish to assure the hon. member (Mr. Mowat), who introduced this motion, that I am in full sympathy with any proposition to provide proper housing for our people particularly in the large centre of population and in other places where the question has become an acute one. I believe that the hon. the Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Mr. Calder) touches the point of the matter when he brings to the attention of the House the question of jurisdiction involved in this motion. Jurisdiction in regard to property and civil rights clearly belongs to the provincial legislatures. The question of the size of a man's house, the accommodation that he provides is largely a municipal affair to be dealt with by city and municipal regulations. We have no authority in this House to say to a man what the size of his house shall be, whether he shall connect with a sewer, how he shall connect with a sewer, what the sewerage system shall be—questions all of which pertain to the life of the citizen and which are all important. Under our constitution and the division of power in this country, we have nothing to do with such matters. True, we passed a Bill last session, under which by some compromise between our own jurisdiction and the jurisdiction of the provinces we have assumed certain control over health, whether the health of the individual, the health of the family or the health of the people generally. By the use of that Act and the powers which we have taken to ourselves, we could possibly, to some extent, enter into the question of proper housing, a proper system of cleanliness, etc., in cities and in centres of population.

Some good may result from this discussion, and if any of the ideas expressed shall lead large corporations and provincial and municipal governments to take steps to better present conditions we shall have done something for the benefit of humanity generally. But I think, Sir, it is very clear that under our Constitution we have no power to buy land and build houses thereon and then say to men who are working in factories: "Here, we have become landlords and we are looking for desirable tenants for our houses. Become our tenants." I do not think it was ever the intention of the Fathers of Confederation that we should go into that kind of business. I think we should confine ourselves to the encouragement as much as possible of local and municipal governments and employers of labour to take action with a view to bringing about the very desirable conditions so well advocated by the mover of this resolution (Mr. Mowat) and the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Hocken). Undoubtedly much can be done to make employers of labour provide better housing accommodation for their workmen. I come from a part of Nova Scotia where we have thousands of men employed in the coal and steel industries, and I am glad to say that in at least 80 per cent of the housing systems there

provision has been made for small gardens of the type described by the hon. members who are behind this resolution. I trust the day will come when our provincial parliaments will take cognizance of the fact that every employer must see to it that proper provision is made for the housing of his employees.

I have no objection to this motion going to that place which the hon. the Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Mr. Calder) has found as a cure for all the ills that flesh is heir to. He has appointed a committee with blanket jurisdiction to deal with all manner of cases, and I have no doubt that if given an opportunity the hon. member from Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) will be able to inform that committee what he is seeking to accomplish, and then that committee will, of course, advise him that the matter must, under our Constitution, be dealt with by municipal and provisional authorities.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Mr. MOWAT: Mr. Speaker, I venture—

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member is about to reply.

Mr. MOWAT: I venture to differ from my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition on the constitutional point, for it seems to me that we have ample authority to take up a matter of this sort. We took these men from Canada and sent them to war, and when they come back it is our bounden duty to look after them if they are without the amenities which decent citizens should have. When the men come back we provide hospitals and soldiers' homes for them, and although it may be said that those are only temporary measures, the principle is the same, and there is no reason why we should not erect suitable dwelling houses, which those men can pay for in due course. I recognize, however, the cogency of the reasons given by the Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Mr. Calder) for referring the resolution to the committee he mentioned, whose powers seem ample enough to discuss this scheme; and while I did hope to press this motion to a vote —and I am quite sure hon. members would support it—yet I know that under our system if a minister of the Crown asks that a certain course should be taken, it is only in very exceptional cases that his request is not concurred in. I therefore withdraw the motion.

Motion withdrawn.

[Mr. McKenzie.]

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION.

MOTION BY MR. BURNHAM ON SCIENTIFIC METHODS IN INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

Mr. J. H. BURNHAM (Peterboro West): Moved:

That, in the opinion of this House, whereas the struggle for existence expresses itself largely in the cost of production and the cost of consumption and whereas confusion and therefore injustice and unrest are developed by the constant struggle to maintain a due relative proportion between these two costs, it is desirable that this House should discuss the situation to the end that the scientific method may be applied in Canada to the struggle for existence, and whereas it is desirable that the directing head or Government of the nation should conduct itself and all business, according to the said method to the end that such order and success as attend, for example, the affairs of a department store should be applied to the national business, therefore, be it resolved, that a definite plan of Government in this respect be laid before the people at the next General Election, and that a committee be appointed for that purpose.

He said: Mr. Speaker, I will, with your permission, make a statement with regard to this resolution in order that that statement may express shortly what I refer to, and after that I will with your permission, make a more extended comment.

1. Eliminating the weak and the vicious, 90 per cent of the population may be considered as trying to do its duty and to perform a faithful part in the struggle for existence, ninety per cent therefore may be considered a constant quantity.

2. Should this constant quantity be considered as a number of free units, or as a united totality? The economic record from the earliest times of the different countries of the world which is most extensive and instructive, furnishes the answer. The evolution of society shows that what began in free and rival units has developed in theory at least, into a society composed of both free and allied units. In the early era each family is supposed to be free to do as it pleases in its own home, but, later on, when it goes forth from home to earn its living, it inclines to unite with other families. At home it is still comparatvely free. The tendency is towards union everywhere.

3. The invasion of the freedom of the family in its own circle is being proceeded with, however, chiefly in a moral way. The argument is being put forward that society must be considered only as a whole. This involves the final stage of development. What has been known as freedom is being put aside for the interest of the majority. The rule of the majority is becoming absolute industrially and morally, but not relig-

iously. Morally and religiously are really one. Hence it will not be long before the rule of the majority will be extended to the religious on the ground of aggregate right as against individual right. This of course, upsets the whole theory of man's responsibility to God, which is supposed to concern the individual. The modern doctrine substitutes the ways of man for that of God. This fact is worthy of note because it shows how surely the national, if not as yet the world aggregate, has come to be considered as one. The constant quantity is becoming so well defined that it is affected only by itself, moving by means of a majority in a certain given or ascertained direction. It may be considered therefore as one man, that is, man and woman.

4. The struggle for existence has to do with necessaries only. Therefore we simplify the problem we are now considering by eliminating the weak, the vicious and the element of luxuries. It is the man struggling for necessaries of life.

5. In the last analysis the man whom we have taken as our unit, to simplify matters, gains his living and that of his family, from nature. When, however, he said to his neighbours: "Some of you do some things, some of us will do others, and we will trade," the problem which we are now considering began.

6. The basis of this trade became nominally the unit of labour cost. Labour produced wealth, and part of the wealth was used as capital. So long as the unit of labour-cost was paramount there was little difficulty. But when men begin to trade so as to obtain where possible, something for nothing, otherwise known as profit, the struggle, not with nature, but against each other, began, and it has continued and become intensified to the present day. It has been partially counteracted by organization, but it expresses itself very largely and terribly in what is known as sweating.

7. Until the unfair element of securing something for nothing is banished, it is impossible to obtain order in the trade world.

8. When it is banished and a unit of labour-cost is ascertained and established, it will be easy to calculate the true rate or price of exchange, or trade.

9. The world really is divided into two parts, economically, the producing and the consuming parts. They trade with each other. When the fair exchange price is based upon the fair exchange value as ascertained for a constant quantity, by a constant unit of labour cost, the problem of the struggle of existence so far as it applies to the trading world, will be solved. The rest depends as they say, upon the individuals themselves. It will be no longer, as at present, a struggle to obtain order out of chaos. It will be no longer an unequal struggle. It becomes a fair fight. definitely ascertained quantities seeking definitely ascertained results. The problem ought to be as simple as one in simple equations. Why is it not solved then, if it is so easy, you ask? I answer: What can you do with people who believe in profit, who instead of reducing their common efforts and needs to a common basis, fight them out as if they were all different? We are fast beginning to see the first light of dawn, and then how we will laugh at ourselves, when daylight shows us up.

The modern system of method of science, of course, tests theories by experience, principles by practice. We have not yet learned to do this in the business or trade world, and it is to this absolute necessity that I am presuming to direct your attention to-day.

That the unrest in connection with trade and business still continues and has no particular likelihood of early settlement is very plain from the fact that we have had sitting in Ottawa during last week an Industrial Conference, the chief bodies represented at which failed to agree. This sort of thing has gone on ever since the modern industrial world developed. It went on under the guilds; it went on under the old village common system when they settled everything in the vestries, and it is likely will go on till the end of time, attended with unrest, strikes and possibly bloodshed. It is no sign of common sense on our part that we still go on in this blind way. We have asked for the development of State control, but State control cannot stop it. If the State seeks to control any branch of industry and the men in charge of that branch of industry says: Well, take it; we are done with it; then the State has to take it up. In the last analysis, therefore, State control means State ownership.

There was a time when people like free traders called upon the law of supply and demand to solve everything. Well, I have here the report of the Committee on Trusts which was submitted to the Minister of Re-Construction in the British House, Sir Auckland Geddes. I myself sent for this report, and a more absolute condemnation of that idea could not be found anywhere. This report says:

> Sir, we have held fifteen meetings, and have heard verbal evidence from witnesses representing the principal trade associations and com-

binations in the United Kingdom. We have also considered written statements submitted to us, in response to invitations issued by representative Trade Associations, combines, large amalgamated concerns, Chambers of Commerce and federations of manufacturers, and from individuals and firms in a position to judge the effects of combinations on outside interests. We have received communications from traders in competition with combinations, from merchants, from Government departments, from labour leaders, and from representatives of the Trade and Technical press. We have also made use of such reliable documentary evidence as was readily available, and have considered certain memoranda prepared for the use of the Committee by Sir John Macdonnell and others.

We find that there is at the present time in every important branch of industry in the United Kingdom an increasing tendency to the formation of Trade Associations and Combinations, having for their purpose the restriction of competition and the control of prices.

And believe me, the same thing exists in Canada to-day. The report goes on:

Many of the organizations which have been brought to our notice have been created within the last few years and by far the greater part of them appear to have come into existence since the end of the nineteenth century. For reasons which we shall presently discuss, there has been a great increase in the creation of trade associations during the period of the war.

The following list of associations connected with the Iron and Steel industry, nearly all of which are definitely known or believed to be engaged in regulating prices and output, affords some indication of the extent to which the creation of Trade Combinations has now proceeded. The list does not purport to be at all exhaustive, even of this one industry.

Then follows a list of some associations in the iron and steel industry, including the following:

Pig Iron: Scottish Ironmasters' Association (12 firms); South Staffordshire Ironmasters' Association; West Coast Iron Committee (7 firms); Ferro-Manganese and Spiegel Association (5 firms); Cleveland Pig Iron Association (17 firms).

Steel: Scottish Steel Makers' Association (7 firms); North-East Coast Steel Makers' Association (10 firms); South Wales Siemens' Steel Association (8 firms).

Rolled Products: British Joist Makers' Association (9 firms); British Rail Makers' Association (16 firms); Midland Steel Angle Makers' Association (6 firms); Small Steel Bar Association (8 firms); Sheet Makers' Conference (31 firms); Rod Rollers' Association (11 firms); Welsh Plate and Sheet Makers' Association.

Castings (Steel): Steel Castings Manufacturers' Association (20 firms).

Iron: Cast Iron Hollow-ware Makers' Association; British Cast Iron Pipe Founders' Association; National Light Castings Association.

Forgings: English and Scottish Forgemasters' Association (18 firms); Federated Forgemasters (13 firms); Midland Forgemasters' Association.

Bar Iron: Lancashire Bar Iron Association; Scottish Bar Iron Makers' Association (13 firms); South Yorkshire Bar Iron Association (10 firms); North-East Coast Bar Iron Association (5 firms).

Miscellaneous: Iron and Steel Wire Manufacturers' Association (29 firms). (Prices are dealt with in the "Secondary Associations.") British Tube Makers' Association (32 firms); Steel Nail Makers' Association; Weldless Steel Tube Makers' Association (7 firms); Wire Netting Association (10 firms); Railway Tyre and Axle Makers' Association (14 firms); Railway Wheel and Axle Makers' Association (15 firms); Steel Rope Wire Makers' Association; Coil Spring Makers' Association.

The report goes on to say:

A large proportion of them are either permanently or intermittently price associations, concerning themselves, as a rule, only indirectly with output. In the majority of cases they do not comprise more than a small number of firms, but generally a large proportion of the trade.

Amongst the associations encountered by the Ministry of Munitions there are here about fifty very large British associations, such as the Northeast Coast Steel Makers' Association, the Railway Makers' Association, the Ingot Makers' Association, the Billet Makers' Association, the Brass Wire Association, Copper Vessel Makers', Silversmith Makers' and so on; an immense list, all engaged in the control of price, at least, if not both of price and output.

There has been also, as you are aware, a tremendous development in the chemical industry; everything is fast becoming chemical in its nature. Even iron and steel, clothes, etc., are now being tested in a chemical way, and there must be added to this report, as found by this committee, the whole chemical industry. These are the conclusions and recommendations of the committee:

In the United Kingdom, combinations operating in restraint of trade are, though not criminal, unlawful if shown to be against public policy, as public policy is understood by the English courts, where these words are construed in a somewhat narrow and technical sense.

We are unanimously of opinion that it would be desirable to institute in the United Kingdom machinery for the investigation of the operation of monopolies, trusts, and combines, similar to the commissions and other tribunals created for that purpose in the United States of America and the British colonies above referred to. The problems to be considered, before any just conclusion can be arrived at with regard to the actual existence of abuses tending to the detriment of the public, or with regard to a form of safeguard or control which it would be practical to prevent such abuses, if proved, are not matters on which it is possible for a committee such as this to form any final or considered judgment. But we are satisfied that trade associations and combines are rapidly increasing in this country, and may within no distant period exercise a paramount control over all important branches of the British trade.

We are satisfied that considerable mistrust with regard to their activities exists in the public mind, and that the effect of such mistrust may be equally hurtful to the political and social stability of the State, whether or not the public mistrust and resentment be in fact well-founded. We consider that it is desirable that means should be provided whereby the fullest information as to the activities of trade associations may be made available to the public, and complaints may be promptly and thoroughly investigated, so that doubts and suspicions may be dispelled, or, on the other hand, the true facts ascertained as to evils for which a remedy is required. We believe that it will be found necessary ultimately to establish further machinery for promptly and effectively dealing with such abuses as the Tribunal of Investigation may discover.

In addition to that, there is an addendum signed by Sidney Webb and several other well known men on the committee. The very best men in England are on the committee. This is the addendum:

The fact is that free competition no longer governs the business world. The common assumption that the rivalry of traders affords a guarantee that the price of commodities will oscillate closely about the necessary cost of production—whatever may have been its degree of truth in the past—is now, in this country, nowhere to be implicitly relied on. It is nowadays open to doubt whether we ever buy anything at the cost of production. We find that capitalistic combination, in one or other form, and at one or other stage of production, transportation and distribution, now loads in varying degrees the price of practically everything that we purchase.

To this has been added by the British Government in this pamphlet to which I refer, a report, a study of trade organizations and combinations, in order that it may have a complete bearing on this question. John Hilton, of the Gaston Foundation prepared this for the committee, and he says with regard to the law of supply and demand:

According to those doctrines, evolved in the course of the industrial revolution, supplies, prices, profits and wages could safely be left to adjust themselves. Leave the business world to its own devices, and competition would ensure that all was for the best. Competition would harmonize supplies and requirements; would lead to the survival of the most efficient business concerns; and would ensure that the level of wages, prices and profits in any trade or industry would always be "just about right."

The reasons given were as follows:—(a) If demand exceeds supply, competition between buyers sends up the price; (b) a relatively high price spells a relatively large profit; (c) a relatively large profit attracts capital and enterprise to the business; (d) supplies increase; (e) competition between sellers brings down the price to normal, and (f) in the struggle between sellers each endeavours to improve his processes and methods, the more capable succeed, incompetents are driven out, and the general level of economy and efficiency is raised throughout the industry.

This is what he says with regard to that:

The passing of competition.—The assumptions are, however, no longer valid. In the modern industrial and commercial world competition, which indeed never was wholly "free," is becoming less free with each passing year. In very many branches of trade and industry, business concerns whose inter-competition is conventionally supposed to maintain prices at a competitive level have, in fact, working arrangements of one kind or another which prevent competition.

Appended to this report is also a very learned summary by the celebrated Sir John Macdonald, prepared for the Committee on Resolutions, at the instigation of the British Parliament, and he says with regard to modern economic conditions:

In proposing remedial or amending measures, I assume that the law should be based on the existing economic order, and that it should take note of certain prominent facts, among them these:—

That competition is often wasteful; that it leads to needless multiplication of plants and staffs, and standing charges; that it increases cost of distribution in many ways; that it is often short-lived and precarious; that it is generally followed by combinations; that competition is not an end in itself, and that the motives for encouraging it often cease.

That monopoly does not necessarily mean "artificial dearness"; that monopoly in production and distribution may be attended by substantial advantages; e.g., economy and stability of prices, reduction of standing charges, facilities for standardizing; that there is a tendency towards larger units of production and distribution; that almost everywhere the tendency is towards production on a large scale and the suppression of small businesses;

That combinaton may facilitate interchange of experience and useful technical research work; that it permits of specialising in production and of reduction in the cost of advertising and marketing; that it is favourable to collective agreements and negotiation with labour representatives.

He goes on:

It is suggested that the law as to combinations should take note of all the above-mentioned facts. In the long run courts have followed, though slowly, the teaching of economists. It is suggested that they should come abreast of that teaching.

The remedies here proposed fall under four heads:

(A) Preventive;
(B) Disabling or disqualifying;
(C) Punitive or penal;
(D) Changes as to procedure and as to courts administering the law.

The remedies belonging to the first category, to which I attach more importance than to the others, are numerous. I do not profess to give a complete list. But they should, I think, include the following:

(a) Accurate and, as regards the chief articles of commerce, fairly complete statistics of prices, which would enable consumers to judge whether a particular combination is abusing its power and raising prices unduly.

We have there a pronouncement by the leading authorities in Great Britain at the

present time upon a subject which is causing the very greatest excitement in this country. It is something, therefore, to which we should give our immediate and most intelligent attention. It is no use our going on from year to year in the way we have been going on in the struggle of one portion of the body politic and of one portion of the industrial world against the other, in a wild effort to find an equilibrium, which cannot be found until certain fundamental principles are applied. When those fundamental principles are recognized and applied we shall be able to give an intelligent and effective attention to the great problems before us, but in the meantime you see what effects are being produced. It has come very near to revolution in this country, and actually has produced revolution in places like Russia. It has produced revolution before this in France, and is on the very brink of producing it to-day in Great Britain. Are we then going to confess that we must let evolution and Fate work out their own ends, rough-hew them how they will, and that as for ourselves we are unable to solve the problem and do not propose to try. Is that the attitude of this House? I trust it is not, and therefore, Mr. Speaker, I have asked the House to give their practical attention to this matter by appointing a committee which will bring in a report to which it is hoped Parliament will give some attention, and if it does, we will get better results than conferences can produce—conferences such as we have seen, where men come together and do not agree. They cannot agree, because they represent opposing rival interests and are not trying to find the fundamentals upon which they can come together.

Let me say once more that the object of this proposed committee is to ascertain the fundamentals, to present them to the people, and to ask the people to recognize them and govern themselves accordingly.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Acting Prime Minister): The motion, as I read it, has two objects in view. It proposes, first of all, that there shall be a discussion by this House. To that, of course, there can be no objection, and the opportunity is now afforded by the motion of discussing the very important question of what remedies it may be possible to devise to meet the conditions on which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Burnham) has dwelt.

I have had some difficulty I must confess, in seizing precisely what is the scientific method that the hon. member suggests should be supplied. There have already been suggestions how we might endeavour to meet the conditions to which he refers. We have had a conference, which has just closed, and which the hon. member describes as a conference which had failed to reach agreement. While there may not have been absolute agreement on every point between all the parties in the industrial life of this country represented at that conference, I think we have reason to congratulate ourselves that with regard to some very important matters it was possible to reach agreement, and with regard to many, progress was made.

As to the practical proposal contained in the motion, if I grasp its meaning rightly, the hon. gentleman proposes that this House should resolve that a definite plan of Government with respect to the application of the scientific method of dealing with questions concerning the struggle for existence should be laid before the people at the next general election, and that a committee be appointed for that purpose. This last portion of the motion, I must say, seems to me to be hardly acceptable. We are very glad indeed to have an exposition of the views of the hon. gentleman, and if this discussion should be further extended we shall be very glad indeed to have the views of the other members of this House. The expression of all such views furnishes in the first place information, and possibly valuable guidance, to the Government in the formation of any plan of Government to be submitted at the next general election, but to suggest that this House should select a committee for the specific purpose of formulating a plan of Government seems to me to be practically proposing that this House should supplant the existing Government, which, after all, in a sense, is a committee of this House, and hand over to the newly appointed committee what is the proper function of Government, namely, the preparing of proper plans of Government for submission to the people when it will be proper and we will be called upon to go to the people and submit our actions and our then present policies for their consideration. I think perhaps the hon. gentleman, having attained the first purpose of his motion, so far as this House desires to discuss it, will realize that the Government can hardly be expected to accept his second suggestion, which would produce the results I have just pointed out.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): I wish to say a very

few words upon the very important question brought before the House by the hon. member from Peterborough (Mr. Burnham). At the last session of the House, I think it was during the Budget debate, I took the responsibility of saying just what he has said now, namely, that we have in this country no legitimate competition at all in any line of trade or commerce. I am very glad that my hon. friend has taken the same line, and I am particularly pleased that he was able to quote the very same opinion from a commission appointed by the British Government. If I understood him correctly one of the leading members of that commission made the statement that there was no such thing in Great Britain to-day as legitimate local competition.

Mr. BURNHAM: They all state that.

Mr. McKENZIE: It appears that it was the unanimous conclusion of that very important commission. If that is the case in Canada, and I say it is, the motion of the hon. member can be understood by the Government to mean that the most careful consideration should be given to circumstances of that character, and I should regard it as a very important part of the Government's functions, through a committee or of their own motion, or by whatever machinery they may devise, to find out for themselves if the statements made by the hon. member, and which were made by myself on my responsibility in the House when speaking upon the Budget not very long ago, are correct, and, if they are, to ascertain what the proper remedy is. When the National Policy was adopted in Canada, a policy which to some extent was a trade restriction and trade preference, it was contended by its opponents that it would simply create a condition such as we have to-day, a condition of combines, trusts, and so forth. But as Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper said on that occasion, there was no danger of anything of that kind, since honest local competition between different trades or between different men in the same trade would keep healthy and pure the commercial atmosphere of Canada and we would have no combines. There are in the United States trusts in every line of business—the beef trust, the ice trust, the flour trust, the sugar trust—trusts in connection with every necessary of life, and we have the same trusts in Canada, not on such a huge scale, because we have not the population or the wealth. But in miniature every one of those trusts exists in Canada. They may not, perhaps, be known as trusts; they may not have that particular appellation, but they embody the same principle. The combination exists, whether we can discover it or not, and the poor man who has to buy is in the last analysis the sufferer. I submit, therefore, that the speech of the hon. member for Peterborough (Mr. Burnham) to-day is fraught with information of a most valuable character, and I think that he has imparted to the Government and to this House a thought that is well worthy of our careful consideration. I do not know that I am in a position to tell the Government where they should begin in regard to these things, but the trouble exists. There is an arrangement, either a written arrangement or a gentleman's agreement, in connection with every line of production in this country, by which prices are not governed by competition and trade but production is regulated so that it will not exceed the demand, and sales may be kept within the limits of the quantities which it is proposed shall be sold, and at prices agreed upon. These are matters which the Government can ascertain. It is not for me to say how; but as the leader of the Government has said, the Government is responsible to the people, and I have no desire to take any illegitimate or direct means of displacing or surplanting them for the moment. I want to do that in the proper legitimate way when the proper time comes. But while the Government is in power it is their duty to inquire into these matters and find an adequate solution for them. The hon. member for Peterborough requires the Government to deal with national matters in a scientific way. Well, I am afraid he might as well ask that the propagation of Confucianism in Canada should be undertaken by the Methodist church as to ask this Government to conduct matters in a scientific way.

Mr. H. B. MORPHY (North Perth): I have listened with some interest to the remarks of the mover of the resolution, the hon. member for Peterborough, and the addresses of those who have spoken on the subject have left my mind in more or less confusion as to the real meaning of the resolution. For the purpose of drawing out the mover I should like to make a few remarks.

Mr. BURNHAM: Go on with your own idea. Don't mind drawing me out.

Mr. MORPHY: The resolution says that it is desirable that the House should discuss the struggle for existence, etc., "to

the end that such order and success as attend, for example, the affairs of a department store should be applied to the national business, therefore be it resolved, that a definite plan of government in this respect be laid before the people at the next general election, and that a committee be appointed for that purpose." National business may mean one thing or another. Whether it means, as is evidently considered by the leader of the Opposition, a commercial policy, from a trade point of view, or whether it means the internal conduct of the affairs departmentally of the Government is what I have not quite clearly before me. The resolution might reasonably be urged upon the Government to devise a plan whereby the internal economy of the Government's own affairs would be reached through the medium of a committee and thereby the expenses of Government be greatly reduced. If the hon. gentleman means that I am very much in favour of the proposition, because in ordinary conversation and parliamentary dissertation we hear continually about the overlapping in the Government service. We hear that instead of having, as in a departmental store, just a sufficient number of employees to do the business a we have one man treading on another's coat-tail and kicking his heels because there are too many clerks in every department. That is said to be true. It may be true, and no doubt under the old system, before patronage was abolished, it had necessarily to be true because every member of Parliament had to bring some one from his constituency to Ottawa for a job. My mind, however, is directed to this point: So far as the resolution relates simply to Canada it relates to a minor portion of the world, and to be effective the hon. gentleman's motion should be world-wide in its scope For instance, how can Canada to-day by a committee provide for its national business in a world sense, in view of the unrest and the unsettled conditions that exist, when Canada does not know the policies of the different nations with regard to trade and commerce and industrial life? Viewed from that standpoint, I think the resolution is rather premature. We have to wait for more normal conditions before we shall know in Canada exactly what kind of policy this country should adopt. Reference has been made to the present period of unrest and revolution in Russia. As I view the situation in Russia, there never was a revolution there. A revolution was manufactured for Russia by intriguers in Central Europe, principally Germany. I remember a statement made by Rudyard Kipling once, when he said, at the time the Czar was threatened by Nihilists and Anarchists, that owing to the peculiar construction of the Russian nation—a high class of few and a low class of many, the lower class being practically serfs—they were not constitutionally fitted for revolution, and therefore there would be no revolution until the serf learned enough to put his shirt inside his trousers, to quote the exact words; They were mere clods. The revolution in Russia was made for these people. It did not spring from them. It had no hope of being successful. That manufactured revolution has spread until there are fifteen or twenty areas of civil war in Russia today, and she is no nearer the end than she was.

To my mind, the conditions in Canada are not so bad if we will let them alone. We have had the influenza. It was world-wide as the unfortunate conditions arising out of the war have been world-wide. The influenza ran its course, it petered out, and so I feel that the unrest we have noticed in the industrial life of the country lately will also disappear, if we talk a little less about it, think a little less about it and do not strive to raise up nightmares and bugaboos. God knows there are enough outside of this House, on every railway train and on every street corner, who are doing that. The condition of the world because of the terible strain of the war is very much like a disturbed physical condition on the part of a human being. Things come up which decentre a man's nervous system and he becomes a shattered wreck. So the world, because of the great strain under which it has been labouring, is in a condition of nervous prostration, it is suffering from shattered nerves and, as with a man whose nervous system becomes decentred, the only way is to try and get back to normal. It seems to me that it is our duty in Canada to try and get back to that condition. Let us sing more, let us have a little more band playing, a little more music, a little more healthy sport, accompanied by reasonable business activity on a fair basis, and then we will be approaching that era when we will come back to normal conditions.

It is a most remarkable thing that while unrest prevails, our industrial establishments are doing well. Hon. gentlemen seem to be sorry that they are doing so. The wage earner of Canada is getting

higher wages than he ever did in history and even in comparison with the cost of living, because the wage earner, while he lives well, can teach some others how to live reasonably, frugally and well at the same time. The working man to-day is enjoying the advantage of a higher scale of wages than he ever dreamed of. Yet, strange to say, the unrest is there. I have not yet heard it very well explained why there should be this unrest amongst the labouring population when one workman has four or five requests to work for others. It does seem to me that we are getting into a chronic state of mind. I think sometimes that in this House we have the spirit of pessimism rather than the spirit of optimism, and it is high time that we should allow Canada to have a little breathing spell, a little recreation, coupled with reasonable business activity. Let the influenza run its course and some day the sun will begin to shine, we will bring the country back to a condition of normal health, and we will get ahead as Canada, in common with every other nation in the world, has a right to get ahead.

5 p.m.

Mr. J. H. BURNHAM (West Peterborough): Mr. Speaker, in reply to the hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), I would like to say that the proceeding which I have indicated was supposed to be, and is in fact, entirely in line with the usual method of procedure in introducing some variation, or considerable novelty, to the attention of the Government. For example, when they wished to overhaul the Civil Service they asked Sir George Murray to come here and make a report. It was brought into the House, discussed and adopted. There was no reflection whatever upon the Government then. I am making no reflection upon the Government now, nor upon the Opposition, but I am endeavouring to arraign the condition of affairs which exists at large, and if in any manner I have succeeded in pointing out any major propositions worthy of attention, and if the Minister of Justice wishes to suggest that there should be any other body than a committee, and so that we shall not go on here and discuss it and not come to any conclusion, I will agree to anything the Minister of Justice may suggest as to the manner of dealing with the resolution, provided he considers the main principle. I think he rightly understands that it is not the intention to compel him and his confreres to abdicate the functions of Government. I hope they will long continue to ornament the positions which they occupy, but at the same time these things must be gone into, even though the heavens, let alone Governments, should fall.

I have been very well pleased with the position which has been taken by the hon. the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie), who, in his usual well-known practical manner, has struck the nail straight on the head. It has been found by the best men in the world that there is no legitimate competition. How can there be rest when the people of this country, who are trusting to the members of this House to look after their affairs, cry out to them in vain: "If there is no legitimate competition, if when you find that we are being pilloried, that we are being sweated, why do you not do something?" How can we reply and say: "We do not know what to do; we will call a conference; we will think it over, but we will not promise anything; we will go on from day to day and from week to week committing the same blunders?" That is not satisfying the people. That is not right, that is not true, and no man who has a modicum of economic information can say for one minute that a restful condition of equilibrium has been attained.

The hon. member for Perth (Mr. Morphy) has arraigned the Government fearfully. He says that they ought not to have called this conference; he says not to give out to the people that there is any unrest or any cause whatever for perturbation. He says it is true that there is unrest in the country, but on the other hand he assures us that he is an optimist. As you know, the optimist is the man who does not care what happens so long as it does not happen to him. That is a well-known and thoroughly well tried definition, but I believe the hon. gentleman is too kind-hearted a man to think anything like that. He has been led astray by the glibness of his own tongue. He is arraigning the Government more seriously than anybody I know of ever did when he says that they have no business to call this conference and have no business to hold another conference with the farmers, that they should take everything as read and as settled. Grip once pictured Sir John Macdonald as extending his hands over the people and saying: "Be ye warmed and fed," and expecting them to be warmed and fed accordingly. Of course, that was satirical, but it is typical of what is happening to-day. We want no more of that. If we do not understand, or if we are wrong,

let us find out the cause of the conditions of unrest and let us not stand idly by and take no measures to deal with these unfortunate conditions. I therefore press the resolution.

Motion negatived.

THANKSGIVING DAY.

BILL TO MAKE THE SECOND MONDAY IN NOVEMBER PERMANENT THANKSGIVING DAY.

House in Committee on Bill No. 2 (Mr. Pedlow), respecting Thanksgiving Day, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—Thanksgiving Day to be held on second Monday of November in each year. Interpretation Act and Bills of Exchange Act amended.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I beg to move, seconded by Mr. Cockshutt:

That Clause 1 be amended by replacing in the sixth line thereof the words "Second Monday" by the word "Eleventh."

Mr. PEDLOW: Mr. Chairman, my first intention when placing this proposition on the Order Paper was to name the date instead of the day as the proper time on which to observe Thanksgiving Day as a memorial of the termination of the great world war. As soon as that resolution had been reported in the press I was deluged with telegrams, and even had a deputation come all the way from Toronto, on behalf of the Commercial Travellers' Association and other bodies, agreeing with the principle of observing Armistice Day, but expressing their desire that it be observed on a day instead of a date. Armistice Day, as the House will remember, was observed on Monday, the eleventh of November last. The day lends itself very conveniently to the business of such an intelligent and representative body as the Commercial Travellers' Association, comprising a membership of over 30,000 travelling men, and I had the Bill drafted with a view to meeting their desires. It was also called to my attention that prior to 1908 Thanksgiving had been observed on Thursday, and in response to representations made by the same body of men it had been changed from Thursday to Monday.

The reasons for their request are obvious to any one who will consider the situation. The month of November is one of the most important months in the commercial life of this country, for during that month the commercial fraternity place a large proportion of their business for the ensuing year, and if Thanksgiving Day should come on any other day of the week than Monday it breaks into a whole week of their business, entailing, of course, a great commercial loss. The day therefore can be as well, if not better, observed on a Monday as on any other day of the week, and it is a well known fact that up to 1908 the observance of Thanksgiving Day, which was on a Thursday, was not as enthusiastic or as general as had obtained in the earlier years. It was easily conceded, therefore, that by changing the day from Thursday to Monday it was an advantage, because the religious part of the Thanksgiving could be observed on the Sunday prior to the date set aside for the holiday, and so Thanksgiving Day developed into a holiday instead of a holy day. I think from both the religious point of view and the point of view of thankfulness there was no loss in that connection.

There is also another feature in connection with this matter which has been emphasized during the past year, and it has been called to my attention in an announcement in the Acadian Recorder, published in the city of Halifax. This is from the issue of May 3, 1919, and is headed "Holiday Mix-ups":

Halifax always seems to be in a mix-up as to holidays, particularly in the summer season as these days draw near. Victoria Day falls on a Saturday this year, and the Board of Control decided on Monday for the holiday. This will certainly suit those who can leave their employment at 1 p.m. Saturday and do not have to return again until Tuesday morning. But it will not suit those who have business with the banks and public offices. They will be legally closed on May 24, the shops will be open, while on May 26 the banks would be opened, while the stores would be closed. Besides, people in the country who will observe May 24 will find that their order cannot be attended to in Halifax on account of the stores being closed on Monday May 26. If the Ottawa government will declare Victoria Day postponed throughout the country until May 26 there would be no objections, as then there would be uniformity, but if one place celebrates May 24 and the other May 26 it will be a great mix-up. It is understood petitions are being circulated to ask the Board of Control to rescind their resolution. The 21st of June also falls on Saturday this year, though that is a local holiday.

This shows clearly that a movable day is certainly not as desirable as a fixed day in the week for a holiday. In the discussion that took place on the second reading of this Bill, the view of the speakers was practically unanimous, if we except, possibly, the remarks of the Minister of Justice. The member for Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt), while partly favourable to the date, was, I think, quite satisfied with the proposal that a day, not a date, be fixed.

The member for Brantford shakes his head; so I am not correct in that. But the other four members who spoke were agreed on this point. I refer to the member for Westmount-St.Henri (Mr. Leduc), who was very positive in the matter; the member for St. James (Mr. L. A. Lapointe); the member for St. Denis (Mr. Verville) and the member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat). There is no question that it would suit all parties concerned much better to observe the day rather than the date; the event can be equally well observed on Monday as a date that might fall on any day of the week. Anyway, only about four days in a great cycle of years would be out of line so far as the holiday occurring on Saturday, or Sunday is concerned. If it fell on Saturday or Sunday, it would as a natural consequence be observed on the Monday following. I ask the committee, therefore, to grant the expressed wish of the intelligent body of men to which I have referred, the Commercial Travellers' Association. The holding of the holiday on a certain day has also been endorsed by the Methodist Conference which was held at Kitchener on June 2 last, in the form of a resolution which I have on file. It has been endorsed also by the Retail Merchants' Association of Canada, a body representative of over 200,000 establishments doing business throughout the country. It has been endorsed also by the Associated Boards of Trade of Ontario, who held their meeting in March last, before the decision had been reached to change the wording of the legislation from that of the resolution to that of the Bill as drafted by the Parliamentary counsel. I had a visit from the vice-president of that association, who assured me that had the meeting of the Associated Boards of Trade known that it was desired to set a day instead of a date, they would have incorporated that in their resolution.

Subsequent to the second reading of the Bill, I directed the attention of the Chairman of the National Industrial Conference to this matter, who very kindly had the subject discussed on the floor of the House while that convention was in session. He has sent me a statement setting forth the discussion that took place. I quote from the report:

> The Chairman: Are there any other delegates desiring to express an opinion on the subject?—Then the secretary will kindly communicate with Mr. I. E. Pedlow, M.P., the message that the subject matter of his Bill was discussed by this convention, and that all the opinions expressed were favourable to its adoption.

Mr. R. A. Rigg, who, I understand, was a representative of the labour element at that convention, made the following remarks with regard to the matter:

> Mr. Chairman, in the interval, while we are awaiting something else, I have had my attention called to a Bill which has been introduced into the House of Commons this morning, I think, for the purpose of making the second Monday in November a Dominion holiday, jointly to observe Thanksgiving day and Armistice day, and the member who introduced the Bill, Mr. Pedlow, I believe, is desirous of ascertaining the opinion of this Conference as to whether such a statute is desirable. I think that from the point of view of the representatives of the employees there will not be the slightest objection to that, and I do not believe there will be any from the other side of the House. I beg leave, Sir, to move that this Conference express its opinion in favour of such statutory action being taken.

Mr. S. R. Parsons, a representative of capital at the convention, said:

> Mr. Chairman, I believe that we are all ready to approve of the suggestion that in some way we should commemorate Armistice day, and I believe further that the second Monday in November is a far better day for Thanksgiving day than the earlier date on which we have celebrated it in past years.

That remark has reference to the practice which has prevailed in past years of setting aside a day in October as Thanksgiving Day.

> I think also that the fact has been made clear that Monday is in our estimation a preferable day for it seems to suit all of us workers better than any day in the middle of the week. We used to have Thanksgiving day on Thursday, and I suppose the United States still have it on that day, but we have come to believe, those of us who work so hard, that it is better to have two days of rest coming together. I certainly am in favour of the sugestion which has been made here and which, I understand, has been embodied in a Bill before the House of Commons.

I noticed an item in the Toronto Globe of Saturday last, as follows:

> There is a very general opinion that the day on which the great war really ended—Armistice day, November 11—should hereafter be chosen as Thanksgiving day in Canada. Thanksgiving day in early October, comes too soon after Labour day.

That is another feature of it; if you select as Thanksgiving Day a day in the second week in November, you select a day which will be about midway between Labour Day and Christmas Day.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I am quite in favour of the idea that Armistice Day should be celebrated. But if you set aside as Thanksgiving Day the second Monday in November, you depart altogether from that idea,

because the holiday will not fall on the 11th. The whole idea is to keep fixed in the minds of the people the thought that the nation is called upon to give thanks each year on that day because of the great event that occurred on November 11.

Mr. PEDLOW: If November 11th should fall on Saturday or Sunday, what then?

Mr. RICHARDSON: Why, just hold Thanksgiving Day on Saturday or Sunday, that is all. Can the nation not give thanks just as well on Sunday as on any other day? If you celebrate Armistice Day on the 12th, 13th or 14th, the people of the nation, especially the children, will lose sight of the idea of commemorating the 11th of November, for the special event which it signifies. Unless you stick to the 11th, what object is there in dealing with the matter at all? We might just as well pursue the old practice and allow the Government to fix the day. As to its falling on the Sabbath and thus, in some respects, taking away from the holiday, that is an additional reason why I support the proposal that the holiday shall be observed on the Sabbath if it falls on the Sabbath. In my judgment, this country is cursed with too many holidays; they are a vicious interference with business. Perhaps a good many professional men who are members of this House do not realize what it means to have holidays projected into the business of the country every few weeks. If we are going to celebrate the idea of the armistice and to give thanks on Armistice Day for the armistice, in Heaven's name, let us stick to the eleventh, whether it fall on Saturday, Sunday or Monday, or otherwise, let the Government fix the date.

Mr. COPP: Personally, I have not very strong views one way or the other in regard to this matter, but it seems very largely a matter of sentiment whether we have Thanksgiving Day on Armistice Day or not. But if we are going to have Thanksgiving Day on Armistice Day, or as near to it as we can, I favour the suggestion made by the hon. member for Renfrew South (Mr. Pedlow) to have the day instead of the date. He told us, very fairly to my mind, that the idea of changing Thanksgiving Day from Thursday to Monday was largely because many men who are known as commercial travellers try to get home for the week end, and in that case they can remain over Monday and have the two days' holiday without its interfering with their work so much as would be the case if Thanksgiving Day occurred in the middle of the week. It is not necessary to repeat that argument because it was a very strong one, and the Government, in proclaiming Thanksgiving Day on a Monday in recent years, were influenced very much by that.

Another very strong argument is this, that a very large number of students attending college in the different college towns—I happen to live in a college town and I know this from experience—who are half a days railway ride from home can, if Thanksgiving Day falls on Monday, leave on Friday afternoon and remain at home over the week end and spend Thanksgiving Day with their parents. The same thing is true with regard to school teachers, particularly in the rural districts. Teachers who are living away from home can close the school on Friday afternoon, get home for the week end and spend Saturday, Sunday and Monday at their homes. If we made Thanksgiving day always fall on the 11th of November, when the 11th of November would fall on a Saturday, a great inconvenience would result to the business world, because it is very important to have business houses open on Saturday, not only to the business men themselves, but, as we all know, to the people in making their preparations for Sunday.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: I spoke on this matter on the second reading and I have very little to add. If there be any sentiment in this matter at all—and I judge that sentiment is at the bottom of the Bill—the eleventh of November and no other day is Armistice Day. If we are looking for a holiday, I quite agree that Monday is the most suitable day. The hon. member for Springfield (Mr. Richardson) says that we have too many holidays, but I do not want to discuss that feature. But if there be any sentiment that leads us to select the eleventh of November for the purpose of thanking Almighty God for the blessings received by the termination of the great war, no day other than the eleventh of November can fill the bill. The hon. member (Mr. Pedlow) was of that opinion when he put his resolution on the Order Paper in the first place. As I said when I spoke on the second reading, at the solicitation of the Brantford Chamber of Commerce I placed a similar resolution on the Order Paper of the Associated Boards of Trade of Ontario, and when I referred it back to them, they said: Stick to the date, so that having referred the matter back to them, and in view of all the conditions that have been brought forward—and I admit they

are important and that we could argue a good deal as to the propriety of having the holiday on a Monday, and I am sure that would carry if we are looking for a holiday —I am obliged to support the amendment. If we are looking for a Thanksgiving Day, meaning something and having in view blessings received from a certain great thing that happened on a certain day when the enemy was delivered into our hands and the armistice was signed and the world became, to a large degree, at peace, if that is what actuates us—and I think it is what actuated the hon. gentleman when he introduced his Bill—then there is no other day than the eleventh of November on which to celebrate this. If you want a holiday, that is another question altogether, and a great deal of my support for this Bill is taken away if the day is fixed for the second Monday, because I think that destroys the sentiment of the thing altogether. I have, therefore, pleasure in seconding the amendment, and if members will look at the matter in the light in which I have endeavoured to put it in these few words, they will find that the eleventh is the proper day on which to hold this day of Thanksgiving.

Mr. J. R. WILSON (Saskatoon): I wish to express my unqualified approval of the hon. member (Mr. Pedlow) for introducing this Bill, but I had no idea that any other date than the 11th of November would have been mentioned. If the second Monday is the day chosen, our children who are growing up will not know without inquiring just on what day the armistice was signed and the world delivered of this war cloud that was hanging over it prior to that date, and as this is a day of great importance in the making of history, the eleventh is the only date. There are three "elevens" connected with the signing of the armistice. On the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of the year was the armistice declared and signed, and it is very important that we should stick to the date, the eleventh.

Mr. HENDERS: I would like to call the attention of the House to another fact. A good deal of emphasis has been placed on Thanksgiving Day's coming on Monday. Thanksgiving Day was a date arranged by Government, and it was not celebrating any particular event; it was celebrating an annual thanksgiving for a bountiful harvest for the returns for the year, and consequently it could well be fixed on any day that the Government thought would best suit the convenience of the people. But when we come to commemorate specific days, we say: The first of July was Confederation Day, Dominion Day; we do not say: We will celebrate that on the second or third Monday in July, but we think of it on the first day of July, and if the first day of July happens to be a Sunday, we may defer the celebration until the Monday, but the date in the mind of the people all the time is the first of July. The same is true in regard to Christmas Day and all those days that celebrate or commemorate specific events. I am very much in favour of the resolution except on the point of changing from the date to a day. Let us stay with the date.

Mr. PEDLOW: The hon. member for Springfield argued that holidays that fall on Sunday should be celebrated on Sunday, but that has not been the custom. In such a case the holiday is always celebrated on the Monday following.

Mr. RICHARDSON: There is a difference between giving thanks to Almighty God, and celebrating a holiday.

Mr. PEDLOW: We follow that custom with regard to Confederation Day, the first of July, commemorating a great event in the history of this country.

Mr. RICHARDSON: That is a day of jubilation.

Mr. PEDLOW: If it falls on a Sunday it is celebrated on the Monday. Good Friday and Easter Monday are different, always falling on the same days of the week, although the dates differ every year. I believe that Easter Sunday is the first Sunday after the first full moon after the 21st of March. These two holidays are always celebrated on the same days of the week, so we have a good precedent to guide us.

As to holiday and holy day, I think I covered that fairly well in my previous remarks. Thanksgiving Day up to 1907 had always been regarded as a holiday rather than a holy day, on which there was horse racing, sham battles, and all kinds of sports. Very little church work was done on Thanksgiving Day up to the year when that day was last celebrated on a Thursday, in 1907. The day was then changed at the request of this important body, the Commercial Travellers Association of Canada, and other organizations, and I think the point was well taken by them that the Thanksgiving services could be conducted on the Sunday previous, and the Monday be celebrated as a holiday. That is my idea regarding the celebration of Armistice

Day. There was a certain amount of thanksgiving in the minds of the people on the first Armistice Day in 1918, but far more a spirit of jollification. I had more fun on Armistice Day than I ever had before in all my life. The telephone girl had me up at 3.30 a.m. She knew I was anxious about the event. We had in Renfrew through a mistake celebrated the signing of the armistice on the Friday previous. On the Monday we went at it again and kept it up from half past three in the morning until after midnight. It was a real jollification. The lid was off all over the town, and we had a real good time, and I think it was the same all over Canada. If we set aside Armistice Day as a day of thanksgiving, thanks could be given in the churches on the Sunday, and Monday be celebrated as a holiday.

As I said on the second reading of the Bill, the children of Israel very wisely set a pile of stones at the river Jordan as a memorial, because it provoked their children to ask questions about it. It will be the same with this memorial day. When it does not fall on the 11th of November, children for all time to come will ask why the day is being celebrated. Judging by the remarks of the Acting Prime Minister (Mr. Doherty), the other evening, he does not think we should celebrate Armistice Day on a certain date every year, but that it would be all right if it came any day within the week.

I submit that we should consider the convenience of the Commercial Travellers' Association and of the retail merchants and the business community generally, as well as the convenience of the schools and colleges. The students at college will naturally want to be home with their parents and friends who may have taken part in the war. We could tell them the story of Passchendaele, Festubert and Givenchy on Sunday and then on Monday we could have horse racing, and those who did not care for that could indulge in other sports to suit their taste.

Mr. A. L. DAVIDSON (Digby and Annapolis): There are some objections, I think, to the proposal made in the Bill to observe Thanksgiving Day in November. November in this northern climate is not an attractive month in which to celebrate a holiday. As a rule, we are not in a very thankful spirit in November. That month may be all right in the United States, where winter does not set in so early, but our bleak November days, when, as Longfellow says,

When the vine still clings to the mouldering wall,
And at every gust the dead leaves fall,

[Mr. Pedlow.]

are not conducive to thankfulness. However, I can see one reason for the change. By making the change we would be able to commemorate a day on which we were delivered from a great national peril. If we make Thanksgiving Day come on an anniversary like that it will mean something, but if you do not keep the 11th of November, the actual day on which the Armistice was signed, but some other Monday in November, you might just as well celebrate some Monday in September or October, when the skies are bluer and the devotee is in a more thankful spirit. As a matter of fact, if you celebrate as late as the second Monday in November, some considerable time will have elapsed since harvest and we may have forgotten our blessings. The grapes are all eaten by that time and many other fruits. The sentimental argument has some weight, but it does not apply in the case of the Bill, which does not propose to commemorate the 11th of November. I think there is no justification for the Bill as it stands.

I was surprised to hear the hon. member for South Renfrew (Mr. Pedlow) say that in his constituency they celebrate Thanksgiving Day with horse racing. I come from a province where Thanksgiving Day is regarded as a religious anniversary, and I could hardly conceive so devout a man as my hon. friend sitting on a grand stand giving thanks by watching a horse race. He has said that we have a good parallel in the case of the children of Israel, but I am sure they never celebrated Thanksgiving Day in that fashion.

Mr. W. K. BALDWIN (Stanstead): I agree with the hon. member for Springfield (Mr. Richardson) that we have too many holidays altogether in this country for the good of the commercial and especially of the industrial world. We already have Thanksgiving Day as a national holiday, and now it is proposed to celebrate Armistice Day as well. To my mind that would be a great mistake. In the country where I live, Thanksgiving Day is disregarded to a great extent. I know in the United States it is not a day of worship and thankfulness as it was in olden times. To celebrate these two days together would mean a great economic saving to the country.

The other day when this matter was discussed the consensus of opinion, except for the views of the Minister of Justice, seemed to be in favour of the second Monday of November. Monday is in every respect a suitable day, because it is preceded by two days that meet the convenience of every commercial traveller, teacher, and student,

and in fact of every one who may desire to travel in order to celebrate Thanksgiving with friends. After the week end they can commence an unbroken week of work on Tuesday morning, and this is one reason among others why Monday should be selected. I think it would be well if this matter were considered from a broader standpoint than that of a mere party question, although it seems to give evidence of party colour at present. It is of immense importance to this country to obviate another national holiday, and if the effect of the amendment will be but to add another holiday to the list, it will in my opinion operate unfairly and to the disadvantage of commercial and industrial interests.

Mr. RICHARDSON: It is not proposed that Thanksgiving Day shall be held and Armistice Day also celebrated. The purpose is to do away with the regular Thanksgiving Day and have Armistice Day take its place, and if we are not going to stick to the eleventh, we may as well leave the matter with the Government, as we have done during the last thirty odd years, and let them appoint the day.

Mr. PEDLOW: So many points are raised that it is necessary for me to reply. The member for Springfield (Mr. Richardson) has evidently not read the Bill, which sets aside the second Monday of November in each year as the day to be proclaimed by the Governor in Council, and provides that harvest or any other event of great national importance which it is considered desirable to be observed may be included in the purposes outlined in the proclamation. An hon. member made reference to the lateness of the season. I remember distinctly the weather on the 11th of November last, and a more ideal condition could not be imagined. It was one of the most beautiful days that ever dawned in Canada, and from experience I am convinced that we are just as likely to have fine weather in the first and second week of November as we have in the first and second week in September. Another point was raised as regards the harvest. The second week in November is generally considered to be the time at which harvest is concluded. The hon. member for Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt) will bear me out in that respect for he has worked on a farm as I have done, and knows something about that matter. The second week in November also sees the general closing up operations in the country for the year. Now, with regard to the actions of the children of Israel, I am not responsible for anything they did or left undone, but I do know that in Toronto the good Thanksgiving season is looked forward to annually as a suitable time for the holding of sham battles and so forth. During the past five years we have not witnessed these tournaments, for the reason that the brave men of our country have been participating in very real fights on a tremendous scale, and earning a glorious name for themselves and Canada. Now that they have come back, and have resumed to some extent their former mode of living, I think we may once more indulge in these harmless and invigorating pastimes on Thanksgiving Day and observe that day as a holiday.

Amendment agreed to.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: It might be desirable that the Bill should remain in Committee so that there might be a greater opportunity for the expression of public opinion on the subject. I think we were all agreed the other day that this is a matter that should be settled in such manner as will meet the views of the largest number of people in Canada, and from that point of view I think it is well to afford as wide an opportunity as possible for its consideration. The hon. gentleman will no doubt agree that such delays as we have had so far seem to have resulted in the eliciting of views favourable to his measure. I suggest that the Committee rise and report progress and ask leave to sit again.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: Does the Minister of Justice intimate that the matter will be open to reconsideration? If not, I do not see any particular reason why it should stand.

Mr. DOHERTY: I understand the Committee has decided upon this amendment. I do not suggest that upon the amendment we should come back into committee, but I say that the Bill might remain in committee for the moment. I do not think there is any danger of its not coming up again. It might remain in committee for the moment simply for the purpose I have mentioned, but if there be any really substantial objection I have no desire in the world to insist upon my motion.

Mr. PEDLOW: Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN: Order. The motion to rise and report progress is not debatable. Unless the Minister is willing to withdraw

his motion I do not think any further debate should be allowed.

Progress reported.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENT—ELECTROCUTION.

Bill No. 6, to amend the Criminal Code—Electrocution—Mr. Mowat—read the second time and the House went into committee on the Bill, Mr. Davidson in the Chair.

On section 1—death sentence to be carried out by electrocution:

Mr. H. M. MOWAT (Parkdale): Mr. Chairman, the purpose of the Bill is to conform the execution of capital punishment in Canada to the more humane ideas of the world at the present time, and to provide more efficient machinery for carrying out the law. The present law is contained in section 1062 of the Criminal Code:

> In all cases where an offender is sentenced to death, the sentence or judgment to be pronounced against him shall be that he shall be hanged by the neck until he is dead.

It is to change this means of carrying out capital punishment that the Bill is introduced. Times change and we change with them. While for a thousand years the method of hanging has been in vogue in Great Britain, and we have succeeded to that practice in Canada, the world has been shocked time and again by the inefficiency and bungling which have taken place and which have produced a very adverse effect on the public mind.

A short resumé of the law, perhaps, will not be out of order. I do not need to remind those familiar with history that in the old days, and in Anglo-Saxon times, the killing of a man by another was not looked upon as a very serious offence. It was not regarded as being nearly as serious a thing as the stealing of a man's goods. In the time of Æthelbert, the king and lawgiver, and in Anglo-Saxon times, the only penalty for murder was compensation to the widow or relatives of the man killed, and what is called the "bot" or "were" of the widow was the penalty imposed. In other words, the crime was regarded as against the survivors and not as against the state. But, as the world proceeded towards a higher civilization and the motives of men came to be more closely scrutinized, with a view to correcting what was morally wrong, the crime of murder became a more serious one. In the time of Alfred the Great it was enacted

[Mr. Chairman.]

that he who takes life must give his life. The method of execution at that time was by hanging. When William the Conqueror came upon the English throne he disapproved of this mild method and suggested, if not enacted, that the penalty should be mutilation of the murderer instead of mere hanging. At that time there were numerous methods in vogue in addition to mutilation—one by burning at the stake, another by flaying and another by impaling on the stake. But all these, as the world advanced, came to be renounced and objected to by the people. For many years the only method of execution has been hanging. The reason for that, no doubt, was that the motives that entered into murder—the grievous vices of envy, hatred, vengeance or malice—were looked upon, as the world proceeded towards better things, as something to be discouraged, if possible, by public example.

The world has now come to the conclusion, it seems to me, that the old, clumsy and inhuman plan of jerking a man into Eternity, a method which has not always meant instant death, should be replaced with a humane and scientific method. Years ago, no doubt, it was thought that public executions would have a deterrent effect on the criminal class, but at last they became the scenes of such scandalous and improper behaviour and rioting that the present law was enacted, and the capital sentence is now carried out either in the building or in the yard of the jail or penitentiary in which the criminal is confined.

Executions of military offenders were also formerly conducted in public before the troops, but even men accustomed to fighting and who were not supposed to be of very fine sensibilities displayed a marked nervousness and depression on such occasions, and these bad effects have been noted by several writers. Those familiar with Kipling will remember how Danny Deever shot a sleeping man—a most detestable crime—and it was considered necessary that a public example should be made.

> "Why does the rear rank breathe so hard?"
> Said Files-on-Parade.
> "It's bitter cold; it's bitter cold," the Colour Sergeant said.
> "Why does that front rank man fall down?"
> Said Files-on-Parade.
> "A touch of sun, a touch of sun," the Colour Sergeant said.
> For they're hanging Danny Deever and they're marching of him round,
> They 'ave 'alted Danny Deever by 'is coffin on the ground,
> And 'e'll swing in 'alf a minute for a sneaking' shooting hound,
> Oh they're hanging Danny Deever in the morning.

Nothing could better describe the feelings of the soldiers on witnessing such a gruesome spectacle.

We all know that in this country when capital punishment is to be inflicted a certain section of the populace eagerly discuss the impending event and wish they could be around the scaffold. These morbid people will congregate about the jail and watch the signal that denotes that the hanging has taken place. Of course, that is the part of the public we have to protect and we must, if possible, provide such means for inflicting capital punishment that their morbid curiosity may not be aroused.

Now the question rises: Can we improve upon the present method and introduce one which is painless, instantaneous, and so conducted that it cannot be made a matter of sensation? I claim that such a method is available at the present time, and that in the method of electrocution, as perfected by our neighbours to the south, we have at our disposal the most humane and civilized method for carrying out the last dread sentence of the law. This is a serious thing which must be treated in a serious manner, and I am so treating it, as I am sure this House will also treat it, with a view to seeing if we cannot adopt the improved method to which I have referred. The United States is the only country as far as I know which has brought the system of electrocution to what might be called the perfection of capital punishment. In that country each state is sovereign in the procedure of the criminal law, and the state of New York first introduced electrocution thirty years ago.

It has been stated that capital punishment by means of a sudden shock of high voltage has not been uniformly successful. In fact, a certain person told a sheriff that it took so long to arrange the condemned man that he was tortured, and the process was not sure in its effects. To satisfy myself on this point I wrote to the warden of the State Prison at Sing Sing, which is the only place in New York state where electrocution is carried out. While there are several other prisons in that state, every condemned man is brought to Sing Sing for capital punishment, and this course was decided on in order that a special set of rooms might be provided and the most scientific arrangements made to ensure successful results. I have a letter here from the physician of Sing Sing, Dr. A. O. Squire, dated the 15th of this month, which I think I should read to the House. It is as follows:

> Your letter addressed to the Warden of Sing Sing Prison has been referred to me. In reply would state that the statement made to a sheriff about electrocutions does not represent the experience we have had at Sing Sing for a period of over twenty years. I have personally been present at and assisted at the electrocution of 58 men; that it is not more than fifty seconds from the time that the condemned man enters the room that the first shock is given. This is made possible by having one man to take care of each strap.
>
> I note that he makes a statement that in one case a **prisoner had screamed** until the third shock. This to my mind is incredible as I do not believe that the prisoner suffers any pain and does not know really what happens. He is entirely unconscious at the instant the current is applied.
>
> As I stated above it would be absurd to consume seven minutes in strapping a prisoner to the chair and it is equally absurd that the prisoner would scream until the third shock. I have always been personally opposed to capital punishment, but as I am the prison physician in charge of the medical work at the prison and at the time of the electrocution I have to do my duty, and I believe that the electrocution of condemned men is the most humane way of carrying out the mandates of the court. It has these points to commend it: first, it is painless; second, certain in its results; and third, less repulsive to witness than any other method.

The great electrician, Thomas A. Edison, says, in a written statement:

> The best appliance is to my mind the one which will perform its work in the shortest space of time and inflict the least amount of suffering on the victim. The most suitable apparatus is a dynamo employing intermittent currents; the most powerful of these is the "alternating" machine. The passing of the current from these machines through the human body, even by the slightest contact, produces instantaneous death.

A man of the reputation of Mr. Edison would not make that statement were he not convinced of the effectiveness of the method of carrying out the death penalty by means of the alternating electrical current.

It seems to me that I need do no more when I have given the experience of a physician who has attended fifty-eight electrocutions and who finds the method satisfactory—instantaneous, painless and sure in its effect. That being the case—and there is a process by which it can be done in private,—we shall have gained a great deal if we pass this Bill.

There is no controverting, then, the assertion that the process has attained a state of perfection. We must now proceed to find out what is the opinion of the people of Canada as to whether or not there should be a change. On this point there can be no doubt. Since the Bill was introduced last year I have received a large number of communications from law officers of different provinces; from sheriffs who have at

times carried out sentences of capital punishment; from bodies of citizens; from citizens on grand juries and in county and city councils—in Ontario, anyway,—setting forth the desirability of a change. While I have no doubt that the committee is of opinion that some change should be made, I shall quote some of these expressions of opinion which I have received, with a view to confirming and strengthening that opinion. The Attorney General of Alberta says:

I beg to say that in my opinion electrocution is to be preferred to hanging in the case of a criminal condemned to a death sentence. As the facilities for guarding prisoners are better at the penitentiary than at any of the provincial jails, I am also of the opinion that immediately a prisoner is condemned to execution, he should be confined to the penitentiary. There have been several escapes of condemned murderers during the last few years which is very regrettable from every point of view.

The sheriff of Montreal says:

I endorse unreservedly the proposition to have the Criminal Code amended so as to put execution of capital punishment under the direction of the warden of the penitentiary in each province. The actual practice of hanging in the jail of the district where the crime was committed is costly and has been the cause of much trouble in many instances.

The difficulty of finding a reliable hangman adds to the hardships of the situation and too often the mishaps of amateurs have been more derogatory than beneficial to the administration of justice. Electrocution is more in accordance with progress and a central place of execution in each province, is in my opinion the best method of dealing with the law of capital punishment.

The sheriff at Winnipeg says:

I am in hearty accord with the provisions of the Bill. The present system in force is antiquated, uncertain, and unsatisfactory and I hope you will succeed in having the change in the Criminal Code made in so far as the mode of enforcing the death penalty is concerned.

Under the law we have capital punishment for murder, treason, piracy where force is used, rape, and for the offence committed by persons who are subjects of a friendly State and who try to carry on war in Canada. But the question of capital punishment, concerning which there is great difference of opinion, does not come up in this debate.

I quote the opinion of the sheriff of Calgary:

It is very satisfactory to me to know that at last this matter is being brought to the attention of Parliament and I trust that the Bill will be passed in due course.

I have had a number of cases of capital punishment where the sentence of the Court has had to be executed, and in some of these cases the conditions surrounding the execution of the death sentence have not been satisfactory.

The carrying out of the sentence of death by hanging is in my judgment a most inhuman manner, to say the least, and the results obtained by electrocution, according to all the information I have had on the subject, are much more uniform and humane.

This is from the Sheriff of Sudbury:

In counties and districts there is usually no death cell apart from other prisoners; it is difficult to get a death watch and expensive to secure the services of an executioner, and sometimes inconvenient to secure carpenters to build the scaffold, while a lack of experience of most of the county sheriffs is easily understood.

There is a further objection to local executions in the fact that it has a very serious effect on local citizens of high-strung or nervous disposition and temperament, and serious illness has been known to result to numerous people residing in the neighbourhood where the execution has been slated to take place.

The sheriff of Halifax says:

I am strongly in favour of changing the mode of capital punishment to electrocution; also that the death sentence should be carried out in the penitentiaries. I do not think there can be any argument against the change, as it can be carried out with more privacy and safety to all concerned.

The sheriff of Toronto says:

The sheriffs have great difficulty in securing a competent man to carry out the sentence of the Court, and even with a man who has had large experience there is great anxiety for fear that something may happen that cannot be provided against. There has been no bungling at Toronto jail that I have known or heard of except on one occasion many years ago when the executioner arrived at the jail in a state of intoxication. On that occasion the death of the prisoner was delayed very much longer than it should have been by a mistake of the executioner that was not perceived, though very intelligent men were assisting him. There is also a danger that the man engaged to carry out the sentence becomes ill at the last moment or is delayed by accident to the train on which he is travelling. I only know of one man with skill in this matter, though I understand there are several who at times undertake the duty, but I am told there have been several painful accidents.

The experience of that sheriff is no doubt the experience of other sheriffs, namely, that the executioner is nearly always in a highly nervous state. When he gets off the train and it is generally known what his mission is, he is the most execrated man in the community. He is boo-hoo-ed by the boys on the street and insulted by everybody in the lower walks of life. It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that he resorts to means to "buck him up" for his gruesome task. I venture to say that every sheriff has had trouble with the man who is paid to undertake this duty.

The sheriff of Brant says:

In the first place an execution, especially in a small city or county town, is a shocking thing, where for weeks before the occurrence it is the principal topic of conversation. It is discussed amongst the school children, and I know from experience that every kind of scheme is devised by certain people to gain access to or interview the condemned man. An execution in a local town has to greater or lesser extent a degrading influence on a certain class of the population. The average jail is not equipped with a death cell or the appliances for the carrying out of the death sentence. In some cases owing to lack of space other prisoners have to be kept in the same corridor. It also frequently happens that the officials, sheriff, governor, etc., are new officials who have never had any experience in capital cases.

The sheriff of Lambton says:

May I be permitted to express my approval of the Bill introduced in Parliament to amend the Act so that capital punishment shall be electrocution, instead of hanging, for the following reasons.

In the first place, the old method is so gruesome as to be repellent, not only to the officials in charge, but to the whole district in general.

A great difficulty will also be the securing of a death watch in such a case; also the uncertainty and difficulty in securing some one to carry out the extreme penalty. In brief, your amendment is a step in advance along the line of humanitarianism. I hope that you will be successful in getting this Bill through.

So, with the sheriff of Lanark. Most of the sheriffs who have written me are of the province of Ontario. It may be said that the sheriff naturally wants to evade a disagreeable duty; but even provided that that is so, it must be remembered that by so doing he relinquishes a considerable part of the remuneration of his office. Therefore, the statements may be received, not entirely qualified by the idea that they wish to evade their duty. Some sheriffs have executed men and they have not done their work well. When Grover Cleveland was running for President of the United States, it was charged against him as a campaign piece of propaganda that he had executed a man. He had; the reason being that he was at one time sheriff of Buffalo, and being a man with a very high sense of public duty, he thought it was his duty to carry out the execution personally. Whether it was done properly or not, I do not know, but that shows the strong feeling that can be aroused in the unthinking public—I will put it in no more offensive terms than that—as to the unpopularity of carrying out the law. The sheriff of Huron says:

It is simply a disgrace that in this day and generation such crude, barbarous and slipshod methods have to be resorted to and allowed, to carry out the sentence of death pronounced on any condemned person, or in other words, to kill the condemned with the material provided the best way one can under the circumstances. The arrangements may be good or they may be bad, and local conditions for carrying out an execution are generally pretty bad.

So with the sheriff of Prince Edward county and the sheriff of Essex. The sheriff of Middlesex says:

I beg to say that I am heartily in accord with the proposed amendment for several reasons. The first reason being that we are not supplied with a death cell, that is a cell apart from other prisoners; secondly, the difficulty in securing a competent death watch; next, the want of experience of sheriffs, the securing of an excutioner, and also the expense of disposing of the body, etc.

I have also a communication from the sheriff of Parry Sound. The sheriff of Haldimand says:

I notice that you have a Bill before the House asking to amend the Criminal Code re prisoners who are sentenced to death, that the punishment should be carried into effect on an elecric chair instead of the old barbarous method of hanging. I am astonished that in this Christian country, this system of capital punishment should exist to the present day.

I have also communications from the sheriff of Halton, and the County Council of the county of Halton. The sheriff of St. John, N. B., says:

My attention has been called to the introduction in Parliament of "An Act to amend the Criminal Code (Electrocution)" and to-day I learn that you are the promoter of the Bill. I am very much in favour of the Bill and hope you will succeed in having the Bill enacted into law.

I have also communications from the sheriff of Algoma and the sheriff of the county of Dufferin. The sheriff of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry says:

I had an execution on March 28 and had trouble getting the scaffold built. Several carpenters and one building firm refused to build it. I finally hired a man at $10 a day and he put it up with the assistance of two prisoners.

I have also communications from the sheriff of Bruce, the sheriff of Welland, the sheriff of Hastings, the sheriff of Peel, the sheriff of Grey, and the sheriff of Prescott and Russell. The sheriff of Kenora says:

People are very largely what their heredity and environment have made them, and it may be necessary to put some people to death for the protection of the community, but in doing so there should be no spirit of revenge connected with the act, hence it should be done in the most humane way, and certainly electrocution is a much more civilized and humane way of putting them to death than hanging, especially where the executioner makes a bungle of the business as he sometimes does.

The sheriff of Thunder Bay says:

> The common jails of the province have with one or two exceptions no provision made for the carrying out of the sentence inside the jail so that a scaffold must be built in the yard. The walls surrounding the same are not high enough for the scaffold and therefore a hole has to be dug in the ground to allow of the drop. It is impossible to get any carpenter to build same here. I could not get one four years ago and I have been unable to get one to promise to do so for the execution that is fixed for next month.

I have also communications from the County Council of Haldimand, the County Council of Norfolk, the sheriff of Norfolk, the Board of Control of Hamilton, the Wentworth County Council, the Grand Jury of Peel county, the County Council of Lambton, the Grand Jury of Brant, the County Council of Prince Edward, the Municipal Council of the County of Frontenac, the Middlesex County Council, the Town Council of North Bay, the Grand Jury of Wentworth, the County Council of Perth county. The County Council of Huron say:

> This council approves and strongly recommends the passage of the Bill, being of the opinion, that hanging is a barbaric method and one which cannot be effectively carried out in county jails.

I have also a communication from the Grand Jury of Middlesex. A fine point arises here; one of the ever-recurring conflicts in constitutional law between the Dominion and provinces. The point has been raised—I must say I anticipated it—that the Dominion cannot carry out this provision. It will be noticed by looking at the whole Bill, that in the clauses subsequent to clause 1062, the words "warden of penitentiaries" are substituted for the word "sheriff." That transfers the carrying out of the sentence to the warden of the penitentiary in each province. It seems to me essential that this should be done in one place in each province just as is the case in the state of New York, in a perfectly equipped place, and the proper place will be the penitentiary, because there is no county jail, I should imagine, in any province where proper rooms could be had or where it would be fair to make certain counties assume the whole expense of carrying out all the executions in that province. Under section 92 of the British North America Act there is committed to the province, "the administration of justice," part of which would be this: that is to say, the carrying out of capital punishment comes within the realm of the administration of justice. Under section 91, subsection 27, the Dominion has power to deal with "criminal law, except the constitution of courts of criminal jurisdiction, but including the procedure in criminal matters." Of course, this is not procedure in criminal matters, because when a man has been condemned, the criminal "procedure" stops. The Dominion also has charge of:

> The establishment, maintenance, and management of penitentiaries.

What I had in mind when drafting the Bill so as to make the warden the executioner instead of the sheriff was that this constitutional difficulty could be bridged over by making the warden a provincial officer ad hoc for carrying out the sentence. There may be difficulties in that which I do not wish to take on, and I am willing, if the House will allow me, to ask that all the clauses in the Bill shall be withdrawn except clause 1062 which provides:

> Section one thousand and sixty-two of the Criminal Code is repealed and the following is substituted therefor:—
>
> 1062. In all cases where an offender is sentenced to death, the sentence or judgment to be pronounced against him shall be that he be electrocuted.

All the other matters which are supposed to be matters of provincial jurisdiction, such as the inquest, the persons to be present, the certificate of death, the declaration by the warden, the identity and death to be proved, the place of burial and so on, shall be cut out and left for discussion between the Minister of Justice and the attorney generals of the several provinces, and I am sure there will be no real difficulty in their coming to a conclusion as to what should be done. As the matter stands now, the public hangman is a joint nominee. The Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) is disposed to correct me in that, but he can state the fact as it is.

What I understood was that in view of a lot of bungling and the dreadful things that have taken place in the gaols, the provinces and the Department of Justice, before my hon. friend became minister of that department, agreed that there should be one person nominated hangman for the Dominion, and that the expense in connection therewith should be contributed in proportion by the province or the sheriff, and the Dominion. If that is not so, I shall be glad to correct the statement.

That there have been dreadful bungling and scenes revolting in character owing to the inefficient carrying out of our present method, nobody can deny. In the last few months there have been two cases at any rate which stand out in the public mind

as examples of a condition that should not be tolerated any longer, and which I am quite sure have prepared the public mind to accept this Bill. I need not go further than allude to the execution at Edmonton in April last. I wrote to the reporter of the Edmonton paper who witnessed that execution, and he was good enough to send me this report of what took place:

The execution took place at the provincial jail at Fort Saskatchewan about 5.45 on the morning of April 23. Every detail had been arranged beforehand. The convict with hands tied behind his back was placed upon the scaffold and when properly hooded and the noose adjusted, the executioner pulled the lever. The trap door swung apart. The body hung still and apparently lifeless. The hangman hoisted the black flag and left the scene, everything for the moment evidently satisfactory.

In a few seconds, however, the man began to kick and wriggle his body and succeeded in getting his hands unfastened. The hangman being recalled, re-adjusted the rope and the man died in about 10 minutes. It was stated by some one that the neck had not been broken but that the man had been strangled to death. The verdict of the jury was "justifiable homicide."

Only this month in such a city as Montreal another mistake was made by the public executioner, and this is the account as telegraphed from Montreal to an Ottawa paper—I shall quote only one or two sentences:

Untold Agony is Suffered by Murderer.

An hour after the bolt was released which launched his body into space he was still alive, the drop failing to break his neck. Ten minutes after the man was cut down the jury went to see the body, but found him alive although half strangled. Dr. Benoit declared that the heart ceased beating eight minutes after the hanging, but there was great muscular twitching until 9.02, when it ceased. He could not say the man was dead as long as this continued.

This is a horrible state of affairs, and when it can occur in a great metropolitan city like Montreal what can we expect of little jails where the sheriff has an execution perhaps only once in ten years? The Globe, of Toronto, in commenting on these events in Montreal, said on September 13:

Hanging as a method of capital punishment should be abolished after the disgraceful bungling in Montreal, where an Italian lived for more than an hour after the drop.

Surely the House of Commons of the present day cannot but see its way to accept this legislation amended as I have suggested, substituting electrocution for the worn-out and barbarous method of hanging by which a man, instead of having his neck broken, may be strangled and suffer untold agony struggling to be free from his pains. Let us show that we are alive to what is demanded by the public and demanded by humanity itself.

Mr. A. R. McMASTER (Brome): Before this amendment is adopted I have a suggestion to make to the House, which I trust will meet with its approval. I congratulate the hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) in the efforts he has made to make the death penalty less barbarous and less repulsive to our modern thought and feeling. I was very much struck with the statement of a certain sheriff which he quoted—I think it was the sheriff for the united counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry. That officer stated that he had found it hard to get carpenters who would work for even ten dollars a day in the putting up of a scaffold. I know that for years past it has been with the greatest difficulty that the authorities could find men who would perform the service of hangman, and I think that to substitute electrocution for hanging is a step in the right direction. But when we are at the business, could we not go a step further, could we not abolish the death penalty? If we did that we should put ourselves in line with fully three-quarters of the most advanced people on the face of the globe. We should not encourage crime, but discourage it, because, strange as it may appear, history teaches that the more brutal and the more awful the punishments the less repressive their effect seems to be. I have merely to refer hon. members to the history of British criminal law. A hundred years ago there were scores of offences upon the criminal statute-book punishable by death. If a young man stole a few shillings' worth of food he was liable to be transported, or even hanged. Hanging was quite an ordinary occurrence. I remember attending a meeting at Montreal a few years ago where a very prominent man from the United States came to speak on this question of capital punishment. I went to that meeting with an open mind, but the arguments which he brought forward on capital punishment convinced me. He pointed to what other civilized nations which had abolished the death penalty were accustomed to do in regard to serious crime, and then he made this assertion: The death penalty, he said, encourages crime in this respect, that the men who go to the electric chair are regarded as the heroes of the underworld; just as the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church in other spheres of life, so the death of these men raises them in the estimation of all the underworld, and they are looked up to with what is akin to veneration. This may appear inexplicable to us,

but this was a man who had been, if I mistake not, governor of Sing Sing penitentiary, and he was one of the recognized authorities in the United States upon this subject.

It has been proven by the history of many European countries that when they abolished death penalties they did not, by so doing, increase the number of murders.

The statistics of murders in one state, the name of which I cannot recall at the moment, were most illuminating. They revealed the fact that in the period during which the death penalty was suspended the number of murders decreased. The death penalty was re-imposed, and concurrently with its re-imposition the percentage of murders increased. If that fact can be taken as an exemplification of a general rule, then it was perfectly clear that the death penalty was not a deterrent of murder. Now, there are those who will quote Scripture to me and say: "He that taketh a man's life shall be—" I cannot quote exactly, I am sorry to say.

Some hon. MEMBER: Oh, oh.

Mr. McMASTER: Well, some hon. gentlemen on the other side who formerly occupied pulpits will probably be able to assist me.

Mr. JACOBS: Charity begins at home. What about the leader of the Opposition? (Mr. McKenzie).

Mr. McMASTER: The point I wish to make is this, that the old Mosiac law, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," has, in my opinion, been superseded by a different system. We are living under a more magnanimous and humane dispensation. Is it not rather humiliating to our civilization that when a man commits a heinous crime the only thing we can do with him is to put him to death? Does it not to a certain extent smack of the old idea of vengeance? I move, therefore, seconded by the hon. member for Renfrew South (Mr. Pedlow), that instead of section 1062 of the Bill there should be substituted these words:

The death penalty is abolished and all crimes heretofore punishable by death shall be punishable by an incarceration not to exceed the remainder of the life of the accused.

Some hon. MEMBERS: That is kind.

Mr. McMASTER: Perhaps an amendment like this would come with better grace from the gentleman (Mr. Doherty) who is in such a distinguished manner leading the House to-night. There is, I grant you, a smack of Hibernianism about the amendment which I propose, but I do not wish to suggest that the life penalty must be imposed in all cases, and that is the reason why I have framed the amendment as it is worded. I commend it to the good-will of the House, and although the Bill proposed by the hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) is a long step in the right direction,—for which reason I intend to support it,—I believe that if my amendment is received it will constitute a still longer step in the right direction and make the other provisions of the hon. member's Bill unnecessary.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Boivin): I must remind the hon. member (Mr. McMaster) that the House is at present in Committee and that no amendment can be made in Committee which changes entirely the principle of a Bill which was adopted by the House upon its second reading. The principle of this Bill is to replace hanging by electrocution, whereas the principle involved in the sub-amendment which is submitted by the member for Brome is to abolish the death penalty altogether. That in my judgment should form the basis of a new Bill and I therefore rule the sub-amendment out of order.

Mr. JACOBS: I am opposed to the measure introduced by the hon. member for Parkdale, on the ground that it is an invasion of provincial rights. Hanging is within the purview and scope of the provincial authorities and to seek to foist it upon the Dominion authorities is to my mind unconstitutional. With regard to the change from hanging to electrocution, I fear that the glowing picture which the member for Parkdale has drawn of the simple manner in which the life of the convict can be taken by means of electrocution might act as a stimulant to crime rather than a deterrent. The gruesome scenes which the hon. member depicted of the hanging of various murderers throughout the country, with sometimes more or less abortive results, would in itself, it seems to me, be the deterrent which society requires to put an end to murder as far as possible. The member for Brome (Mr. McMaster), kind-hearted man that he is, wished to make it more simple even than would be possible under the system proposed by the member for Parkdale. The member for Brome suggests that instead of execution the convict should, as he picturesquely put it, be incarcerated for a period not to exceed the term of his life. The hon. member evidently does not agree with the

9 p.m.

Irish writer who thought that life imprisonment was much more serious than death itself; for that writer says that by life imprisonment you take away the man's life but you do not give him death. I do not know that there has been such a strong desire throughout the country for a change of the system as to justify this Parliament in instituting a change. The system is a good old English one, consecrated by a thousand years of practise, and so long as there are murders, just so long, I suppose, we shall have to resort to capital punishment. We all know the famous expression of the French writer, Alphonse Karr, who said he was in favour of the abolition of the death penalty, but that he was also in favour of the murderer first adopting that principle. I think that under the present system we have worried along fairly well. The member for Parkdale has spoken about the views of sheriffs; they would like to shift the responsibility on to the wardens; but we have not had any expression of opinion from the wardens as to whether they would care to assume that responsibility. There ought to be throughout the country a strong agitation demanding a change before this Parliament should seek to disturb the present system. I am rather surprised that a stalwart Britisher like our good friend from Parkdale should desire to abolish the British system and substitute the American. "No truck or trade with the Yankees" was, a few years ago, almost a classical quotation.

Mr. McMASTER: Not from the member for Parkdale, then.

Mr. JACOBS. The member for Parkdale must have been inoculated with the idea at that time, because I do not think he could have undergone a change so suddenly. Now, if this system is good enough for the British people I am inclined to think that the member for Parkdale should be content to let it continue for some time yet in Canada. For these reasons therefore I declare myself opposed to the amendment.

Mr. ALFRED THOMPSON (Yukon): First, I think the hon. member for Parkdale has made a very excellent case in support of the proposition which he submits to the House. I quite agree with him when he says that the method to which my hon. friend (Mr. Jacobs) has just referred as being a classical one and having been in use for more than a thousand years, is decidedly unscientific, very barbarous and something which we have outlived. The hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) advanced the interesting argument that hanging encourages crime, if I gathered what was suggested correctly. He told the committee that when a criminal was hanged he became a martyr to his fellow-criminals of the underworld. I can advise the hon. member for Brome and the committee that in the territory I have the honour to represent hanging never encouraged crime.

Mr. JACOBS: What is that?

Mr. A. THOMPSON: The hon. member for Brome says that hanging encourages crime.

Mr. JACOBS: In his county, perhaps.

Mr. A. THOMPSON: In his county, perhaps, but it does not in the Yukon Territory. We have hanged every man that ever committed a murder, we hanged him quick and it has had a very deterrent effect upon other would-be murderers. Just across the line the Americans have the territory of Alaska. I do not know how many capital punishments have taken place since the Americans purchased that territory from Russia in 1867, but there have been very few, and murders in Alaska are comparatively common, simply because the would-be murderer knows that he has a remarkably good chance to escape the gallows. In Alaska life is held cheap by the criminal class as compared with the way it is regarded by the same class in the Yukon Territory. In the Yukon, if a man goes out to kill another, he knows that the law is going to be after him from the time he thrusts the knife or pulls the trigger, or in any other way takes life. They never let up till they get him, they bring him to Dawson, and he is hanged on a scaffold in full sight of anybody who wishes to see the gruesome deed done. It is a gruesome deed, but it has to be done. I am absolutely opposed to the abolition of capital punishment, and if the hon. member for Brome had lived on the frontier as long as I have, I do not think he would be in favour of its abolition. I am glad the amendment offered by the hon. member for Brome was ruled out of order. I am in favour of the method proposed by the hon. member for Parkdale of carrying out the sentence of the court. It is much more humane and scientific; it is no experiment; it has been tried, and tried successfully, for thirty years, by one of the most intelligent commonwealths on this continent, namely, the state of New York. The evidence submitted by the hon. member for Parkdale, given by the physician in

charge of Sing Sing penitentiary, goes to show that the sentence is carried out with remarkable simplicity and with equal effectiveness. I have great pleasure in supporting the Bill submitted by the hon. member for Parkdale.

Mr. DOHERTY: I understand that what is now before the Chair is a proposed amendment by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mowat), striking out all the clauses except the clause to substitute electrocution for hanging. I would suggest that the committee might perhaps adopt that amendment before the committee rises, because it is my desire to move that the committee rise and report progress in order that it may be possible to adjourn the House so as to permit of the members having an opportunity of paying to our late confrere and colleague, the Hon. Mr. Cochrane, that tribute of respect which would consist in following his remains to the station. The funeral, I understand, is to take place in Toronto on Wednesday. Though it may not be possible for us to attend the funeral there, I think it would be a satisfaction to our feelings and to our desire to express our regret if we should have the opportunity of accompanying his remains at least to the station this evening. I would suggest that before doing that the amendment should be submitted, and then I propose to make the motion that the committee rise.

Mr. PECK: Before the committee rises I desire to record myself as being in favour of the Bill of the hon. member for Parkdale. I cannot conceive why, in a modern, humane world, this should need any argument. It seems to me that all men who have the cause of justice and humanity at heart, if they still wish to retain capital punishment, should desire at least to make it as humane as possible to those who may be the victims of it.

The CHAIRMAN: The carrying of this amendment will not dispose of the Bill. The Bill will come back into committee and any further discussion can take place upon it then. Is it the pleasure of the committee that the hon. member for Parkdale be allowed to withdraw these sections?

Mr. McKENZIE: When it is a question as to whether the Bill shall be accepted at all, is it proposed that we shall accept part of it?

Mr. DOHERTY: What is proposed now is to allow the hon. member to withdraw part of it. The effect of the present amendment is simply that the hon. member who proposed the Bill withdraws the measure with the exception of one section which would remain and which, as the Chairman has pointed out, would come before the committee again for consideration. The hon. gentleman in withdrawing these sections has acted upon a suggestion of my own in which I have pointed out that it seemed to me quite clear that we should not mix up the administration of justice in the way proposed. The administration of justice belongs to the provinces; the execution of these sentences is the execution of the judgments of provincial courts, and they are executed by officers of these provincial courts. The hon. gentlemen, in deference to my suggestion, desires to withdraw these sections of his Bill. We are not accepting anything by passing the amendment. These sections will be struck out, and there will remain before the committee the point in regard to the substitution of electrocution for hanging which will be dealt with later on. However, I have no desire to insist upon disposing of the amendment at the present time if it is thought better that all these provisions should still remain before the committee. I thought that would be a definite step of progress before the committee reported. I suppose we can report progress without having done that but I would like that in any event we should be enabled to rise now so that we may be able to perform the duty which I have mentioned.

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not want to interfere with any arrangement that may exist between the leader of the Government and the author of the Bill. All I wanted to say was that in view of the statement made by the leader of the House that he would not think of passing legislation of this kind without the concurrence of the various Governments in Canada, it would be awkward to accept any part of it if no part of it was ultimately to go through. That is why I said we could not accept any part of these arrangements.

Amendment agreed to.

Section as amended, agreed to.

Progress reported.

THE LATE HON. FRANK COCHRANE.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: Mr. Speaker, I rise to move the adjournment at this early hour for the reason I have already explained, namely, that we have an opportunity of

paying our last tribute of respect to our deceased colleague, the Hon. Mr. Cochrane, by following his remains from his late residence to the railway station. The funeral proper will not take place in Ottawa, but I am sure it will be a satisfaction to us to have even this limited opportunity of making public our sentiments.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 9.20 p.m.

Tuesday, September 23, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

PRIVILEGE—HON. CHARLES MURPHY.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. CHARLES MURPHY (Russell): Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege. When I returned to the city on Saturday evening last I was informed that during my absence from Ottawa the hon. member for Durham (Hon. Mr. N. W. Rowell), after incubating for eighteen months—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. If the hon. member desires to rise to a question of privilege, he should recite the matter complained of and make his denial with respect thereto.

Mr. MURPHY: I shall do that as briefly as possible. I was informed, then, that the hon. member had delivered himself of a series of evasions, half-truths, and absolute falsehoods which he had characterized as a reply to some observations I made in this House on the evening of March 19, 1918. Now, Sir, since my return to the city I have had an opportunity of reading Hansard containing the speech delivered by the hon. gentleman on Wednesday last, and to-day, with your permission and the indulgence of the House, I desire to occupy a few minutes in dealing with such of these statements as are of a personal character and that reflect upon my alleged conduct as a member of Parliament and upon what I am alleged to have said, but which, as a matter of fact, I did not say.

The rules of the House, Sir (as the hon. member for Durham and all other hon. members in this House know), prevent me from dealing with falsehoods of a general character contained in the speech made by that hon. gentleman on Wednesday last; therefore I cannot do more than state that I will deal with these statements at the first opportunity at the beginning of the next session.

Now, Sir, in reading Hansard of the seventeenth instant, I observe that the hon. member for Durham characterized my speech of March 19, 1918, as an "attack." In point of fact, Sir, my speech was a review of the general election of 1917, and in part was a reply to an attack made by the hon. member for Durham, in a speech delivered at North Bay, upon the members of certain French religious orders and upon others whom he assailed for alleged lack of sacrifice. My references to the hon. member for Durham were merely to compare his sacrifices with those of the people whom he attacked during the general election. In Unrevised Hansard—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I regret to have to call the hon. member to order, but he is not within the rule at the present moment. It is, perhaps, not objectionable that a preliminary statement should be made, but the hon. member is, in effect, making a reply to a speech, whereas he should simply read any specific statement of which he complains and then make his denial with regard thereto.

Mr. MURPHY: I was just about to do that, but I did not think that either you, Sir,—with all respect—or the House would be fully seized of the denial unless I made that preliminary explanation.

Now, in Unrevised Hansard of September 17, at page 406, the hon. member for Durham is reported to have spoken as follows:

> It has been said in the press that I was in the House or at least in this building on the night in March, 1918, when the member for Russell made his attack.

"His attack," you will observe, Mr. Speaker—I have explained that my remarks were a reply to an attack. I have had to correct even a Toronto university professor for the misuse of that word.

> I think Le Devoir and some of the other papers reported that I was around the House that night but kept out of the Chamber. I regret to say I was at home in my bed that night under the doctor's orders. There is a custom which has become an honourable tradition of this House, that when one member desires to rise in his place and make an attack upon the position or character of another, he gives that hon. gentleman due notice. I received no notice. I was in the House in the afternoon, and notwithstanding my indisposition, if I had received any notice, I would have come back that night.

You will observe that the hon. gentleman admits that he was in the House in the afternoon of March 19, 1918. He was here when I rose to speak just before six o'clock, and when, through your courtesy, Sir, and the courtesy of the right hon.

Prime Minister, an adjournment was granted so that I should not be obliged to begin my speech until the House resumed for the evening session after eight o'clock. The hon. gentleman, therefore, knew that I had the floor, but he says that he was indisposed and did not come back that evening.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I regret again to have to call the hon. member to order, but he is still not within the rule, because he is making a statement which is in the nature of a reply to the remarks of the hon. member for Durham. If he wishes to deny any statement, he may do so; but he is not doing that.

Mr. MURPHY: I wish to deny that any advantage was taken of the hon. gentleman, either through his absence or through his illness. I cannot make my denial in a few words; I have to preface it with an explanation in order that I may make it clear to the House. I merely wish to add that the hon. gentleman was in his seat in the House the next day, but he did not rise to a question of privilege—

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member is really making a statement; he is not making a denial of a statement made by the hon. member for Durham. I must ask him to read any specific statements of which he complains, and then to make any denial that he wishes to make.

Mr. MURPHY: I have read the statement, Mr. Speaker, and I am endeavouring to make my denial. I regret that it may seem to exceed the rules applicable to the occasion; if I can make it any briefer, I will. I merely wish to say that the hon. gentleman was in his seat the next day in this House; that he did not rise to a question of privilege, but that he gave out an interview to the papers that evening. He was in his seat in this House the following day, and he did not rise to a question of privilege.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member is quite out of order in the proceeding which he is taking. I again must ask him to read any specific statement of which he complains and to make his denial with respect thereto. He is, in effect, making a speech in reply to certain allegations made by the hon. member for Durham, under the guise of a question of privilege, which certainly is not in order.

Mr. MURPHY: Well, I shall not pursue that further than to say that I have shown that the hon. gentleman was in or about this House on the 19th March, 1918, and many days afterwards—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member must be under a misapprehension as to the nature of his rights under a question of privilege. If he wishes to take exception to any statement which the member for Durham made, he may do so, and make his denial. Further than that he may not go.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: That is what he is doing.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. MURPHY: I am doing that, Mr. Speaker, and I am endeavouring to do it within the rules and with your concurrence. I merely wish to say that it is both childish and foolish for the hon. gentleman to formulate a charge against me, as he has done in the extract which I have read, based on his absence or illness when I spoke. The extract which I have read contains a further reflection upon me and a plea for sympathy on the ground that I did not give the hon. gentleman notice of what I intended to say. Whoever heard of any hon. member of this House ever giving any other hon. member notice of what he was going to say in the debate on the Address? You, Sir, know and every other hon. member knows that hon. members rise alternately on this side and on the other side of the House to speak in the debate on the Address—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. If the hon. member persists in taking the course he is taking, I shall have to ask him to desist. I must ask him to confine himself to the practice which has obtained in this House for the last fifty years. The hon. member is in fact making a reply to the speech of the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell) in the guise of a question of privilege, and that he may not do.

Mr. MURPHY: I have no intention of doing that, and on the point that I was discussing, I will merely say, in answer to the charge made against me, in the extract which I have read, that I was under no obligation to give notice to the hon. gentleman—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. MURPHY: —of what I was going to say.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member is not in order in making that statement on a question of privilege. It is open

for the hon. member only to deal with specific statement to which he intends to make a denial or to take exception.

Mr. MURPHY: On page 407 of Unrevised Hansard, the hon. member is thus reported:

I shall not attempt this afternoon to go through in detail the lengthy address of the hon. member for Russell but I shall take up the salient features of it and deal with them. Let me quote, Hansard 1918, page 40:

And then he quotes from my speech of the 9th of March, 1918, as follows:

Now, Sir, what happened when the hon. gentleman entered the provincial field of politics? With his usual presence of mind he arranged with his friends to form a committee for the purpose of raising a fund to guarantee him against any loss while engaged in his work as provincial leader. Mr. A. E. Ames, of Toronto, was chairman of the committee, and in addition to Sir Joseph Flavelle, the contributors included several other Toronto gentlemen. The fund itself was called the "Secretarial Fund" and I am informed that it varied in amount from $9,000 to $11,000 a year.

Not to burden Hansard with too many quotations, I will say that a further report of the speech shows that the hon. gentleman admitted that such a fund was raised for the first time after he became provincial leader, and then he put up a straw man for the purpose of knocking him down, and he attributed to me a desire to give the impression that the fund in question was paid to him as salary or as compensation for loss of time. I deny that I ever made any such statement. What I said I repeat, namely, that it was a fund raised for the purpose of guaranteeing the hon. gentleman against any loss while he was engaged in his work as provincial leader. I can make that clear by reading a couple of sentences from the hon. gentleman's speech and by quoting briefly from certain correspondence on this very subject.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member will not be in order in reading any correspondence at all. He must deal only with the specific statement to which he wishes to make a denial or take exception. He cannot establish any case or enter into any argument.

Mr. MURPHY: Then I shall merely read an extract from page 408 of Unrevised Hansard:

Let me say this in passing. If the hon. member for Russell was as conversant with the inside history of the provincial Liberal party as one would think he was from a perusal of his address, or as he professes to be, he should have known that the statements he made in the House were untrue.

An hon. member: He did know.

I should like to know who said that.

Mr. Rowell: An hon. gentleman says he did know—I cannot say as to that; but this I do know that he had scarcely made his statement in the House before he was told by letters of protest from Liberals in Ontario that they were untrue.

After I made that speech in the House, I received hundreds of letters, all of which approved what I said. In two of these letters, my attention was drawn to the fact that I was in error in saying that the hon. gentleman had been paid a salary. I at once corrected that misconception, and I proposed reading an extract from a letter I wrote to Mr. Bowman whom the hon. gentleman eulogized in his speech, but I understand from your ruling that I am precluded from doing that. Therefore, I shall merely say that the hon. gentleman's statement is untrue, and I stand by what I said on March 19, 1918. I am not in the habit of making here or elsewhere statements that are without foundation or that I cannot prove when called upon to do so. After having received further information on the subject, I wrote Mr. Bowman on the 31st of October, 1918, a second letter in which I elaborated the proofs as to the correctness of my statement, but again, Sir, I am precluded by your ruling from reading that. The hon. gentleman, I observe, admits that Mr. Ames was a contributor to the fund, but he denies that Sir Joseph Wesley Flavelle was a contributor, and he gives as a basis for his denial, and in order to formulate another charge against me this evidence, that Sir Joseph Flavelle was a Conservative. That is not evidence at all, because we all know that commercialized Christianity in pursuit of a common purpose——

Mr. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): It recognizes no party line.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I regret that the hon. member will persist in wandering far afield from his rights, even as liberally interpreted. There will be no question of privilege in respect to Sir Joseph Flavelle or any other gentleman. The hon. member may, if he wishes to do so, take exception to a specific statement made by an hon. member in this House.

Mr. MURPHY: I bow to your ruling, Sir, and I do not wish to assume even the appearance of being in conflict with your ruling, but it restricts me so much that I am precluded from making the specific denial that I wish to make. On page 409 of Unrevised Hansard of September 17, the

hon. gentleman referred to my charge that he had been engaged in a conspiracy to supplant Sir Wilfrid Laurier as leader of the Liberal party, and in order to hurl a charge of untruth and falsehood against me, he read this extract from a letter written to him by Sir Wilfrid Laurier after he had joined the Union Government:

I may frankly add that I have too much respect for your convictions to allow an action which I cannot approve to interfere with our old personal relations.

That does not alter what I said or in the slightest degree prove my statement untrue. That is precisely what Sir Wilfrid would have written.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member is proceeding to enter into argument again. He is not taking exception to or denying the truth of a specific statement. Except he does that, he has no right on a question of privilege.

Mr. MURPHY: I want to deny the statement made by the hon. member that my statement was untrue. I read this extract and purpose to make a comment upon it, and I would have concluded with the observation that the hon. gentleman got no letter from Sir Wilfrid after he spoke at North Bay and certainly he got no letter after I spoke on March 19, 1918.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member is not in order in making that statement.

Mr. MURPHY: I want to read a couple of sentences from page 411 of Unrevised Hansard and to make denial with regard to them. The hon. member said:

I had an opportunity of visiting the front in 1916; the member for Russell makes reference to that occasion. I am sorry that he did not have the opportunity of visiting the front;

And on that he bases a cheap sneer at me with reference to recruiting. I took every possible part in recruiting that those who claimed a monopoly of the war would allow me to take. The hon. gentleman omitted to tell you that in order to make that trip to the front, he received about $3,750 from a group of gentlemen in Toronto.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member is certainly not in order in making that statement.

Mr. MURPHY: I am just through. I merely wish to add that had I been a financial leech or a political parasite, I could have got to the front in the same way as the hon. gentleman did.

[Mr. Murphy.]

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. gentleman is out of order.

Mr. MURPHY: For the present it is evident to everybody that the rules of the House prevent me from saying any more. I can, however, assure you, Sir, and the members of this House that I will return to this subject at the next session of Parliament.

DR. GERVAIS ET AL.

QUESTION AS TO CLEMENCY ON SENTENCE OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. H. A. HOCKEN (Toronto West): I understood the Minister of Justice to say yesterday, in reply to a question asked by the hon. member for Victoria (Sir Sam Hughes), that no clemency had been shown by the Governor General in Council to three men convicted of murder at Prince Albert. I have a communication to-day which states that these three men have been reprieved. I should like to know from the Minister of Justice whether that is correct.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): The question asked was: Had any "clemency" been extended to these three men by the Governor in Council? The answer was "No," and that was absolutely exact. No clemency was extended by any body. The execution was postponed under an article in the Criminal Code which gives power to the judge to postpone the execution for reasons that are deemed to justify that action. In every capital case, no execution takes place until the case and the entire proceedings have been carefully examined and a report has been made to the Governor in Council, and the advice of Council tendered to the Governor as to what action should be taken. In this particular case, by reason of circumstances, it became impossible to have that procedure completed sufficiently early to allow of the Governor having an ordinarily reasonable time to consider the advice submitted to him, and by reason of that impossibility it was suggested to the judge that in order to allow the ordinary procedure to be effectively carried out he should postpone the execution of the sentence; but in that suggestion it was pointed out to the judge, and he was asked to make it clear, that the action suggested was attributable only to the cause I have mentioned, and did not imply any inclination or view at all upon the question whether clemency, which

would consist of commutation of the sentence, should or should not be granted.

TARIFF INVESTIGATION.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maisonneuve): Might I recall to the Government that last session when the Budget speech was being delivered by the then Minister of Finance, it was announced that a commission would be appointed this fall to make an investigation with a view to revising the tariff. Is it the intention of the Government to appoint that commission this fall, and if so, when?

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: My recollection of the statement made by the Minister of Finance is hardly the same as my hon. friend's. I do not think he promised that a commission would be created, but merely intimated that in accordance with the previous practice, certain members of the Government would visit different sections of the country.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That is what I meant.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The matter is now under consideration by the Government, and I cannot give any more definite reply at the present time.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: I think on Tuesday last the hon. member for Chambly and Vercheres (Mr. Archambault) made inquiry of the Government as to the constitution of the membership of the Industrial Conference which was in session last week, and whether the evidence taken by the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations in Canada, which was appointed earlier in the year, was to be printed. The Minister of Labour (Mr. Robertson) and his deputy were very busy with the conference last week and it was impossible for me to obtain the answer before Friday last, when, owing to an oversight, the answer to my hon. friend's question was not given to the House. There was not an opportunity for me to do so yesterday, so with the leave of the House I should like the question and answer to be incorporated in Hansard.

Questions by Mr. Archambault:

1. Why were the National Labour Unions of the Province of Quebec and the Circles Catholiques who represent a very large number of employees and who, according to the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations in Canada, are an important labour factor in the province, entirely ignored by the Minister of Labour in issuing invitations to the National Industrial Conference?

2. Why has the evidence taken before the Commission of Industrial Relations in Canada not been printed, and why is it not available for the instruction of the members of the National Industrial Conference, who have asked for it?

3. Is it the intention of the Government to have this evidence distributed before the end of the conference?

4. Is it the intention of the Government to have this evidence printed before any legislative action recommended by this conference is considered?

Answer:

1. In securing nomination of delegates to the Industrial Conference it was impossible to have regard to each isolated unit of labour organization, and nominations were therefore requested only from (a) the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, to which the great mass of local trades union branches are affiliated, and (b) Canadian Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1, as representing the Railroad Brotherhoods, these important organizations not being affiliated with the Trades and Labour Congress. National and Catholic unions are not, so far as has been learned, affiliated to any central body and it was not deemed practicable to request nominations. Returns collected by the Department of Labour show a trades union membership in Canada at the end of the calendar year 1918 of 248,887, including 2,787 members reported by the National and Catholic unions of the Province of Quebec.

2 and 3. The evidence taken before the Commission was undoubtedly of much value and deserved and received a careful scrutiny at the hands of the Commissioners before the latter made their reports. The evidence was of a voluminous character and would, if printed, occupy some thousands of pages. It has not been deemed in the public interest to incur the large expenditures which would be entailed in printing and distributing the same.

4. The matter will receive careful consideration.

PRIVILEGE—MR. CURRIE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JOHN A. CURRIE (North Simcoe): I desire to rise to a question of privilege. It is not very usual for me to reply to any remarks in any of the papers, but my attention has been called to a copy of the Globe of September 18, which contains the following paragraph:

Colonel Currie, M. P., declared that 4,000 returned soldiers were at Burwash prison farm. The actual number is about 25. The Colonel beats Falstaff's estimate of the number of men in buckram.

What I did say, as anybody can see by referring to Hansard was that I had been informed that 4,000 men "had been" sent to Burwash Farm, which is an altogether different thing. As this is not the first time the Globe has indulged in this form of misrepresentation and garbling of my remarks, I think it is time their attention

was called to it, and that they put a stop to it. The Toronto Star the next day follows in the same vein and enlarges on the Burwash statement. It says:

When Col. Currie Breaks Loose.

"Fifty per cent of the men who broke the Hindenburg line were conscripts," declared Col. John A. Currie, M.P., in his speech to the House. This is an extraordinary statement and one which the Canadian corps will justly resent.

My statement was very close to the truth. The Star goes on:

Col. Currie is also credited with having said that 4,000 returned soldiers were at Burwash prison farm. The actual number is about 25. Why does Col. Currie indulge in such wild exaggerations?

I might very well ask, why does the Star indulge in such wild exaggeration? I deny its statement which I have just quoted in toto. The Ottawa Citizen refers to the same speech of mine in an editorial in which it starts off with a statement that the Originals of the First Division did not approve of my stand on the question of the gratuity. I have this to say. I have a long telegram here——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. CURRIE: I am absolutely in order.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member is not in order. If he desires to take any exception to a statement which a newspaper makes with reference to some statement he has made in this House he may do so, but it is not in order for him to read any document in support of his denial.

Mr. CURRIE: I understand the rules of the House very well. I was not going to read the telegram. I was only going to say: "I hold a telegram in my hand." I will give the telegram to the press. It shows that the statement of The Citizen is absolutely false. The Originals Club of Toronto, which represents the Originals, did approve of my stand, and, as a matter of fact, asked me to take the stand I took. The Citizen, in the same editorial, goes on to refer to my service at the front, and to a recruiting speech I made in the city of Ottawa. I am only sorry that speech did not send Mr. Bowman, who is an Englishmen of military age, to the front.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member is exceeding his rights upon a question of privilege.

Mr. CURRIE: I will say this: The returned soldiers should know that the man who wrote that article and who writes other articles for The Citizen is Mr. Bowman, a slacker.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. member to bear in mind that we must be guided by the rules in this House. Hon. members should not take advantage of their rights.

MEMORIALS IN FRANCE AND FLANDERS TO CANADIAN SOLDIERS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Sir SAM HUGHES (Victoria): I shall try and set a good example, Mr. Speaker, in observing the rules of the House. In view of the fact that the Belgium Government some time ago presented a very suitable site at Ypres, and the French Government a suitable site at Vimy Ridge, for the erection of memorials to our Canadian boys who fought and have fallen in those places, I should like to ascertain from the Government—I do not want the answer to-day—what steps they are taking for the erection of these memorials, of whatever description they may be.

Major-General MEWBURN (Minister of Militia): I saw the article to which my hon. friend has reference, I think, in the paper some time ago. It was proposed that the Canadian Government should erect in Flanders memorials commemorating the various actions of the Canadian corps at the front. The matter was taken up by the Overseas Ministry and the High Commissioner, and an officer of the Canadian Engineers, Colonel Hughes, was delegated to look over some sites and try and locate suitable property. I do not think that Colonel Hughes is a relative of my hon. friend.

Sir SAM HUGHES: He is a good man all the same.

Major-General MEWBURN: He made a very exhaustive survey of the various grounds, the details of which I have not with me. Eight sites were to be selected on which it was proposed to erect memorials in commemoration of the various battles in which Canada took part and of the sacrifices she made. Memorials were contemplated to commemorate Vimy Ridge, the Somme, and other celebrated battles. A minor survey was made of these properties, and it was understood that the French and Belgian governments would convey them to the Canadian Government. Colonel Hughes is now in France endeavouring to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement with these respective governments in order that the particular sites that are finally selected

may be coveyed to Canada. A vote was passed in the House last year of five hundred thousand dollars for the purpose of building memorials. The matter is still under consideration and is by no means being overlooked. The first locations were not quite satisfactory and the high commissioner and the overseas minister are preparing a full report which will be forwarded.

BOARD OF COMMERCE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. DONALD SUTHERLAND (Oxford South): I desire to direct the attention of the leader of the Government and members of the Government to some statements which have appeared in the public press during the last few days and which are alleged to have been made by the vice-chairman of the Board of Commerce with regard to fixing the price of milk in Ontario. This is a matter of very great importance to the people of that province. I desire to observe the rules of the House, and I beg to direct the attention of the Government to the alleged ruling of the vice-chairman of the Board as appears in the press, some clippings of which I have in my hand.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not apprehend that the hon. member would have the right to make any statement on this matter on the Orders of the Day. If he desires to ask a question with respect to the Board of Commerce he may be in order; but the Board of Commerce has its powers defined under the statute and it is not competent for the Government to vary them.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I wish to ask a question with regard to the powers of the board and what effect this ruling, if the report is correct, will have. If after investigation, the board—having ruled that for forty days from the 14th of September there shall be no increase in the price of milk in Ontario—finds that such an increase is justifiable, will the Government reimburse the people who may suffer as a result of this ruling?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member has submitted his question, which I do not think should properly be put on the Orders of the Day. It should be placed on the Order Paper in the ordinary course.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: If I am not in order in calling the attention of the Government and of the House to this matter, then, Sir, I beg leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a matter of urgent public importance to the people of the province of Ontario.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member would not be in order unless he submitted this motion in writing, and then it would be a question for the chair to decide, after seeing the motion, whether it was in order or not. The hon. member and all hon. members must bear in mind that on the Orders of the Day there is no subject before the House, although the custom has grown, largely through the indulgence of the chair, of permitting certain questions to be put in respect of matters of very urgent public importance. Hon. members have their full opportunity of obtaining information by placing their questions on the Order Paper from day to day, but the indulgent concession has been made by the Chair enabling members to submit questions on the Orders of the Day where a delay of two or three days in securing a desired answer might possibly prejudice the public interest. Unless a question comes within such bounds, hon. members must observe the rules and place their questions upon the Order Paper.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Permit me to state, Mr. Speaker, that I have no intention whatever of violating the rules of the House, and my question was prompted altogether by reason of the fact that the matter involved is one of great public importance.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member has submitted his question to which the Chair has taken no exception, although expressing a doubt as to whether it is a question which ought properly to be submitted on the Orders of the Day. It is for the Government to answer or not as they see fit.

RUMOURED RESIGNATION OF CABINET MINISTERS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. E. B. DEVLIN (Wright): Mr. Speaker, may I ask the Government if the article appearing in to-day's Ottawa Journal, a newspaper which always supports the Government, is truthful when it makes the statement that two ministers of the Cabinet, notably the President of the Privy Council (Hon. Mr. Rowell) and the junior member for Halifax (Hon. A. K. Maclean) intend to resign before the end of the session?

Right Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): My hon. friend has put his question and I imagine that is all he expects to come of it. I am not in a

position to make a categorical answer to my hon. friend's interesting inquiry. The delights of anticipation are often sweeter than those of actual realization, and my hon. friend may enjoy the first if it will console him for a little while.

Mr. DEVLIN: I am thinking of the anxiety of the people.

THE PEACE TREATY.

BILL TO CARRY INTO EFFECT THE TREATY BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY AND CERTAIN OTHER POWERS.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved the second reading of Bill No. 3 for carrying into effect the Treaty of Peace between His Majesty and certain other Powers.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Explain.

Mr. DOHERTY: The Bill which is now before the House is very brief and clearly sets forth the purpose which it seeks to attain. This, together with the fact that the Bill has already received an explanation on its introduction and its first reading, and the further fact that we have had a somewhat prolonged and, I think, a very exhaustive debate upon the Treaty which is to be given effect to under the provisions of this Act, should make it unnecessary for me to speak at any length in moving the second reading of the Bill. In its terms, the Bill is similar to one which has been adopted in the British Parliament in order to attain so far as Britain is concerned, the same end. There it served the purpose which is not necessary here; it served as a means of expressing the approval of Parliament of the Treaty itself, that approval being inferred from the fact of its conferring upon the executive government the powers necessary to carry out the Treaty in all its provisions. This House has already expressed its approval, so that this Bill is to enable the Treaty to be carried out and give effect to its provisions. The Bill, in order to attain that end, proposes to confer upon the Governor in Council the power to make such appointments, establish such offices, make such Orders in Council, and do such things as appear to be necessary for carrying out the Treaty. That is the provision of subsection one of section one. Subsection two is merely a provision to enable such orders as may be made to be properly enforced, providing for the imposition of penalties in respect of breaches of its provisions.

The third paragraph provides merely for the expense to be incurred in carrying out the Treaty and which is to be defrayed by moneys provided by Parliament.

I think it may safely be said that the steps which it is proposed that the Governor in Council should have power to take in virtue of this Act are of an executive character or nature. The Treaty itself determines the rights and obligations of Canada, in common with those of the other parties to it. There remains, we having approved of the Treaty, to provide for the means of giving it effect, for the method in which the rights conferred are to be exercised, and likewise the method by which any obligations which may result from the Treaty and which call for action on the part of the executive government, may be given effect to and carried out. I think it is safe to say that the orders which will require to be made will not be, properly speaking, in the way of legislation. They certainly will not involve legislation of any permanent character, but it will be necessary to make provision from time to time for carrying out the different provisions connected with the Treaty. As giving an instance, one might refer to the economic provisions of the Treaty. I refer particularly to those provisions which confer upon Canada the right of liquidating property of German nationals situated in this country and of making provision for how the proceeds resulting from that liquidation are to be applied. It will be necessary no doubt to lay down regulations prescribing the mode of procedure in connection with that liquidation and the means to be taken for the disposal of such moneys as may result from it. We also have provisions in the Treaty in regard to the relations of debtor and creditor which may exist between nationals of the respective countries—the nationals of Canada on the one hand and the nationals of Germany upon the other. For the purpose of giving effect to the provisions it will also, in all probability, be necessary to make regulations prescribing just the particular manner in which they are to be carried out. That manner will differ accordingly as this country should decide to adopt the system which in the Treaty is described as the clearing house system, or should exercise its right of refraining from availing itself of this privilege. These I give only as instances, and I think that probably they are instances of the most important matters in regard to which it may be necessary to make orders in the nature of regulations.

I think that what I have said should serve to make clear what may be described

as the principle of the measure. What the House is asked to assent to, in so far as the principle involved is concerned, is the conferring upon the Governor in Council of the power to do those things which will be necessary to the execution of the Treaty. Having approved, as this House has unanimously approved of the Treaty itself, I should anticipate that there could be no very serious ground of objection to the power being conferred that is necessary in order to give effect to the Treaty. I would like to point out that there is no general power of legislation conferred. The powers to be exercised are strictly confined to the limits of the Treaty itself and to such regulations as may be necessary and will have to do with the enforcement of the rights of the kind that I have mentioned and with the performance of such duties resulting from the enforcement or execution of those rights as may result from the terms of the Treaty. I beg therefore to move that this Bill be now read the second time.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I would like to ask the hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) when the Government expects the Treaty to be concluded and peace fully established, or have they any information in regard to that?

Mr. DOHERTY: The Government is in receipt of a cablegram from the British Government acknowledging the receipt of information that this Parliament had approved of the Treaty, further informing us that New Zealand and South Africa have approved of the Treaty, and intimating that they are in the expectation of receiving from day to day advice that Australia has approved the Treaty. When that last is received His Majesty will then be in a position to take action to deposit the ratification of the Treaty. Under its terms the Treaty is to become effective when ratifications have been deposited on behalf of three of the great Powers as well as of Germany. Germany, I understand, has already ratified, or at all events decided to ratify. The British Empire, when the approval of Australia is received, will be in a position to deposit its ratifications. The Treaty, however, as I have said, will not become effective until two of the other great Powers join with Great Britain and deposit their ratifications.

Mr. DEVLIN: May I ask what truth there is in the report in the newspapers that South Africa, Australia and New Zealand have received a portion of the war indemnity and that Canada has not received anything?

Mr. DOHERTY: I am quite at a loss to conjecture how South Africa or New Zealand can as yet have received a part of the war indemnity which war indemnity has not yet been determined.

Mr. DEVLIN: The paper puts it on the ground of increased territory in each case.

Mr. DOHERTY: I do not think, in the first place, that it is quite correct to say that any of these Dominions have received an increase of territory, properly speaking. I understand that the conclusion had been arrived at that they should be designated as mandatories in regard to certain territories which had been formerly held by the German Empire. I am not aware that the terms and conditions of these respective mandates have as yet been settled, or that the mandates have been actually conferred or that they are actually in force. I am not saying that they are not but I am not aware that they have been completed. But I think I am correct in saying that it was not a question of adding territory properly speaking, to these different Dominions but it was a question of conferring upon them mandates in regard to certain territories which mandates would be subject to the conditions that may be prescribed when the mandate is so conferred.

Mr. FIELDING: The Minister of Justice has spoken of approval being given by Canada, South Africa and New Zealand, and that the approval of Australia is also expected. The minister, however, has not mentioned India. May I ask in what manner it is expected that India will give its approval?

Mr. DOHERTY: I am not sufficiently familiar with the system of administration in India to be able to give an answer to that question offhand. If hon. members desire to put these questions I am quite willing and happy to answer them, but may I suggest that perhaps it would be a little more regular if such questions were put in committee.

Mr. FIELDING: Perhaps so.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Might I ask if this Bill has been preceded by a resolution, because I notice in subsection 3 of section 1 that any expense incurred in carrying out the Treaty shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament?

Mr. DOHERTY: I think the provision in the Bill is quite clear. If any money is to be expended we shall have to come to Parliament for it.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: I wish to refer very briefly to the Bill but before doing so I would remind the Minister of Justice that according to a promise made by himself, and I think also by the Prime Minister, every member of the House has the opportunity to discuss any phase of the Treaty when considering this measure. The hon. gentleman may have forgotten that promise, but I wish to remind him of it so that any hon. gentleman who wishes to discuss the Treaty may, according to the promise made by the Government, avail himself of the privilege now.

When we were discussing the Treaty itself I pointed out to the Government that I did not think we had power on our own account to make a Treaty. This Treaty which has been consummated, and which we have discussed, is a Treaty between Great Britain and some other powers. It is perhaps not a treaty in which any body specifically undertakes to do anything for Great Britain, but it is an undertaking, or an arrangement by which Great Britain binds herself to do certain things, in which treaty foreign powers concur. It is therefore a mutual obligation and contract between two or more countries and is in the nature of a contract. or otherwise a treaty. Under the arrangement at the Peace Conference Great Britain has entered into the Treaty, and having done that I do not think that we, as a part of the Empire, have any power to enter into another or concurrent treaty, under the sections of the British North America Act which I quoted at the time we were debating the Treaty itself. Section 132 of the British North America Act reads:

> The Parliament and Government of Canada shall have all powers necessary or proper for performing the obligations of Canada, or any province thereof, as part of the British Empire towards foreign countries arising under treaties between the Empire and such foreign countries.

Now in respect to obligations in connection with the Treaty, arising by reason of any undertakings that Great Britain entered into and which require money to carry out, we have power to provide those moneys under the section I have quoted; but if we start out to make treaties ourselves then, as far as I can read the Act, we have no power to—at all events so far as the letter of the Constitution is concerned—supplement those obligations by money votes, or by providing for the expense of carrying out the provisions of a treaty which Canada itself has entered into. It is perfectly clear that we have power to furnish the money to carry out any obligations that fall upon this country as a whole, or any province of it, by reason of a treaty entered into by Great Britain; but I find no authority for providing money to carry out the terms of a treaty which we make ourselves separate and apart from the Mother Country. I simply point this out to the Minister of Justice as he may have some understanding, or explanation, from the constitutional standpoint to give as to why, or upon what principle, we depart from that section of the British North America Act.

Now we come back to the old difficulty of Orders in Council. I want again, Mr. Speaker, to register my protest against this country dealing with foreign countries by Orders in Council.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. McKENZIE: It is a loose and lax enough system that we should be dealing among ourselves, or dealing with our own people, by Orders in Council; but when we come to make regulations enabling the Government to enter into foreign relations with the United States, or with France, or Belgium, or any of the other kingdoms of the world, by Order in Council I think it is carrying that privilege much further than we should allow it to go. The Minister of Justice tells us that most of the matters for which we are to provide are set forth in the Treaty itself. If these matters are set forth in the Treaty in plain language there would appear to me to be no great difficulty in putting them into the form of a statute and giving power to the Government to carry them out if this House should so desire. But we are left in ignorance of what those things may be, and we are asked to vest in the Governor in Council such powers as may be necessary to make rules and regulations to carry out conditions as to which we are not informed. I am not quite sure that the Government itself fully appreciates the length to which it asks us to go. This Treaty requires us to join in war if it is necessary. Should the Council of the League of Nations decide that war should ensue then it would be the duty of Canada, as a nation so constituted under this Treaty, to participate in that war. That is one of the things to be done under the Treaty—take a part in world-wide wars. I am not saying that is wrong, perhaps it is not, but it is one of the undertakings to which we have obligated

ourselves. Now, does the Government say that the Governor in Council should get together and pass an Order in Council by which the military forces in Canada shall be called out and sent out of this country to fight wherever they may be called upon to go? It is certainly no strained construction upon this Act to say that that is possible. I submit, Sir, that very few members of this House, if any—in fact, I do not think any member will be found—who would agree to vest power in the Government, no matter how strong their faith in that Government might be, to pass an Order in Council by which such action would be carried out without reference to the people or reference to the will of Parliament at all.

Subsection 1 of the Bill says:

> The Governor in Council may make such appointments, establish such offices, make such Orders in Council, and do such things as appear to him to be necessary for carrying out the said Treaty, and for giving effect to any of the provisions of the said Treaty.

The Minister of Justice, who has had long experience on the bench, will surely agree that at least a liberal interpretation of the power conferred by this subsection is that it will enable the Governor in Council to make an Order sending the military forces of this country to war. If such an Order in Council were called into question as having no statutory basis, those supporting it would have good reason for saying that provision for such an Order in Council was made under this subsection.

When the Treaty was before Parliament, it was pointed out by the Minister of Justice, the President of the Council and others that under the Treaty, or by reason of our acceptance of it, none of the powers of the Parliament of Canada would be in any way interfered with or impaired. The member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) submitted an amendment the purpose of which was simply to make it plain and clear that Canada's position with regard to the settling of questions concerning war was to be the same after the acceptance of the Treaty as it was before the Treaty was signed. That amendment, supported by hon. members on this side, was turned down by the Government and its supporters, the assurance being given that our powers would be just as they were before this Treaty received the approval of the House. If that be the case, is not my contention strengthened that whatever we do in the way of implementing this Treaty should be clearly set forth in an Act of Parliament; that we should not be left to conjecture as to what an Order in Council may be? Particularly is this necessary when we are dealing with such a vital question as that of whether Canada as a nation should enter into a conflict with any other nation of the world. We should not be asked to give these extensive and practically limitless powers to the Governor in Council. I may be told that we cannot put these details into a statute. But many Acts of Parliament go into details. Take, for instance, the Grain Act, with which the Minister of Trade and Commerce is very familiar. That Act sets forth minutely every detail of the operations of that department; it leaves little or nothing to be dealt with by Order in Council. If that procedure was necessary in that case; if similar procedure was necessary in the many other cases which I could mention, it is even more necessary in connection with the establishment of means of communication between ourselves and the outside world. Nothing should be left to conjecture; the powers conferred upon the Government or upon any agency which may be established under this Act should be put in the form of a statute.

I see that this Act provides for the imposition of penalties. I do not quite understand the purpose of that provision. Certainly we cannot impose penalties upon any person outside of our own country who may fall short of the terms of this Treaty. Possibly it has in contemplation the doing of something in violation of the Treaty by one of our own citizens. However, I assume that when we get into committee these things will be more fully explained. But I repeat that the House should consider seriously whether it is not better that we should legislate with regard to these questions rather than leave them to the judgment of the Governor in Council.

Mr. E. B. DEVLIN (Wright): Mr. Speaker, before the principle of this Bill is consecrated, I should like to express my approval of the position taken by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie). It is unfortunate that under the rules the House must resolve itself into committee after the second reading, not after the first reading, of a Bill, because when a vote, if any, is taken upon the second reading of a Bill, then the principle is consecrated.

To certain subsections of the only two sections in this Bill I wish to take very strong objection. So far as I can see, the only purpose of the introduction of the Bill is to continue a system which has become very unpopular in this country, the

system of Government by Orders in Council. We on this side of the House, believing that we were acting in the best interests of the people, assented in the early days of the war to the War Measures Act, an Act which gave the Government power to legislate between parliamentary sessions upon all matters which required to be dealt with before the following session. The Government passed Orders in Council relating to everything which, in their judgment, the War Measures Act gave them power to deal with in that way, and for some years, we had in this country what was known as Government by Order in Council.

The preamble of this Bill, which is entitled "An Act for carrying into effect the Treaty of Peace between His Majesty and certain other Powers," has two divisions. The first sets forth that the Peace Treaty was signed and given effect to by the plenipotentiaries therein named—and these plenipotentiaries were named by an Order in Council.

The second portion relates to the expediency to do certain things proper and expedient for giving effect to this Treaty, those things being:

> The Governor in Council may make such appointments, establish such offices, make such Order in Council, and do such things as appear to Him to be necessary for carrying out the said Treaty, and for giving effect to any of the provisions of the said Treaty.

The objection I take to this is that, without knowing what the Government may do, we are asked to give them a blank cheque to establish offices wherever they may desire, to make appointments in Europe or in this country without the people knowing beforehand anything about them, and to make such Orders in Council and, besides that, do such things as appear to the Cabinet, because the Governor in Council is the Cabinet, to be necessary for carrying out the said Treaty and giving effect to its provisions. The second subsection reads:

> Any Order in Council made under this Act may provide for the imposition by summary process or otherwise of penalties in respect of breaches of the provisions thereof, and shall be laid before Parliament as soon as may be after it is made, and shall have effect as if enacted in this Act, but may be varied or revoked by a subsequent Order in Council.

That savours too much of the history that we have gone through during the last few years. We have had instance after instance in the operation of the Military Service Act of young men by Order in Council being brought from one province before a military tribunal sitting in another province, of the courts of this land not having been respected, of habeas corpus having been suspended, all by Order in Council. We have had cases where ministers of the Cabinet, and notably the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell), have stated to their electors that all boys who were required at home need not enlist, afterwards stating that if the tribunals conscripted them, they, the Government, would see that the judgment of those tribunals would be set aside, and that if the tribunals did not conscript sufficient, they, the Government, would see that the judgment of the tribunals would be set aside. This country has for some years been practically in a state of anarchy, and by consecrating again this similar provision in this Bill, we give to the Government a blank cheque by which they may repeat the actions which have transpired in this country during the last three or four years. Therefore, as this is my only possible means of protesting against government by Order in Council, I want to do so most emphatically now. The time has come in this country when a democratic form of Government should be renewed. There is amongst the civilian population of Canada enough trouble now that we should revert to the old system of Government for the people and by the people, and cease government by Order in Council.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the second time, and the House went into Committee thereon; Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—Governor in Council to carry out provisions of treaty:

Mr. LEMIEUX: Was Sir Herbert Ames appointed by the Government, and what is the nature of his functions?

Mr. DOHERTY: Sir Herbert Ames was not appointed by this Government. The office which has been offered to Sir Herbert Ames is an office in connection with the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

Mr. JACOBS: To which we are a party.

Mr. DOHERTY: To which we are a party. The appointment is made by the secretariat which I might describe as being the bureau or office of the organized body known as the League of Nations.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Who pays his salary?

Mr. DOHERTY: The salary will be paid by the League of Nations.

Mr. FIELDING: To which we shall contribute as a member.

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What share?

Mr. DOHERTY: I think that the provision in the League of Nations is that, in any contribution to the expenses of the League generally, the apportionment shall follow the rules laid down, if I remember rightly, for expenses in connection with the general postal convention.

Mr. FIELDING: The hon. gentleman says that Sir Herbert Ames is to be appointed by the League of Nations. Of course, the League is not yet organized. I suppose this means that Sir Eric Drummond had the power to appoint him and that he appointed him.

Mr. DOHERTY: I understand Sir Eric Drummond is forming an organization. Of course, it is strictly speaking premature, because the League of Nations not having been constituted and got together, no one can make an appointment to the Secretariat of the League; but it was thought wise that an organization should be formed in advance; that a deal should be come to by those immediately interested as to the project of the organization of the Secretariat. When the League of Nations gets together all that will fall to the ground unless the League adopts it and is satisfied with it. This is all in the nature of project at the present time. Nobody can at the present moment undertake to pay Sir Herbert Ames a salary on behalf of the League of Nations. But a plan is being formulated and, with a view to carrying out that plan, I understand different officers have been suggested. The only one who is designated in the League is Sir Eric Drummond, and I understand his appointment will not become effectual until the treaties have been ratified and the League of Nations actually constituted. What has been done is in advance and with a view, when the League of Nations, which we hope will come into existence, comes together; that it may have at its disposal to adopt or to reject, as it thinks proper, an instrument by which its business affairs, if I may use that expression, may be administered.

Mr. FIELDING: I think Sir Eric Drummond has the power to appoint assistants in the Secretariat. He is designated in the Treaty, and I take it for granted that Sir Herbert Ames was appointed by Sir Eric Drummond, who is the only authority that could appoint him. I do not think there is any doubt he has that power.

Mr. DOHERTY: He will have that authority when the Treaty is ratified. In the meantime he is acting in advance on the authority that the Covenant proposes to give him, but, of course, the Covenant, like all the rest of the Treaty is subject to ratification. I think, however, he is safe in taking for granted that that will be done.

Mr. JACOBS: Would the holding of this new position to which Sir Herbert Ames has been appointed, and in respect of which this country is going to contribute a portion of his salary not be incompatible, under the Independence of Parliament Act, with his remaining a member of this Parliament? Does Sir Herbert Ames intend to occupy both positions—Secretary of the League and a member of the Parliament of Canada?

Mr. DOHERTY: As to what his intentions may ultimately be I am not in a position to speak, but if my hon. friend will refer to the Independence of Parliament Act I think he will find it refers to offices to which some emolument derived from the Crown is attached. I think it would be very difficult to say that a salary derived from a body such as the League of Nations, merely because of the fact that Canada may be a member of the League and as a member be assessable for the provision of a portion of the general expenses, would bring Sir Herbert Ames within the terms of the Independence of Parliament Act. However, that is a question which it will be for him to consider in the first instance, and for this House to consider if it should be properly raised. At the present time I am not quite certain that the office has been officially accepted by Sir Herbert Ames, or that he is therefore actually in office. As I pointed out a few moments ago I do not think he can possibly be in office as an officer of the League of Nations until the League of Nations has been formed, which will only be when the Treaty has been ratified by a sufficient number of the parties interested.

Mr. JACOBS: I understand that he has already sailed to assume his new duties. The press has given that information to the public.

Mr. DOHERTY: Sir Herbert Ames has sailed, I understand, for the purpose of looking into the whole matter; and it is not at all impossible that he will assume the performance of the duties; but surely the hon. gentleman understands that there cannot arise a contractual relationship between him and the League of Nations until

the League of Nations has come into existence. What is being done at the present time is purely provisional or preliminary. Sir Eric Drummond, very much interested I have no doubt in having a proper organization of his secretariat ready as soon as the League comes into existence and is in a position to act, is taking time by the forelock and providing that organization now. If the Treaty should not be ratified and the whole thing falls through, neither he nor Sir Herbert Ames nor any other person will have come into any contractual relationship with the League of Nations.

Mr. JACOBS: Has Sir Herbert Ames' salary been discussed, and if so, is the minister in a position to tell us what his salary will be?

Mr. DOHERTY: That is a matter for determination by the League itself when it will be constituted. What salary Sir Eric Drummond may recommend, I am not in a position to state.

Mr. FIELDING: It would be reasonable to suppose that the matter has been the subject of communication with Sir Eric, and that Sir Herbert Ames has been nominated by the Canadian Government.

Mr. DOHERTY: Not by the Canadian Government. The Canadian Government, as the Canadian Government, has nothing to do with the appointment.

Mr. FIELDING: Or any minister of the Government?

Mr. DOHERTY: I am not aware of the matter having been referred in any way to the Government as a Government. If Sir Eric Drummond thought it desirable and that it would perhaps be showing some consideration to Canada to select a Canadian, I should think it would be a very natural thing for him to consult such Canadians as he came in contact with. I am not saying that he has not done so, but certainly he did not consult with me.

Mr. FIELDING: If my hon. friend is not aware that the Government has been consulted, he is not a careful reader of the public press, because it has been announced that Sir Herbert Ames has been named for that position by the Prime Minister of Canada. I am not finding fault with that, but when my hon. friend says that the Canadian Government had nothing to do with the appointment, I have a little difficulty in understanding that.

[Mr. Doherty.]

Mr. DOHERTY: I cannot undertake to be responsible for what is stated in the newspapers.

Mr. FIELDING: If my hon. friend says that it is not correct, and that the Prime Minister has nothing to do with it, I accept his statement. I do not think it would be unreasonable that the Prime Minister of Canada should have something to do with it in the circumstances. I think my hon. friend must be mistaken when he says the Canadian Government have nothing to do with it.

Mr. DOHERTY: I have no knowledge—let us limit it to that—of any action on the part of the Canadian Government in connection with the matter. I am not in a position to say whether or not any consultation with regard to Sir Herbert Ames' qualifications or otherwise was had with the Prime Minister. I am not in a position to say yes or no. I am not saying I do not know not because I think there would be anything improper in such consultation, but simply because I do not know.

Mr. JACOBS: Perhaps it would be fair to assume that Sir Herbert Ames' fame preceded him and that it was not necessary to have any recommendation from any member of the Government.

Mr. DOHERTY: That is not impossible.

Mr. MURPHY: Does this preliminary organization of which the minister has spoken include representatives of each of the nations affected?

Mr. DOHERTY: I do not think the matter is dealt with at all in that aspect. To put it very simply, without any desire to depreciate in any way, it is a matter of employing officials or clerks. Their functions are higher than those of clerks, but these officers are simply the officials who are going to look after the work of the organization. They are not going to deal with international questions, or anything of that sort. It is very much the same organization as the Clerk and the other officials of this House, for instance. The people who form part of the secretariat will not take part in the deliberations of the Conference or of the Council. They are—I do not think it is a term that ought to be considered offensive at all—purely and simply the servants of the organization to look after the details of carrying on the office work that will require to be done in connection with the League of Nations.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I quite agree with my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) that a recommendation has been made to Sir Eric Drummond by the Prime Minister of a Canadian official such as Sir Herbert Ames. That was openly stated when Sir Robert came back from the Conference.

Mr. DOHERTY: He certainly is not a Canadian officer. I know that from conversation with Sir Herbert Ames himself. It was pointed out to him that the official must realize that he is becoming the official of all the nations of the world, and that he is no national representative.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I am not disputing that. I just wanted to emphasize that it would be nearer the truth to say that the Prime Minister did make a recommendation of Sir Herbert Ames. Sir Herbert Ames has been selected to be Assistant Secretary to Sir Eric Drummond because the two languages to be used in connection with the League of Nations, as was the case in the deliberations on the Treaty of Peace, will be French and English; and it is to the credit of this country that there was found in the Parliament of Canada a gentleman who was sufficiently proficient in both French and English to be appointed to this office. It is a great compliment, and at the same time a great lesson.

Mr. FIELDING: I agree with my hon. friend from Wright (Mr. Devlin) that we are signing a blank cheque, and a very large one, in giving the Government these vague and, possibly, very large powers. The minister might help us a little by giving us some idea of what is likely to happen under these powers. "The Governor in Council may make such appointments, establish such offices, make such Orders in Council, and do such things as are necessary." What appointments are likely to arise? I quite agree that the minister cannot be very definite. We have to deal with things in the future as they arise, but probably the Government have some inkling of what appointments and offices are contemplated under that clause.

Mr. DOHERTY: I shall be glad to give the hon. member information in regard to that point. First, in reference to some things said by the leader of the Opposition. He need not have any anxiety that we shall read this provision as conferring on us authority to go to war. I think we made pretty clear what was our conception of the obligations under the League in that respect, and that when it comes to actually going to war there is nothing in the Treaty that enables any one to impose that obligation upon us, and therefore there would be no question, in carrying out the Treaty, of our undertaking to go to war.

Mr. MURPHY: Does the minister now assure the leader of the Opposition that this measure does not confer a power to send troops out of Canada by Order in Council?

Mr. DOHERTY: I have not the slightest suspicion that there is such power conferred. If I thought that any such power was implied I would happily consent to insert a clause to negative such an interpretation. Every one may rest comfortably in that regard. The leader of the Opposition referred also to section 132 of the British North America Act as demonstrating that Great Britain had made this Treaty and that we were bound by it because of that fact. I may repeat, what we have contended from the outset, that Canada did not make a treaty separating herself from the entire British Empire, but that the British Empire did; and in order that the Empire, being a partnership composed of nations, as Lord Milner expressed it, of equal status though not of equal power, should make a treaty it was necessary that all partners should join. When the hon. gentleman refers to section 132 of the British North America Act as demonstrating the fact that Great Britain makes treaties by which we are bound, he is singularly unfortunate, because section 132 does not suggest that Great Britain makes a treaty at all, but refers to the obligations of Canada as part of the British Empire under treaties made by the Empire. This is a treaty made by the British Empire, and it is because Canada is one of the Empire's component nations that it is necessary, in order that there may be a complete participation by the Empire, that this nation as well as the United Kingdom should take part in the matter. The leader of the Opposition further spoke about our making regulations to govern our foreign relations. Let me say that everything intended to govern our foreign relations is in the Treaty, but it becomes necessary to do certain things to give effect to the stipulations of the Treaty and to carry them out. The Treaty is not a law in Canada. It is a contract whereby Canada has stipulated for the right to do certain things and has undertaken to do them. Canada desires to proceed with these things,

and by this Act she in effect says: We give a mandate to the Government of the Dominion for the time being to do the things that will be necessary to give effect to these provisions which settle absolutely once and for all what are our relations with these foreign countries.

The great bulk of what we anticipate will be necessary under this Act consists of operations to be carried on exclusively in this country. To give some examples: As I mentioned in moving the second reading, we have the right to liquidate the property of German nationals in Canada, and to dispose of the proceeds of that liquidation in certain specified ways. One of the first things which we become entitled to do is to employ the proceeds of the liquidation, the realization of the assets, in the payment of claims of our own nationals within this country against German nationals. To carry that out we shall have to provide a method of liquidation and make some regulations with regard to the manner in which the liquidation is to be accomplished. Naturally, therefore we shall have to appoint liquidators, or whatever they may be called, charged with the function of carrying out these operations in the process of realizing these assets. No doubt we shall receive claims due to nationals of our own by German nationals. Somebody may have to be employed to look after the receiving of those claims, and to verify the claims that may be put forward by our own nationals who claim to be creditors of German nationals. All this requires the appointment of officers of some kind. Should we determine on the adoption of what is called the clearing house scheme, we would then have to establish clearing houses, and naturally we would have to provide for some one to direct and manage them. That is the class of work we have in mind, and I think it will be realized how difficult it would be to anticipate at this moment every detail that would have to go into a law providing for the carrying on of such operations. I believe it will certainly be found much more convenient that these regulations should be such as experience in carrying out all the different operations may show to be necessary to afford the most effective way of meeting the situations that will arise. All these regulations, whatever they may be, will be exhausted as soon as effect has been given to the provisions of the Treaty, and is it desirable, in view of this fact, to put upon our statute book a number of permanent laws to deal with this purely transitory situation, which after all, is concerned with measures purely executive under the provisions of the Treaty, which are the provisions that determine such rights as may be in question in the matter. In their very nature these regulations can have nothing, or very little at all events, to do with our own citizens. They are not matters governing our own country. So far as my own foresight goes, the principal subject matter will be this of dealing with properties and rights and interests of German nationals in this country, liquidating them and providing for their proper distribution under the provisions of the Treaty. It is not at all a matter that effects the government of the people of this country. My hon. friend from Wright (Mr. Devlin) expressed a great deal of apprehension and seemed to have been very unfavourably impressed by the result of the operation of the War Measures Act. I do not purpose to discuss this matter with him, but I may call his attention to the absolute and entire difference between what is proposed here and what wisely or unwisely was proposed under the other measure. Wisely or unwisely—the House, of that day unanimously thought it wisely—Parliament conferred upon the Government practically the entire legislative power of the Parliament of Canada in so far as the exercise of that power might be made necessary or advisable by reason of the existence of war. At the time that I proposed it in this House I recognized myself frankly that it was a most extremely wide mandate and I told the House at the time that we were not asking for it, that it was a very heavy burden of responsibility for us, and the House agreed it was necessary it should be laid upon our shoulders. But here is your statute; here is your substantial law as contained in the Treaty. It is a pure matter of making such regulations as may make it possible to execute the provisions of the Treaty just as in innumerable cases, when this House passes a statute with a clause for the carrying on of the administration, providing the Governor in Council may make regulations to give effect to that statute. We are kept just as absolutely within the limits of the Treaty as we are in a case of the kind which I have just mentioned. The Governor in Council is kept within the limits of the statute for the giving effect to which he is empowered to make regulations.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What about the penalty?

Mr. DOHERTY: In realizing on the property of German nationals in this coun-

try it is not impossible that we will have efforts and attempts to evade the exercise of our rights, and it may become necessary to make regulations in that regard which would impose penalties for violations of the regulations. The power of imposing penalties, it was thought, ought to be specifically granted because it is a power which ordinarily and generally speaking ought to be exercised by Parliament. At all events it is well to make it perfectly clear that the Government not only have power to make regulations but to enforce them by penalties if it becomes necessary.

Mr. FIELDING: Might I remind my hon. friend of the question that I put regarding the probable appointment of officials which he has overlooked? By this Order in Council you are taking power to appoint officials. I would ask the hon. gentleman to indicate what officials are to be appointed in so far as he can do so now. He did mention as amongst the classes of officials to be appointed that there would be legal advisers and officials of that kind.

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, legal advisers, sequestrators, liquidators and people who could carry out the liquidation of these properties and who would manage a clearing house if we should determine to adopt the clearing house system.

Mr. FIELDING: Are there any officials other than that class contemplated by this Bill?

Mr. DOHERTY: I have no other in my own mind.

Mr. FIELDING: Is Canada to be represented in the League of Nations?

Mr. DOHERTY: I would not consider that the appointment of the representative of Canada in the League of Nations would be the making of an appointment for the purpose of giving effect to the Treaty. That is one of the rights which will enure to Canada after full effect has been given to the Treaty. One of the effects of the Treaty will be the right of Canada to appoint a representative, and it will be time enough then, I think, for us to determine what the class of representative shall be. I confess that it had not occurred to me in connection with the Bill that what was in mind was the appointment of persons to represent Canada at the gathering of the League of Nations. As regards our rights in connection with the League of Nations, the Treaty produces its full effect when it has assured to us those rights. The appointment of a representative would rather seem to be something done in the exercise of the right than something done in order to give effect to the Treaty. I confess, and I think I can safely speak for the Government, that we had not in contemplation the appointment of a Canadian representative to take part in the Assembly of the League of Nations when using the word " appointment." These appointments are for such work as is necessary to make this Treaty effective. As regards the League of Nations, I understand it is made perfectly effective. I do not see that anything further requires to be done to assure us of our rights in connection with the League of Nations. These rights once assured to us, it is our privilege to exercise them in our own behalf.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The Prime Minister of Canada, being the head of the Department of External Affairs, would he not likely be the one who would represent Canada at the League of Nations?

Mr. DOHERTY: The question whether the representatives should not be settled in the Covenant itself on some basis of that kind did receive consideration. At one time that idea prevailed and in the original draft provision was made that the Ministers of Foreign Affairs—which in our case I have no doubt would be the Secretary of State for External Affairs—should, by the Covenant itself, be determined upon as being the proper persons to represent their respective countries either in the Council or in the Assembly of the League of Nations. But after discussion the provision was left as it is now in the Treaty for determining the right to representation, leaving to the respective members the privilege of determining in the manner they thought best who should represent them in the Council and in the Assembly.

Mr. FIELDING: I must not dare to express any legal opinion contrary to that of the Minister of Justice, and anything I say is submitted for his consideration. I do not think that the Treaty or the Covenant of the League of Nations—either or both—will give the Government of Canada the power to appoint anybody to anything. Therefore, I think any appointment that may be made of a representative at the Assembly of the League of Nations would have to be made under this Bill, because, except under this Bill, His Excellency the Governor General would have no power to appoint anybody. I am offering this suggestion in order that the hon. gentleman may think it over. Either the ap-

pointment would have to be made under this Bill or not at all.

Mr. DOHERTY: I will certainly give consideration to that. In the event of there being an Assembly of the League of Nations called before we have an opportunity to have another session of Parliament, it undoubtedly would be desirable that there should be power somewhere to appoint a representative. I am not prepared to say that it is not desirable to make it possible under this Bill to make such an appointment. But speaking quite frankly, I had not in my mind at the time the idea of the appointment of officials to exercise on Canada's behalf the rights secured to her by the Treaty itself. What was in contemplation was the appointment of officials to do those things which might be necessary to make this Treaty effective; that is to say, to secure to us all the rights we have under it and to carry out anything we are called upon to carry out. I will look into this question. As my attention is called to it, I might say that I do not see that there ought to be any very serious objection to the suggestion, even giving to the word "appointment" an interpretation which would cover a representative of the kind mentioned. Undoubtedly this country ought to be represented, and if the call came at any time hereafter, or at any time when it was not possible to proceed otherwise, the only body that properly ought to exercise that power would be the Government of the day.

Mr. FIELDING: Instead of a representative of Canada being appointed on the League of Nations from time to time, is it not possible, that a permanent appointment may be made? The remarks of the hon. gentleman are rather suggestive of that. When the assembly is called, if it be called, then of course Canada would have the right to make an appointment. Looking into the whole situation it strikes me that what will probably happen is that some gentleman chosen by the Government of Canada will be designated to be its representative, and so long as he holds office, I presume during pleasure, he will be the permanent representative of Canada on the League of Nations. It looks to me as if that is contemplated.

Mr. DOHERTY: I do not think that the Covenant, or the officers of the League, contemplated constituting a body composed of persons permanently appointed. I do not want to speak too positively about that but I think I am fairly sure that the Covenant itself makes no provision for the same individual continuing for any period of time to be the representative of any particular country—I think I am safe in saying that there is no provision of that kind in the Covenant. I think much would depend upon the frequency of the meetings that might be called as to the desirability, or otherwise, of the same gentleman being the representative of a country during a period of time, or a period of time that might cover a great many meetings. I must confess that I had not given thought to the question of whether it would be more desirable to appoint a man to be the representative of Canada for, say, ten years or to appoint a representative according to circumstances. I think it would be well to consider that meetings will be called under different circumstances when different classes of questions are going to arise; and the man that might be most suitable to represent a country and discuss certain classes of questions might not perhaps be the very best man to represent that country in the case of other classes of questions. The impression I had in my own mind was that each country would, at all events, be free to select a different representative on the occasion of each meeting as it is called and—though the question never came to my own mind; I cannot say I recollect having looked at the Treaty from the point of view of ascertaining that—I think I can speak with fair assurance when I say that there is no provision in the Covenant that would limit each of the countries concerned as to the manner of its choice of a representative or as to the period of time during which the particular individual should continue to be the representative. It would seem to me to be only reasonable, however, that each country should be free to change its agent according as it thought proper.

Mr. LEMIEUX: In the case of Sir Herbert Ames, if his appointment should be permanent and confirmed by the League I would understand that his salary would be paid from a fund assessed upon all the countries forming part of the League; but in the case of the special representative, say of Canada, or of Australia, or of New Zealand, has it been decided whether the salary paid to such representative shall be paid out of a common fund assessed by the League upon all countries interested, or paid by the particular country for whom the representative acts?

Mr. DOHERTY: There is a clause providing that each country shall pay the cost of its own representation. The expenses

that are to be paid, as I mentioned a few moments ago—distributed or apportioned on lines similar to those of the International Postal Union—are the expenses of carrying on or of running the machine, if I might use the expression—

Mr. FIELDING: Office expenses practically.

Mr. DOHERTY: —but I cannot lay my hand on the precise article at the moment. There is a provision, I think, which expressly states that the respective countries are to meet the expenses of their representatives, but at all events provision as to the expenses of the League is to be found in Article VI:

> The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

Mr. FIELDING: I quite agree with the minister that it is not necessary—perhaps it is not possible—at present to reach conclusions as to the manner in which Canada would be represented, but it seems to me what is likely to happen is this: If the League of Nations goes into effect, as we all hope and believe it will, should any trouble arise in which a meeting of the League is required the notice will be a short one. When war is at the door you cannot wait for formal proceedings. I have no doubt at all in the case of the Great War the British Government would have preferred if they had had an opportunity of getting the advice and concurrence of the Parliament of Canada before they gave the declaration of war; but with the Hun at the gate they could not do it and they had to go on. So it may be in the case of the League of Nations. Things will press; and if for example the hon. gentleman himself were chosen as Canada's representative in the League of Nations and a sudden call were to come requiring his presence at Geneva when there were urgent duties to be performed here he might find the situation very embarrassing. It seems to me that in order to have prompt action what is most likely to happen—it is only guesswork on my part as to the future—will be that when the League of Nations gets in full working order somebody representing Canada will have to be available at any moment and that might mean a permanent appointment—permanent only in the sense that he can only hold his office so long as he has the support of the Government of Canada behind him. I think that is the way it will work out, but I quite agree with the minister the matter is one we will have to leave to the future.

Mr. JACOBS: Aeroplanes will be in general use by that time.

Mr. FIELDING: No doubt.

Mr. McKENZIE: I ventured in a most humble way to express an opinion upon the proper construction of section 132 and the Minister of Justice says that my views do not concur with those of Lord Milner. Now I thought that the people of Canada sent us here to exercise some judgment and discretion of our own and that we are here, upon the supposition at all events, that we shall use whatever judgment the Lord has endowed us with; but we are told to-day that unless that judgment corresponds with the view of Lord Milner it is to be wiped off the slate at once and it is unfortunate to express such views. The Minister of Justice without answering my argument at all said that my views were most unfortunate. Well, the minister did not tell us in what way they were most unfortunate.

Mr. DOHERTY: In respect of the statute that you read in support of your view; that is the unfortunate circumstance.

Mr. McKENZIE: Unfortunately for us in this country we have to read a statute and give it the best interpretation we can; we have not got a vest pocket edition of Lord Milner—

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: And we do not want it either.

Mr. McKENZIE: —to give us the interpretation of these statutes. The courts of this country have managed to struggle along for the last hundred years without Lord Milner at their elbow, and I am not aware that when the British North America Act was drafted by the Fathers of Confederation, with such legal advice as they could get, Lord Milner was around.

But now we have found a new constitutional confession of faith, which has its beginning and end, its interpretation, application and execution, in Lord Milner. If we do not comply with him, of course everything is out of joint.

Mr. DOHERTY: Having discovered this new confession of faith, its beginning and ending, and so on, does my hon. friend intend to apply for a patent for it? It is his own original discovery.

Mr. McKENZIE: I am pleased to find that there is something yet to be discovered

which is not owned and controlled by this Government. I had thought that there was nothing in sight that was not controlled by the Government, chiefly by Order in Council; I feel very much elated that there is anything left for me to discover.

Many of our good friends in this country seem to be very much interested in the fate of the beloved green island beyond the seas in connection with the troubles that are abroad there just now. The plenipotentiary from Canada should have some slight reminiscences in that regard, but his entire neglect to do anything in that behalf is now to be attributed to the leadership and control of Lord Milner over the proceedings of our plenipotentiaries, including the Minister of Justice. There is the explanation: Lord Milner would not permit him to say anything except what suited him. Let me assure the minister that I speak as a Canadian and for myself absolutely—and let Lord Milner mind his own business. For my part I propose to consult my people and my country, not Lord Milner and those who are trying to bring us under their wing and influence, and to break down the constitutional rights of this country. There is where I stand on Lord Milner.

Mr. DOHERTY: Please do not "sit" on him.

Mr. McKENZIE: Section 132 of the British North America Act has been receiving interpretations in this country for nearly fifty years, and we must read the section in the light of that interpretation. This new status which we are supposed to have acquired is something that has developed within the last few years. How it developed we do not know. There was no amendment of the British North America Act; there was no different interpretation by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of our rights under it. There was nothing to bring it about, unless it was this happy meeting between the Minister of Justice and Lord Milner. Possibly that was the beginning of those new conditions under which we are not to be governed by what is done by the King. If any member of this House says that a treaty made by the King is binding on us in Canada, he is held up to ridicule; his construction is held to be a most unfortunate one. But it is absolutely within the power of the King in Council or of the King by himself to make a treaty which is binding upon the whole Empire, and we, as a part of that Empire, are bound by its terms, unless it is provided in the treaty that there is no constitutional obligation on us, or that so far as we are concerned the treaty involves simply a matter of policy on the part of the King and his Council.

The President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) took me very severely to task the other day because I was so exceedingly dull that I could not see the difference between constitutional right and legal constitutional right. Well, if I am still called upon to make such a nice distinction as that, I am still dull and stupid. As I understand it, every constitutional right which is binding and upon which we can base any structure, must be a legal constitutional right. For nearly fifty years it was thought in England that it was the legal right of the House of Commons only to deal with money Bills; that the House of Lords had nothing to do with them. But it was not a legal right which the House of Commons had been exercising and enjoying; it was merely a usage. Constitutional usage is one thing; constitutional right is another. Constitutional usage evidently does not mean very much. It did not mean very much to the House of Lords when they thought it proper to take a course which was at variance with nearly fifty years' constitutional usage by throwing out Lloyd George's budget because it did not agree with their ideas. It is not safe, therefore, to rely upon constitutional usage; the only basis upon which a sound structure can be erected is a constitutional legal right as established and affirmed. If we are called upon to sign treaties as an integral part of the British Empire, that is merely constitutional usage; it is not constitutional right. It is a usage from which the King in Council can break away at any time.

I am willing to leave to the interpretation of the best legal minds in the country the meaning of section 132 of the British North America Act, which reads as follows:

> The Parliament and Government of Canada shall have all powers necessary or proper for performing the obligations of Canada or of any province thereof, as part of the British Empire, towards foreign countries, arising under treaties between the Empire and such foreign countries.

That certainly contemplates the Empire which was in existence in 1867, and it was not intended at that time that Canada was a distinct and separate nation. It was not contended that Australia or New Zealand were separate nations. It meant nothing else than that the British Empire as it existed at that time, vested with

the power of making treaties. When the British Empire as it existed at that time entered into a treaty, we as a part of the Empire had the power to implement that treaty in such a way as was necessary to carry out our part of it. If it has since developed that we are called into council in the making of these treaties, that does not in any way change section 132. I say that when we are called upon to implement, by furnishing money and appointing officers, a treaty which we are priding ourselves upon making apart from the British Empire, there is no constitutional basis for our act. The Minister of Justice says that I said that we were at once bound by any treaty which Great Britain would make, and that we had nothing to say about it.

I said nothing of the kind; I put my interpretation upon that section. I have, and I ought to have, great regard for the experience of the Minister of Justice and his knowledge of the construction of a statute, and I expected that he would give us some construction of that section different from and more illuminating than mine, and that he would find in it some basis of jurisdiction for the Bill that is now before Parliament. All he did give was the statement that my interpretation was most unfortunate. Perhaps it was, but he should have given us one that was not most unfortunate. So far he has not done so. The hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) has pointed out, I think very properly, that we should know what officers we are to appoint and what monetary obligations this country is assuming in passing this Bill. I can readily understand that the Minister of Justice has not given it very much thought, because it was not drafted in this country. I pointed out before that it was just word for word the English Act, and the British Government, or whatever minister had charge of that Act, gave some explanation and had some knowledge of what it meant. With us, this is simply a copy without any real explanation of what it means. An Act which might very well apply in Great Britain might not apply with us. In Great Britain there is no provincial jurisdiction, there is the one Parliament, with full, unlimited and ample jurisdiction over the territory which they profess to govern. We have a limited jurisdiction within a written constitution, and an Act of Parliament which might be quite in order in the Parliament of Great Britain might be restricted here and require some explanation. That is why I wanted the minister to tell us what our powers are under section 132, but he thought proper not to give that information except to state that my understanding of it was most unfortunate. Until, however, I hear from the minister to the contrary, or until he gives his full explanation as he may be assisted by Lord Milner, I will stand by what I said.

Mr. FIELDING: As regards subsection (3) of section 1, the minister has said—and I quite agree in that view—that this subsection does not in itself appropriate any money. That is quite correct, but it distinctly takes account of the fact that we shall have to spend some money, and it practically obligates us to vote the money later on. We always have the freedom to say "No" when we like. My suggestion is that, perhaps, the minister has formed some impression of the extent of the financial obligation that this country will assume under this clause. I would not expect him to give us any details; but this is a very serious subject; we are going into a very large enterprise, and it is not unreasonable to ask, before we give that power to the minister, that we should have some general idea of what it involves in the way of expenditure. I do not contend that this votes any money, but the country would, I am sure, be pleased if the minister would give us now some idea of the probable obligation that we shall be asked later on to implement.

Mr. DOHERTY: I do not foresee that out of the execution of this Treaty there should grow anything in the nature of a permanent financial obligation, but to carry on the operations such as I have described will, no doubt, cost something. For instance, such officer and officials as we may employ in the liquidation of these businesses and so forth will all require to be remunerated, and incidental to the liquidation and distribution there no doubt will be expenses to be met. It would be difficult to speak as to the exact amount, but I should not anticipate that it was going to involve any very large expenditure, nor anything in the nature of a permanent obligation, because under the operations to which I have referred, we shall be liquidating this property which, with the information that I have as to the amount of property there is in this country of German Nationals, represents something between $30,000,000 and $40,000,000, if I am correctly informed, and I do not anticipate that this would result in creating a pecuniary obligation. But no doubt we shall, from time to time, require votes to enable us to carry on this opera-

tion. Beyond that I do not quite see that I can indicate any anticipated financial obligation that is to result to us from our giving effect to the provisions of the Treaty. I do not recall that there is in the Treaty any provision, the execution of which could create a financial obligation on our part towards any outside country, nor create anything in the nature of a substantial financial obligation on our part. I cannot, at the moment, think of any. What was had in mind was the necessary expenses for administering the different offices that will have to be created.

Mr. JACOBS: I should like to know from the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that General Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, a few days ago, when he introduced into the House resolutions with respect to the Treaty, is reported to have stated that he was asking the House to ratify the Treaty, not to approve it. In as much as General Smuts was present at the Conference, it would be interesting to know whether his views are similar to those of our delegates who were present.

Mr. DOHERTY: I might point out that it is a trifle risky to take a cablegram of that kind as having contained the exact words that General Smuts used. All that I can say in answer is that I would be amazed if General Smuts had asked the Parliament of South Africa to ratify the Treaty. General Smuts is a very distinguished constitutional lawyer.

Mr. JACOBS: Not more so that the Minister of Justice.

Mr. DOHERTY: Well, if it be possible to be more so, he is more so, and I would be astonished if he spoke of his Parliament ratifying the Treaty. While there may be differences of opinion as to what advice the King ought to take or as to what action ought to be taken by legislative bodies prior to the ratification of the Treaty by the King, I am sure every body is agreed—I think even the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) would agree on that—that it is the King that ratifies the Treaty. I would rather assume that the cablegram did not carry the exact words than suppose that General Smuts made a proposition to Parliament to ratify the Treaty. I know that people in conversation say: We are going to ratify the Treaty or we are not going to ratify the Treaty, but when we come to speak accurately in Parliament, we speak of approving the Treaty.

[Mr. Doherty.]

Mr. JACOBS: The question was upon the very words of ratification and approval, and while I am speaking from memory and while, although I have the London Morning Post before me, I cannot put my finger on the item, it stated, if my memory is correct, that he was asking for the ratification and not merely for the approval of the Treaty. Those are the words.

Mr. DOHERTY: I can offer no explanation on that subject.

Mr. ROWELL: I am quite sure from the information that has come to us that the press despatch is inaccurate. We have official information from the Imperial Government that the Parliament of the Union of South Africa has approved the Treaty, also that the Parliament of New Zealand has approved the Treaty. At the time that communication was sent, they were still awaiting the approval of the Parliament of Australia; they had received the message from us that the Parliament of Canada had approved the Treaty.

When the approval of the Parliament of Australia is received, His Majesty upon the advice of his constitutional advisers will be in a position to ratify the Treaty.

Mr. FIELDING: Without the consent of India?

Mr. ROWELL: I have no doubt the consent of India will be evidenced in whatever way is considered proper and constitutional.

Mr. JACOBS: By whom, the Hindus or Downing Street?

Section agreed to.

Bill reported.

INTERPRETATION ACT AMENDMENT.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved the second reading of Bill No. 4, to amend the Interpretation Act.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): This Bill, I think, has a deeper significance than might appear at first sight, because there are clauses in the Interpretation Act which carry into effect the provisions of a statute, even though it has been repealed. One might not think that such provisions would be found in the Interpretation Act, but it is a fact. Of course, the word "interpretation" signifies that the Act is to perform some such service as is performed by a dictionary, either the ordinary or the legal dictionary, giving the proper use and significance of words or terms, but the Interpretation

Act goes further than that. Section 19, for instance, provides:

> Where any Act or enactment is repealed, or where any regulation is revoked, then, unless the contrary intention appears, such repeal or revocation shall not, save as in this section otherwise provided, affect the previous operation of any Act.

There are further provisions. I have only had an opportunity of glancing over the Bill, and I trust that when the minister comes to apply its provisions to the very many Orders in Council that have been passed during the war, he will consider well what the effect will be. I think we should know to which Orders in Council the force and effect of the Interpretation Act will be applied.

Mr. DOHERTY: The Bill proposes to apply the same rules in interpreting Orders in Council which Parliament has adopted as being suitable and proper rules for the interpretation of statutes, except, as the Bill provides, in cases where "any such provision is inconsistent with the intent or object of such Order or regulation, or would give to any word, expression or clause thereof an interpretation repugnant to the subject matter or the context, or is in any such Order or regulation declared not applicable thereto."

We have found by experience, not only with regard to Orders in Council passed under the War Measures Act, but with regard to Orders in Council generally, that one is very apt to draft them assuming that the words in them will have the full meaning which the Interpretation Act attaches to those same words in the statutes, and it seemed to us desirable that we should not be bound in every Order in Council to start out by saying "In this Order in Council, so-and-so means so-and-so", but rather that in interpreting the Orders in Council we should apply the same rules which Parliament enacted, and which have stood the test of time, as being the proper rules for the interpretation of statutes. We had different instances where we were not able to apply the rule of the Interpretation Act in interpreting an Order in Council. We certainly had always contemplated applying that Act to the Orders in Council.

I have difficulty in seizing whether the hon. leader of the Opposition really intends to suggest that there is some reason why it would be undesirable that the particular section of the Interpretation Act which he read should be made to apply to Orders in Council. If I followed it correctly, it is the section which has to do with the effect of repealing provisions. If I recollect correctly the provision is in substance that the mere repeal of a previous law shall not be interpreted as meaning the revival of some law that may have been repealed by the previous law, unless the context shows that that was the intention. If that was the section the hon. gentleman read, I do not clearly grasp why it would be objectionable to apply that rule to Orders in Council, if that was what he intended to suggest. It seems to me a good general rule as applied to the statutes, and a good general rule as applied to Orders in Council. If some other effect—it would be an exceptional effect—is sought to be attached to a repeal, it is simple enough to provide for it, but I can vouch of my own experience that on a number of occasions it was found highly inconvenient that we were not in a position to interpret Orders in Council generally by the rules applicable for the interpretation of statutes.

There is no particular Order in Council in view in connection with the matter. We did pass an Order in Council under the War Measures Act, which is about to lapse, making the provisions of the Interpretation Act applicable to Orders in Council; and we found that of very great advantage. It simplified not only the interpretation of Orders in Council, but the drafting of them, because where you had a rule of interpretation you were relieved in many instances of putting in interpretation clauses.

Mr. McKENZIE: I will try to make my objection more clear. If the Interpretation Act is to be used merely as a dictionary, and I say that advisedly, to ascertain the force and effect of any words in an Order in Council, I have no objection to that, but most of these Orders in Council which were passed during the war have legislative effect only for a certain period. The effect of applying the Interpretation Act, as I understand it, will be to extend the effect of these Orders in Council passed under the War Measures Act, and that is what I want to provide against.

Mr. DOHERTY: If that is a possible result of this legislation, I am quite willing when we are in Committee to insert a clause to the effect that nothing in this Act shall have the effect of maintaining in force any Order in Council, passed under the War Measures Act, if you wish specifically to mention that Act, which but for this Act would have lapsed.

I do not say that the hon. gentleman may not be right and I wrong, but I do not yet see how it can be said that if the provisions of the Interpretation Act are made to apply to Orders in Council, you are running the risk that the Orders in Council, when their legal effect is exhausted, will be thereby revived. However, if there is any such danger I shall be glad to guard against it. I am not quite sure whether I correctly followed the section which the hon. gentleman read, but if I did I must confess that I have a difficulty in seeing anything in that section that would create the danger he apprehends. If there is such a danger, I shall be more than glad, as I say, to negative it by a provision in this Bill itself when we go into Committee.

Mr. McKENZIE: I shall be satisfied if the minister puts that short clause in.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the second time and the House went into Committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Mr. McKENZIE: I was going to suggest to the minister that the Bill might remain in Committee until we have had an opportunity of consulting the Interpretation Act. I did not know this matter was coming up this afternoon, but I had in mind all the time that the difficulty might arise. I therefore suggest that the Bill be allowed to remain in Committee.

Mr. DOHERTY: I shall gladly consent. Indeed, I shall be pleased to have my attention called to any effect such as is suggested, and perhaps it might be well that both sides should have an opportunity to consider the point. With that view I move that the Committee rise and report progress and ask leave to sit again.

Progress reported.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

NAVIGABLE WATERS PROTECTION ACT AMENDMENT.

Hon. Arthur L. Sifton (Minister of Public Works) moved the second reading of Bill No. 11, to amend the Navigable Waters Protection Act.

He said: The other day when this Bill was up, I gave a short explanation and it is unnecessary to deal with it at length now. It is simply an amendment to the Act that was passed a few years ago by which people were required to get permission or authority to build wharves upon or bridges over navigable streams. There was no provision whereby any action could be taken in case such structures were made without permission. The present Bill is simply to provide that we may tear down obstructions to navigable streams in case they are, or have been, built without legal authority.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the second time, and the House went into committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—section of Act respecting removal of unauthorized works to apply to works built before 24th May, 1918:

Mr. BELAND: That would affect existing rights. It has a retroactive effect.

Mr. SIFTON: There would not be any existing right because, if people have built they have had no right to do so. I do not know of any cases to which it would apply but if there are any cases they would not be existing rights; they would be existing wrongs.

Mr. BELAND: They are assumed rights. At that time there was no law which provided they should get permission from the Government.

Mr. SIFTON: There has been a law for a great many years.

Mr. BELAND: That required permission?

Mr. SIFTON: Yes.

Mr. McKENZIE: I desire to bring to the notice of the minister a very hard case in my own county—I think it occurred before there was any prohibition—of a man building a wharf in front of his own property. A gentleman in my county built a very respectable wharf close to a lobster factory which he owned, and that wharf was used without any trouble for a great many years. But a few years ago the Government sent a dredge to try to deepen the channel of the navigable harbour in front of his property. Not intentionally, I believe, the dredging operations tore away the supports of the wharf and completely destroyed it. By reason of the deepening of the water by dredging operations, it was impossible to rebuild or support the wharf any further. The owner brought an action in the Exchequer Court for damages, but the judge decided that under a construction of the Act governing the Exchequer Court, as long as the

damage was not done on the work—that is the damage was not done by the dredge on the job that it was performing—the Exchequer Court had no jurisdiction to deal with the case. The judge reached the conclusion that he could afford no remedy.

Mr. SIFTON: That is a pretty fine distinction.

Mr. McKENZIE: Since then, Parliament amended the Act. I think that if my friend had brought his action after Parliament amended the Act giving a right to damages caused by a dredge of that kind, whether upon the work or not, he would have been entitled to be compensated by the court. But in view of the conditions existing at that time, his property was destroyed and he received no consideration. I always had it in mind, if ever the opportunity presented itself, to bring the matter to the notice of the Department of Public Works. I think, under the circumstances, it would be a fair subject for consideration to ascertain whether or not, in the goodness of his heart, the minister could do something for the man whose property, built when there was no prohibition against such building, was destroyed entirely through no fault of his.

Mr. BUREAU: I see that section 2 provides, in addition to the existing section 9 of the statute that:

> Any work which is or heretofore has been built or placed in, upon, over, under, through or across any navigable water whereof the site has been approved by the Governor in Council, and which is so placed and maintained in accordance with plans or regulations approved or made by the Governor in Council pursuant to the provisions of the Navigable Waters Protection Act, shall be deemed to be and to have been duly authorized, and shall not be deemed to obstruct or to interfere or to have interfered with navigation or to be subject to abatement or removal or to give rise to any cause of action upon the ground that it unlawfully obstructs or interferes with navigation or any public right of navigation.

I do not object to the first clause because I understand that before erecting any of the works mentioned in the Act on navigable waters, you must get the permission of the Governor in Council and he must approve of the location and plans. In certain cases the approval was asked, but there were difficulties that arose in consequence of which the approval could not be got until the work had been done. Then the Department of Public Works rightly said: We will not approve of a work that is done or of a location which has been built upon. This was extended last year or the year before to electric power wires crossing rivers. It was important to extend the wires, and they had to be constructed without approval in order to avoid great loss. The first clause would seem to apply to things of this kind, but the second says that if anything exists to-day that is an obstruction we declare it not to be such. May I ask the Minister of Public Works or the Minister of Justice if there is any particular case in regard to which they want to avoid litigation, or has the department any litigation in mind in asking Parliament to enact this clause?

Mr. SIFTON: There is nothing that I have heard of.

Mr. BUREAU: Then, what is the object of the clause? The statute says that if anything becomes a nuisance, it may become the subject of discussion whether it should be removed or not. Here you say it shall not be considered as such.

Mr. SIFTON: That clause is for the purpose of avoiding lawsuits. If any work has been approved it shall not be interfered with.

Mr. BUREAU: That is the law as it stands now?

Mr. SIFTON: No; it has been questioned in the court.

Mr. STEVENS: I would like to ask the minister for a little light on clause 1. Would he kindly explain the significance of the date fixed by this clause, the 24th May, 1919?

Mr SIFTON: That refers to the last amendment that was passed.

Mr. STEVENS: There is another point upon which I wish to ask for an explanation. I understand, of course, that the original Act provided that any person desiring to construct a wharf, building, or any obstruction, on any navigable stream or harbour should first secure permission to do so. Many persons apply for and secure Crown land grants, or leases, of water front property in various harbours in the Dominion, and when applying for these leases or Crown grants are required to submit a plan of the wharf or building they desire to place on it and to show what use they intend to make of the property. Upon their securing a Crown grant or lease many of these applicants consider that they have secured approval of the structure, or whatever obstruction they are about to put upon the property.

In most cases it was wharves and harbours. Now what I wish to ask the minis-

ter is this: Is it the intention of the Government to so apply this power given in this clause as, for instance, to remove, arbitrarily remove, a structure placed on water front property under such conditions? I submit to him that the power is given in the clause and I think we ought to have a declaration from the Government as to its intention in that regard, because I do not think the Government wishes to use a power like that without precedent. Let me add, before I sit down, one other argument for the particuluar case of persons who acted in good faith. It is this: In every harbour in Canada there has been for many years either a harbour commission or else a harbour master who has charge of such matters as these and who must have known that these wharves or buildings were being constructed. Has it not been the duty of such a commission, or such an official, to look into the right of the placing of such a structure and see to it that the necessary powers existed under the Navigable Waters Act? In other words, while the person might have been innocently violating the law, or ignorantly—using that word perhaps more advisedly—has not the official of the Government perhaps been guilty of neglect at the same time? I submit, in view of that consideration, that we should certainly be very careful in enforcing a clause which gives such a very drastic power as this. I would like to hear from the minister, or from the Government, as to its views on the point.

Mr. SIFTON: Certainly if I happen to be at the head of the department there will be no such arbitrary exercise of power as the hon. member infers. It would be quite possible for many obstructions to navigable streams to be built—possibly not in large cities but over navigable streams and in navigable waters—without any Government official knowing anything of it for years after. It certainly would not be the policy of any Government I would think, and certainly not the policy of the department so long as I was at its head, to exercise power arbitrarily in regard to the removal of obstructions of that kind unless there was absolute interference with navigation or with improvements on the stream.

Mr. BUREAU: This section says the work shall not be removable if proper authority for it exists under the Navigable Waters Protection Act.

[Mr. Stevens.]

Mr. SIFTON: The hon. gentleman (Mr. Stevens) was speaking of the other clause in the Bill.

Mr. BUREAU: There is another thing with respect to these structures on navigable waters. If you purpose putting up a structure within a harbour you must apply, under the Navigable Waters Protection Act, to the Minister of Public Works for authority to do so, and you must also apply to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries for permission to use that particular part of the harbour, or get the location which you desire approved of by the Government. I forget the particular section of the statute which provides that the Minister of Marine shall give his approval. Now suppose that any of the regulations referred to have not been complied with and that some corporation or some person is hurt, or has suffered prejudice and wants to remove that prejudice, then what? Technically, under the section, the Navigable Waters Protection Act has been complied with, the notice required has been given, the plans and the location have been submitted to the Minister of Public Works, and everything has gone through Council. But the parties have not secured any authority from the Minister of Marine. In that event this clause would prevent any recourse which might be exercised by the party injured. In the case of a structure in a harbour you have to go to both the Minister of Public Works and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Mr. SIFTON: The same application goes to both in practice.

Mr. BUREAU: Oh, no, there have to be two applications. You have only to give one notice but you have to make two applications. You have got to do a lot of negotiating with the Department of Marine and Fisheries before you can get a corner or a lot to set up a structure in a harbour.

Mr. SIFTON: The Minister of Public Works does not sign the authority until that has been done.

Mr. BUREAU: I am speaking of a case where there has been approval from the Minister of Public Works without getting a lease from the Minister of Marine. I know of one case anyway where that occurred, through error or otherwise. Would this clause legalize such a proceeding in the event of any parties wanting to take advantage of the fact that all the conditions of the statute had not been complied with?

Mr. SIFTON: I would not think so.

Section agreed to.

On section 2—approved works not to be deemed obstructions to navigation or to be liable to removal, etc.

Mr. McKENZIE: I would like to get a fair idea as to whether the minister has any policy in dealing with structures of this kind, because I am sure he will find that there are many cases in Canada of people having built small wharves upon what they considered their own property. In the harbours along the Atlantic coast there is such a thing as people getting water grants, with which practice the minister is no doubt familiar. These people get those water grants in many cases from the local government, and the courts have held that as a perfectly good title while the holding of it does not interfere with harbour rights or the requirements of navigation. In many cases, people holding such water lots, believing that it was their own property and their own land—except of course where the lots were covered by water—have built wharves and constructed buildings on the wharves and are carrying on a fishing or lobster business or a general trade on these wharves. Now it would be a great hardship if some officer who did not really understand the full effect of the situation were to destroy those properties. I would like to urge upon the minister that the greatest possible precaution should be taken before any interference occurs and care taken to see that at least as little harm as possible is done by reason of the change in the law.

Mr. McMASTER: It is with difficulty that those who are not seated upon the front benches of the Chamber are able to follow the discussion of a Bill of this sort, conducted as it is in the kindly and conversational tone which obtains to-night. If I might just interject this remark, Mr. Chairman—for the last two sessions I have been making a sort of inverted bailiff of myself by shouting "louder" from day to day, from week to week, and from month to month, but if I happen to be absent from the Chamber for a sitting, or even a few hours, I find the front benchers have slipped back into the habit of carrying on the discussion in a conversational tone which—and I speak now seriously—precludes any member outside a possible radius of about twenty feet, from understanding, taking part in, or enjoying the debate.

Section 2 of this Bill would seem to prevent the department from ordering a change in any public work of this nature once it has been officially approved. That seems to me to be a dangerous provision. Suppose the Department of Public Works approves a bridge across a navigable stream, and in the course of a few years a change in the nature of the vessels using that stream makes that public work an impediment to navigation, this section would seem to provide that once the department has approved such a public work, that is the end of it, the department cannot do anything. Surely that would not be a sound position for a department of the Government to place itself in.

Mr. STEVENS: There is a great deal in what my hon. friend (Mr. McMaster) says. There is across a portion of the harbour of Vancouver, known as False creek, a very old bridge which was erected twenty-four or twenty-five years ago and which is owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. It is a frame or pile trestle bridge, with a very narrow draw. The pier in the draw goes diagonally across the channel and the bridge has been a menace to navigation for many years. Appeal after appeal has been made to the Public Works Department asking that the removal of this bridge be ordered. But it was discovered that while no official or formal approval of the structure was given, many years ago some deputy minister gave the assurance that the plans were O.K., and on that point the company rests its claim that the bridge should remain. Now, the member for Brome points out that under this clause—and if he is correct, the point is a very important one—such a work would be declared to be quite properly there. In recent years a shipbuilding yard has been built above this bridge and every time a ship is launched and sent to sea—about ten have been sent from that yard during the last two years—they have to take a span out of the bridge, the draw being too narrow to let the ships go through. This clause may put the Department of Public Works, which has been struggling unsuccessfully with the problem for seven or eight years, absolutely out of court. I suggest that the minister allow this matter to stand until he has had an opportunity of consulting his deputy, looking into this particular case, and ascertaining whether or not the enactment of this legislation would prevent the department from dealing with the matter to which I have been referred—a matter which has been urgently pressed upon it for many years.

Mr. SIFTON: This section has reference only to any work which has been formally approved by the department. Certainly, after the department has formally approved of a work, it should not proceed subsequently to tear it down. If any work is believed to be a source of danger to the community it would have to be dealt with as such, under other legislation than this. This Bill is simply to provide that once the formal approval has been given this department or nobody else can interfere and say that the structure is not a legal one.

Mr. BUREAU: The point made by the member for Brome is one which ought to be decided. I will give the minister a concrete case. Suppose he has built a bridge, with the approval of the department, over the St. Lawrence, the St. Maurice, or any navigable river, and through changes in navigation it is found that the bridge is too low. The navigation company whose vessels are on the river says to you: We are going to submit new plans to you for your bridge, the location of which you have approved; we want to raise the floor of the bridge twenty or thirty feet in order that our ships may be enabled to pass—or, if it is a transmission line—we want to raise the wire towers. Under this Bill nothing could be done in a case of that kind; nobody could secure the acceptance of such a proposal, even though the parties to be benefited undertook to meet the whole of the expense involved in making the change. Therefore the public interest is not served. The public interest should always have precedence over private interest. If it is in the public interest that the style of a bridge should be changed in order to meet new navigation conditions, in order to provide for the free movement of vessels whose stacks or masts have been made higher, or which have been equipped with the wireless system, why should it be provided under section 9A of the Navigable Waters Protection Act that nobody shall have the right to touch that bridge?

Mr. SIFTON: It does not say that.

Mr. BUREAU: It says that it cannot be interfered with by any one. By this Bill such a case as I have mentioned is placed outside the jurisdiction of the courts or any one else, even outside the realm of private contracts between individuals.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported.

[Mr. Stevens.]

THANKSGIVING DAY.

BILL TO MAKE THE SECOND MONDAY IN NOVEMBER THE PERMANENT THANKSGIVING DAY.

The House again in committee on Bill No. 2, respecting Thanksgiving Day—Mr. Pedlow—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—Thanksgiving Day:

The CHAIRMAN: When this Bill was last before the committee, the committee had adopted an amendment replacing the words "second Monday" in the third line of clause 1 with the word "eleventh." Shall the clause carry?

Mr. MURPHY: When this Bill was in committee, it was allowed to remain in committee at the suggestion of the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), because he said it would be desirable to elicit public opinion with regard to the matter. That gave some hon. members, including myself, the idea that this Bill would not come up so soon as it has done. May I inquire if public opinion has been elicited and, if so, in what direction has it been expressed?

Mr. DOHERTY: The Bill, of course, is not under my control nor under the control of the Government. The Bill was introduced by the hon. member for Renfrew South (Mr. Pedlow), and he is entitled to proceed with it. I made the suggestion to him, and I would like to repeat it now—of course, I cannot force it—that it would be a desirable thing that the Bill should remain where it is, in committee, for such a reasonable period of time as might allow of the expression of public opinion on the subject. But, of course, that is only my view on something that would be desirable, and I have no power to insist upon the hon. gentleman's accepting my suggestion. I may say that I had not anticipated that we would reach the Bill again as soon as we have reached it, but the House with very considerable expedition to-day went through the business we were ready to put before it, with the result that the Bill has come back again. While I still would renew my suggestion to the hon. gentleman who introduced the Bill, I do not feel I have any right to insist that he shall accept it.

Mr. PEDLOW: I have no desire to press the matter unduly in view of the expressed opinion of the leader of the House, an opinion which he has expressed before to-day. But in view of the fact that this Bill has practically been before the country for six months, and in view of the further fact that a few days ago, notwithstanding that

this Bill, to deal with the subject, was on the Order Paper, a date for Thanksgiving Day was unofficially announced through the press, there seems to be a considerable amount of misunderstanding—and one can easily realize that—through the country. I have a press despatch—I have not it with me at the moment—from St. Catherines stating that the people there were preparing for observing Thanksgiving day with the idea in mind that it would be decided by this House that Thanksgiving day would take place on Armistice day, in November. Naturally, when this date was announced, although unofficially, through the press, they were in a quandary, or, to speak in common phraseology, they felt themselves up against it, that is to say, they had to hurry up the preparations for that event. Yesterday, it was reported in the press that it was practically decided by this House to observe Armistice day, November 11, as Thanksgiving day. Although this Bill has come around sooner than was anticipated when we were discussing it last night, yet, in view of the unsettled opinion that obtains in the country regarding the proposition, I think it would be better that we should deal with the matter to a finish to-night and state whether we are going to observe this great event, Armistice day, as a national holiday, and couple with it Thanksgiving day, or whether we are going to abandon the proposition altogether.

Mr. MORPHY: I have not heard from the Minister of Justice as to the method by which he purposes ascertaining public opinion. Coming as I do from Ontario, I might point out for his information, that some years ago an agitation arose there which resulted in changing Thanksgiving day, which usually fell on Thursday, to Monday, for the reason that the change benefited a large class, not only commercial travellers, as the hon. member for Renfrew South (Mr. Pedlow) pointed out, but school teachers and students throughout the country who desired to spend that holiday at their homes, and who would thereby have Saturday, Sunday and Monday as a week-end. I was rather impressed by the arguments of the hon. member (Mr. Pedlow) in giving weight to the representations made by the Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada, a very representative body of intelligent public opinion, and a body which is organized and which knows what its members desire. I should like to know in what other way than through kindred organizations is public opinion going to be gathered.

Mr. DUFF: Appoint a commission.

Mr. MORPHY: I do not apprehend that there will be a public clamour on the part of any individuals throughout the country, and the only expressions of opinion we are apt to get will come from organized bodies. If the Minister of Justice is depending upon the newspapers, I am not quite so sure whether the press has taken sufficient interest in this discussion in the House to worry itself about it. If the press takes any interest, I have no doubt but that there would be divergent views, and as regards the press, I always think, anyway, that editorial comment is just the opinion of one man who sits at the editorial desk and who, after all, does not carry much more weight than any man on the street. I am very strongly inclined to the view that the representations made by the Commercial Travellers' Association as to the great benefit that comes to the great number through holding the Thanksgiving Day on a Monday, ought to have the serious consideration of the Government. The question is one that ought to be decided soon, and I do not see any reason why we should not deal with the public opinion that has already been expressed. I have heard no great public opinion against the proposition. The only argument I have heard is that, the war having come to an end by an armistice upon the 11th day of November, that day is set apart and fixed in the public mind as a day of great deliverance from the horrors of war.

While from the historic point of view it might be considered a mistake to commemorate the signing of the Armistice upon any other day than the 11th of November, the second Monday in November must always come very close to that date, and for many, many years to come the 11th of November will never be forgotten in the minds of the people as a day of great deliverance for which thanks should be offered up. Consequently, I would say that the second Monday in November, falling as it always will near the 11th, will focus that day sufficiently in the people's mind to enable us to consolidate our thanksgiving for the signing of the Armistice with our thanksgiving for all other things for which we should be thankful, and the public mind will seize on that day as the anniversary of the close of the greatest war the world has ever known.

Mr. DOHERTY: My suggestion was not with reference to this particular question

or whether it should be the 11th of November or the second Monday in November. While we did not come to any vote on the subject, I may say for the hon. gentleman's information that my own sympathy would be rather with the idea of making it the second Monday of November, as originally suggested. My suggestion had to do with the Bill as a whole. I asked that it stand in committee, not because I was going to elicit any public opinion, but simply for the reason that, as this was a change from what had been a long-established practice, and while, as I think I mentioned, public opinion so far as it was put before us was favourable to the change, I thought it would do no harm if the Bill stood for a short period of time so that opportunity might be afforded to people interested either to add additional support or to set forth their views against the proposal. Having made that explanation, I want to say again that I am not at all in the attitude of insisting upon that suggestion. The committee, of course, is at perfect liberty to deal with the matter, and to value that suggestion at what it is worth. I have no desire whatever to impose that idea upon the committee, nor upon the House, nor upon the hon. gentleman in charge of the Bill to whom I made it.

Mr. DAVIS: I was not present when the Bill was discussed before, but if we decide on the 11th of November then every fifth, or sixth, or seventh year there would be no holiday, as the 11th will fall on the Sabbath day. I do not know whether that view has been presented to the House, but it is an additional reason to my mind why we should choose a movable day, let us say, the nearest Monday to the 11th of November.

Mr. McMASTER: I rise for the purpose of regularizing this discussion, and moving the re-consideration of the amendment proposed yesterday, I think it was, substituting the second Monday in November for the fixed date of November 11. I make that motion, seconded by the hon. member (Mr. Jacobs), and I trust that all members will agree that we should have this matter reopened, because I believe there are very many members of this House who are thoroughly convinced that it would be wise to commemorate the armistice by having a holiday on or about that date, and that the Monday in the week gives the greatest opportunity for celebration and interferes the least with the economic life of the country.

Mr. EDWARDS: It was not my privilege to be present when the discussion took place on this Bill the other day, and I should like to give expression to my views. First of all, I think it was a happy thought on the part of the hon. member for South Renfrew (Mr. Pedlow) to couple Thanksgiving Day with what we might call Armistice Day. We have been accustomed to the setting apart by proclamation of the Government one day in each year on which the people of Canada generally gave thanks for the many blessings they had enjoyed throughout the year. I think every one will agree that there has never been an occasion in the history of this country when we had such reason for genuine thanksgiving as on the day the armistice was signed putting an end to the great war. I think it would be a very grave mistake to commemorate any other day than the 11th of November. If we are going to suit our own convenience in regard to these holidays, if we who stayed at home during this terrible war cannot put ourselves out a little bit to celebrate the end of the war, what does it mean? It simply means that so far as giving real thanks is concerned, your thanksgiving is a farce. If you are going to suit individual convenience in these holidays, let us pass a law here and fix all these holidays on a Monday. What about the first of July? Do you want us to celebrate that on the first Monday in July?

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: What about the 12th of July?

Mr. EDWARDS: I am sorry to say that there are a great many members of this House and a great many people outside who do not appreciate that glorious day as they should. I have no serious misgivings that you will interfere with the 12th of July. We will keep the 12th of July on the 12th of July, and you will not oblige us to keep it on the nearest Monday or any other day.

Mr. JACOBS: Does the hon. gentleman know that the Battle of the Boyne was fought on the first of July?

Mr. EDWARDS: I do not know that; and I do not know that my hon. friend knows it. It makes no difference on what day it was fought, the celebration is held on the 12th of July.

An hon. MEMBER: That is to suit your convenience.

Mr. EDWARDS: Coming back to the point, the armistice was signed, I believe, at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of year. In all seriousness, I think it would be a very grave mistake to depart from that day. If we intend

to honour that day—and the idea of the hon. member for South Renfrew undoubtedly was that the people of Canada should honour it, for that, I presume, is his reason for wanting to couple it with Thanksgiving—I think the principle is eminently wise and I cordially agree with it. But to observe the day on the second Monday of November because that Monday should happen to be the one nearest the 11th of the month would, in my opinion, be a serious and an unfortunate impropriety. If it is desirable to have Thanksgiving Day on a Monday, then let us follow the established custom of the past and allow the Government to appoint the day in October or any other convenient month so long as it is a Monday. If, however, you want to honour Armistice Day and the great ideas for which it stands, honour it on the proper day, the 11th of November; but do not observe it five or six days before or after the actual day that sees the anniversary of the great event which means so much to us.

Mr. GLASS: In the consideration of this question one fact that strikes me as being of great importance has so far been apparently overlooked. In the great war, the peaceful conclusion of which we purpose to celebrate on Armistice Day, our brethren to the south of us joined us in a noble effort to vindicate the right. Possibly the Government of the United States will within a reasonable time be considering this very subject that is now before this Parliament, and in view of the fact that our Government has already fixed the day for Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the year 1919, I do not see that there is at present any great urgency in settling this question just yet. I agree with the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards), and personally I feel that no day would be as appropriate, sentimentally at least, as the 11th of November for the celebration of the armistice. But if we desire to learn public opinion as conveyed through the medium of the Commercial Travellers' Association, I may say that the choice has been strongly in favour of the second Monday. As has already been pointed out by an hon. member, for very many years in Canada Thursday was invariably selected as Thanksgiving Day; but representations have been forcibly urged by the Commercial Travellers' Association and their organizations, supplemented I believe by expressions of opinion from Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, wholesale houses and other bodies, to the effect that it is a distinct convenience to the commercial travelling community and to the interests which they represent to have the day of thanksgiving on Monday. Probably the United States, which no doubt will fix a day for celebration of the armistice, may select the second Monday. On the other hand, they may select the 11th of November. Be that as it may, I submit, without any suggestion that we should follow in the footsteps of our southern friends or be guided by any action of theirs, that there is a great moral and a useful sentiment in the brotherhood of these two nations, and the holiday would appear to me to be a suitable occasion for the interchange of courtesies and visits if we could arrange our celebration for the same day. I respectfully suggest, therefore, as Thanksgiving Day has already been fixed for this year, and in deference to the suggestion of the Minister of Justice, that this matter be allowed to stand for the time being, and possibly before the session is concluded it may be found desirable to defer further consideration of it to another session. If we could arrange a common day for observance of the anniversary of the Armistice by Canada and the United States it would conduce to an increased amity between two great peoples, and it would be a matter of mighty sentiment to have an entire continent returning thanks to God simultaneously for deliverance from great tribulation, and for the conclusion of a peace which we all trust will be lasting. The Armistice was declared on the eleventh of November, and sentiment if nothing else would demand the observance of the event on that day. But notwithstanding that fact there is a great body of public opinion which cannot be fully expressed in this House, and I really think we should not be too premature in dealing with this matter. I repeat my suggestion that we leave the question in abeyance for the time being, and before the end of the session something may occur to urge the desirability of leaving it over to another session.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: As one who has taken some interest in this matter I think the proceeding to-night is extraordinary. I was not present when the discussion began, but I think the debate is quite unusual. The Bill has been approved in all its clauses, and I think even the title or preamble was passed and the Bill was ready to be reported. I asked the Minister of Justice at the time if this matter would be taken up again as regards the difference between the 11th of November and the second Monday, and he

assured me that it would not. At least, that is how I understood him. I therefore cannot see why we are now asked to retrace our steps, having come to a definite decision that the 11th of November should be the date. There is no doubt that the House decided that point, and the majority in favour of it would have been large had a standing vote been taken. While not wishing to take advantage of that fact, I certainly strongly object to the motion of the member for Brome to open up the question and refer it back again to the House, when the decision was as absolute as it was.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I think it is well to have a holiday in connection with thanksgiving. If the League of Nations means anything it will have considerable work to do hereafter, and one of the first matters that will demand its attention—and it is one which is already under consideration in Europe—is the modification of our calendar so that the months will begin always on the same day and each quarter have the same number of days. The result will be a great improvement in the conduct of business and in the observance of public holidays. As regards the suggestion that we should have the same day as the United States for observing the great event which will hereafter be the occasion of a national holiday, I believe that before five years have passed the League of Nations will have completed a modification of the calendar, and that public holidays will always come on the same day. Under those circumstances, if Monday should be regarded as the most favourable day for observing a holiday, there would be no difficulty in fixing it as a permanent institution. Whatever we may do now, however, I think that we shall find within the next five years that one of the great questions before the League of Nations will be the revision of the calendar, providing facilities along the lines suggested to-night, so that public holidays will always fall on the same day of the week.

Mr. PROULX: I think we may pass this Bill and if the League of Nations sees fit to change the calendar it will be time enough then for us to alter our law accordingly. In regard to the suggestion of my hon. friend from East Middlesex (Mr. Glass) that Thanksgiving Day should be observed on the second Monday, it would be proper enough to have it on the second Monday. It would be much more convenient for the people in general. Last Friday the matter came up before the Industrial Conference which was a very representative body of employers and employees. That conference decided unanimously in favour of the second Monday in November. I am in favour of the second Monday in November and I will support the motion of the hon. member for Brome.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): Might I remark that the suggestion made by the minister who is leading the House (Mr. Doherty), in my opinion, is a very proper one? I do not think we should confuse two or three things. Thanksgiving Day has been long established in this country and for a definite purpose. I do not think the object of Thanksgiving Day is to give commercial travellers a holiday. Neither do I think that we should now link up with it a third object in perpetuating the celebration of Armistice Day. It seems to me that the latter day is one which is big enough to at least demand one day out of the three hundred and sixty-five. In the years to come, in the schools of this country that day could very properly be set apart for teaching the students and scholars the objects of the League of Nations and what the results of this great war were. It seems to me that if the League of Nations is going to do anything effectual in keeping peace in the world, its ideas must be spread broadcast, it must be thoroughly understood and the aims and aspirations which are behind it must be grasped by the world. A very great object indeed could be attained by setting apart that day for special instructions along those lines. I think that to incorporate these three ideas in one is a mistake. Thanksgiving Day has been long established, its objects are well understood and I do not think we should incorporate with it now such an important thing as perpetuating Armistice Day.

Mr. DAVIDSON: I have a suggestion to make which, I am sure, will appeal to hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. There is a feeling in this country that we are having too many holidays, and the suggestion I would make would be that we fix the annual Thanksgiving Day on the 12th of July and thus combine the two.

The CHAIRMAN: Before putting the question: "Shall the clause as amended be carried?" I must correct the impression which appears to have been created by the remarks of the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster). The committee has been considering the clause as amended and not a motion to reconsider the amendment.

Under the rules of the House, it is impossible to reconsider an amendment. The only way an amendment can be reconsidered is upon a motion that it be rescinded, and that motion would have to be preceded by a notice or made with the unanimous consent of the committee. Bourinot, at page 329, says:

> Unless such a rule were in existence, the time of the House might be used in the discussion of motions of the same nature and contradictory decisions would be sometimes arrived at in the course of the same session.

May, at page 267, says:

> An amendment was made to a resolution reported from a Committee of the Whole House authorizing the financial provisions embodied in a Bill. Subsequently the Government desired to rescind this amendment and proposed to make a motion with that object before the consideration of the resolution, as amended, was resumed. **Objection was taken** to this mode of procedure, but the Speaker pointed out that, the amendment having been made, the House could not reconsider its decision on the further consideration of the resolution.

The last part of paragraph 4 of rule 13 reads as follows: :

> The Rules of the House shall be observed in the Committee so far as may be applicable, except the rules as to the seconding of motions and limiting **the number of times** of speaking.

The only motion before the Committee is: " That clause 1 as amended be adopted."

Mr. DAVIDSON: I have a very clear recollection of what took place. It seems to me that there is no doubt but that the clause was amended. It was declared by you carried. The preamble was carried, the title was carried and the only thing that remained was the motion to report the Bill.

The CHAIRMAN: The sense of the Committee was taken upon the amendment after the question had been put by the Chairman and the amendment was adopted. While the customary questions: " Shall the clause carry?" " Shall the preamble carry?" " Shall the title carry?" were being rapidly put by the Chairman, the hon. Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) rose in his place and suggested that the Bill be left in committee for further consideration in order that the voice of public opinion might be heard and considered. It was surely not the intention of the Committee that the general public should express an opinion concerning the title of the Bill, and when the hon. the Minister of Justice moved that the Committee rise and report progress, entry was made and it is so recorded in Hansard, that the amendment had been carried and that the clause as amended remained before the Committee for further consideration.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: Probably you will recall the remark which I made. I think this was agreed and I asked the minister whether the question as to the second Monday or the 11th would be reopened and I understood him to say that it would not be reopened.

Mr. BELAND: He would have no authority to say that.

The CHAIRMAN: It has not been reopened, but the clause as amended has been further considered.

Mr. DOHERTY: What I intended to say, and what I understood I had said, was that the Bill might remain in committee in the condition which it had then reached. The amendment had been carried at that time. I did not undertake to guarantee in advance what the committee might do or what the committee was entitled to do, but at all events the Chairman has ruled in the sense which the hon. gentleman would desire.

Mr. PEDLOW: Before dealing with the matter along the lines that have been suggested, that is to say, to leave it in committee, I would again make the request that the whole matter shall be brought to a conclusion to-night, and for the reasons already stated by me in the early part of the discussion. I shall not enter into a general discussion because I have already covered the Bill thoroughly. All the points that have been raised to-night by hon. members who have spoken, including those who were not present when the Bill was under consideration before, have been fully covered by me already, as they will find if they read Hansard. I have a communication from the secretary of the National Industrial Conference which, if you will allow me, I would like to put on Hansard. It is as follows:

Ottawa, September 22, 1919.

Dear Sir,—I have been directed by the National Industrial Conference to communicate to you the information that the subject matter of your proposed Bill in Parliament to make the second Monday in November a Dominion holiday was discussed by the Conference on Friday last, and that all the opinions expressed were favourable to its adoption. A copy of the report of the proceeding and discussions of the National Industrial Conference for Friday last is enclosed herewith. Your attention is directed to pages 179-180 of this report.

Yours truly,

Gerald H. Brown,

Secretary National Industrial Conference.

Isaac E. Pedlow, Esq., M.P.,

House of Commons,

Ottawa.

I have received other communications, all endorsing the principle of the Bill, but I will not weary the House by reading them. It is now for the House to decide whether it will endorse the day or the date in connection with this matter. I can assure the House that it was in deference to requests received by me not only from the Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada, but also from many industrial associations, such as the Retail Merchants' Association of Canada, and from schools and colleges throughout the Dominion, in favour of the adoption of the second Monday in November, that I made the change. However, the decision is not in my hands but rests with the House.

Mr. BELAND: It would be open to any hon. member, when the Bill is reported and presented for third reading, to move to refer it back to Committee of the Whole with certain instructions.

Mr. VERVILLE: What is the amendment?

The CHAIRMAN: The amendment adopted last night is that the words "second Monday" in the sixth line of the Bill be replaced by the words "eleventh day." The question now before the Committee is: Shall the clause as amended carry?

Clause as amended agreed to—yeas 34, nays 23.

Bill reported as amended.

HOUSE OF COMMONS ACT AMENDMENT.

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion of Mr. Jacobs for the second reading of Bill No. 9 to amend the House of Commons Act, and to provide that polling days at elections shall be public holidays.

Mr. A. L. DAVIDSON (Digby and Annapolis): When this Bill was before the House at a previous sitting I had the honour to move the adjournment of the debate. It seems to me almost a pity that the Bill should contain three separate and distinct principles as I feel that some of these principles are good and some of them are bad; some of them might receive the support of members, whereas the remainder might evoke their opposition. The Bill, as I understand it, provides for three radical, or at least very distinct and separate changes in the election law. The second of these—I am not taking up the provisions consecutively—contemplates that any member who is returned for two or more electoral districts shall make a selection, within thirty days, of which of such electoral districts he will serve. When last I addressed the House on this subject I mentioned that there was but one member in the House who had the honour to represent two separate constituencies at the present time, and that he, of course, had a very personal interest in this Bill, and I thought it well that the Bill should not be advanced until that hon. member was in his seat. I am very glad that the hon. gentleman in question is present to-night, because I believe his opinion on this question will be worthy of consideration. I must say, however, that I am inclined to agree with this provision of the Bill. I do not believe that any member of Parliament—no matter how clever he may be, no matter how distinguished, no matter what powers of speech or endurance in debate he may possess—is entitled to represent more than one constituency. If the principle of allowing a member to represent more than one seat were carried out you might just as logically permit him to represent 235 constituencies and let him run the whole show. I am sure I would object to that even in the case of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Lemieux) who represents the constituencies of Maisonneuve and Gaspé.

Mr. McMASTER: What constituency did the hon. member first mention; I could not catch it?

Mr. DAVIDSON: If the hon. gentleman will refer to the list of members he will be able to find the constituency in question and give it the correct French accent. I repeat, there is some merit in the principle that no member should be allowed to represent more than one constituency at the same time, but it occurs to me that perhaps legislation is not altogether necessary in order to accomplish such a reform. If my hon. friend who is the sponsor of this Bill and for whose statesmanship I have a very high opinion——

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: Ah, that's the word.

Mr. DAVIDSON: If he had conferred with the hon. member for Gaspé and Maisonneuve, and had pointed out to him the anomaly of representing two constituencies at the same time, I am quite sure the latter hon. gentleman would have yielded to his suggestion and no legislation upon this question would have been necessary. That is one amendment that is proposed by the Bill.

It is provided by section 1 that within sixty days after the receipt by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery of the warrant for the issue of a new writ for the election of a member of the House of Commons, such writ shall be issued. Now, I can see certain objections to that provision. If the Governor in Council were absolutely bound by any such legislative provision as that, an election might have to be brought on in some constituency at an undesirable or unreasonable time. I will give you a case in point. A vacancy in the representation of Glengarry and Stormont unfortunately occurred some months ago. The Government did not feel like bringing on an election in that constituency while the soldiers were overseas and unable to cast their votes, and they very wisely exercised the discretion which they are enabled to exercise under the law as it stands at the present time, by arranging that the election in this case be held after the return of the soldiers from France and at a time when the most worthy electors in that constituency would have an opportunity of expressing their opinion as to the representation.

Mr. JACOBS: How was it that the election in Lanark was brought on within a few weeks after the seat was declared vacant?

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: The Government was not so wise as all that.

Mr. DAVIDSON: I am not in the confidence of the Government to the extent of being able to say why that was done, but I have no doubt that there were good and sufficient reasons.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: The point is not well made.

Mr. DAVIDSON: Under the law as it stands at present the Government are responsible to the people for any decision they make; if they leave a constituency without representation for an unreasonable length of time, they must ultimately suffer at the hands of the people. While the Ross Government was in power in Nova Scotia, I think it was the constituency of Renfrew that was left vacant for an unreasonable length of time, without any possible excuse, as I understand it.

Some hon. MEMERS: Nova Scotia?

Mr. DAVIDSON: Ontario. Did I say "Nova Scotia"?

Mr. PEDLOW: Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

Mr. DAVIDSON: If the hon. gentleman has any point of order to make, I shall be glad if he will state it.

Mr. PEDLOW: My point of order is that Renfrew is not in Nova Scotia. Further, I have been looking for "Messinnee" in the official list of constituencies, but I cannot find it.

Mr. DAVIDSON: If that is the hon. gentleman's idea of a point of order, I am afraid that his mentality is in a somewhat disordered condition.

I was going on to say that when an election was finally brought on in the constituency of Renfrew, the people of that riding indicated their disapproval by returning a candidate hostile to the Government which was responsible for the delay. That, after all, seems to me to be the real remedy. If you leave the law as it is, the Government can consider all the circumstances and fix the day of polling at a convenient and proper time. If it fails to do that, it will receive the condemnation of the constituency concerned, when at length the people have had an opportunity of expressing their views.

The other provision of the Bill is that election day shall be a public holiday. I am entirely opposed to that provision. It has been argued that if election day were a public holiday, the facilities for electors to vote would be greater; more voters would be able to go to the polls, and a larger poll would be held. I do not believe that that would be the result. As a matter of fact, under the present system elections are usually held on a Monday, for the accommodation of commercial travellers and others who may be away from home. If under the proposed new system a Monday was chosen as election day and it was a public holiday, a great many electors would be tempted to go off on a week-end holiday and not return until the evening of the election day, so that there would be even greater difficulty in getting voters to the polls on a holiday of that kind than there would be if there was no holiday. So far as my observation has gone, employers invariably give their employees an opportunity to vote. That privilege is never denied to employees by employers in my province; nor, I believe, is it denied generally throughout Canada. I believe that the labouring men of this country would resent the idea that they should not make the slight sacrifice involved in the loss of time required of them in connection with their casting their vote. I believe also that employers would resent

the suggestion that they should be obliged to give their employees a holiday simply in order that they might exercise what they regard as a sacred trust. There are enough public-spirited labouring men in this country who will vote without having a holiday; I believe there is no general demand for this proposed change in the present system. For these reasons it seems to me that the provision is an unwise one. There is some degree of merit in the Bill, and my only regret is that it contains such diverse and distinctly different provisions.

Mr. DOHERTY: Mr. Speaker, the Bill before the House deals with two quite distinct matters. Two of its sections have for their purpose to fix specific periods within which vacancies occurring in the representation in this House shall be filled. There is also a provision for a public holiday on election day. It is perhaps difficult, therefore, to speak of any one principle as being the principle of the Bill.

I assume that it might be considered that the principle of its first two provisions is, broadly stated, that there should be a defined or an ascertainable period within which vacancies must be filled. I quite recognize that there is a great deal to be said for that proposal. I am not prepared to say that the precise limit fixed by the Bill is necessarily the proper limit, or that the cause of the vacancy is a matter not to be considered when the date upon which the election should be held is being determined.

But if that result can be arrived at, subject to proper conditions, there is a great deal to be said in support of the proposal that it would be an improvement if we had some fixed period of time, perhaps not necessarily the period fixed by this Bill, or some determined method by which the period during which the seat may remain vacant might be terminated. As I said on rising, one can hardly speak of any one thing as being the principle of this Bill. It is a Bill that might very properly and that should rightly receive consideration at the hands of the Privileges and Elections Committee. We had this whole matter of the Elections Bill, and if I mistake not, in particular, a suggested provision for a public holiday on election day, before the House for consideration upon the report of a special committee—I think it was in 1915—dealing with the question of an amendment to the Elections Act. I do not want to speak positively, but my recollection is that the sense of the House at that time was rather against our having an entire holiday on election day. Perhaps everybody would agree on the principle that underlies that proposal, that is to say, that people should have sufficient free time to do their voting; it is a question of detail whether a whole day is necessary or not. Taking that view of the Bill, and recognizing that there is merit in the proposal, without wanting to commit myself absolutely to that proposal or to the principle, at all events as it is sought to be applied—leaving that an open question—I would be disposed to assent to the Bill having its second reading with a view to its being referred to the Privileges and Elections Committee as, I understand that would be acceptable to the promoter of the Bill. I certainly think it is a matter that ought to have the consideration of a committee, and the Privileges and Elections Committee seems to be the most suitable body.

Mr. EDWARDS: I do not intend to discuss this matter at length, but I want to express my disappointment at the course taken by the hon. gentleman who has seen fit to introduce this measure. The hon. gentleman has not, in one particular at least, gone as far as his courage should have taken him. He apparently has no objection to a member of this House representing more than one constituency at the same time. In that respect, the hon. gentleman gives his consent to the disfranchising of one constituency.

Mr. BELAND: May I ask the hon. gentleman in what way does the hon. member not object?

Mr. EDWARDS: There is in this House one hon. member who, at the present time, represents two constituencies, who was elected for two constituencies in the province of Quebec. So far as I know he has not elected for which one of those he will sit. He has, therefore deprived the people of one of those constituencies, I do not know which one, of having a representative in this House.

Mr. BELAND: Quite right.

Mr. EDWARDS: Quite right? Very well.

Mr. BELAND: May I tell the hon. gentleman that he objects as much as my hon. friend. The hon. gentleman claims that my hon. friend who introduced this Bill does not object to an hon. member sitting for two constituencies. He never said that, no more than the hon. gentleman did.

Mr. EDWARDS: My hon. friend does not seem to appreciate the point which I am endeavouring to make.

Mr. BELAND: Perhaps not.

Mr. EDWARDS: That is my fault for not putting it in clearer language. The point I make is that when the hon. member who has introduced this Bill makes provision whereby a man who is elected for more than one constituency has, within a certain time, to specify which it is he is elected for, he does not go as far as he should. By the provisions of this Bill he gives his consent to a man's being elected for more than one constituency for a time at least; he gives his consent to the disfranchising of that constituency for a time at least.

Mr. BELAND: I see my hon. friend's point.

Mr. EDWARDS: The hon. gentleman should go to this length, to make provision in his Bill that no member in this House shall run for more than one constituency in one election. For instance, how can the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Lemieux)—I am not going to name his other constituency——

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Yes, do.

Mr. EDWARDS: —because I realize the fact that there are hon. gentlemen on the other side whose education has been neglected as much as mine has, like for instance the hon. member for Renfrew South (Mr. Pedlow) who does not know when the name is properly pronounced. He might take me to task if I called it "Maisoneff," or "Maisonoove," or some other name. Hon. gentlemen, however, know to what constituency I refer. How can the hon. member for Gaspé, who is also the member for that other constituency which I will not name, and who is a gentleman of great eloquence, great force in argument, get up and in his usual forceful manner support a Bill of this kind? If he does he condemns himself, because, if he says the hon. member for Georges Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs)—

Mr. BELAND: Pretty good.

Mr. EDWARDS: —I do not know whether I have the accent on that right, too—is correct in saying that a member who is elected for two constituencies should, within thirty days, specify which seat he wants to sit for, then the hon. gentleman is condemned because of the fact that he has represented —or misrepresented, as some of us may think at times—two constituencies in this House ever since 1917. We cannot have the benefit of the eloquence of the hon. member for Gaspé and that other constituency which begins with "M," because of the peculiar position in which he is placed. If the hon. member will just change the second suggested amendment by making it read:

> No member shall be a candidate for more than one constituency in any election—

I will support that part of his Bill, at all events, most heartily, and I believe it will receive the approval generally of the people of this country. But the hon. gentleman, for some reason or other, is not prepared to go that far.

As regards the holiday, what reasons can be advanced why there should be a public holiday on election day? It does not take a man a whole day to cast his vote. Provision is made, I think, for the labourer to have a couple of hours in the day in order to poll his vote, and I suppose his pay goes on for those two hours. Would you force the employer of labour to pay his employee for the whole day when he could poll his vote in ten minutes or half an hour? Would that be fair? If you would not force the employer to do that, would you force the labourer to do without his pay for the whole day when he need lose only half an hour or one hour of his time at the outside? It will work an injustice to the employer or to the employee whichever way you arrange it. I see no reason for proclaiming election day a holiday. I also object to the other feature to which I have drawn attention, and if these two objections are well founded there is not much left of the Bill. I think the Bill as arranged is inopportune at the present time. I hope, however, that the hon. member will follow it up, and if he does not I can assure him that at another session I intend to introduce a Bill along the lines I have mentioned providing that no man shall be allowed to be a candidate for more than one constituency in the same election.

Mr. S. F. GLASS (East Middlesex): The hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) has expressed the thoughts that were engaging my own mind just as he arose to speak. I would not go so far as to criticise the hon. member who represents the constituencies of Maisonneuve and Gaspé, but I do criticise the pernicious principle which allows a man under any circumstances to be a candidate for two seats at the one time. Even in a municipal government no man is allowed to run for school trustee and also for alderman at the same time. He must select in what capacity he chooses to represent the people. I think that the prin-

ciple of representing two constituencies imposes an injustice on the constituency. One of those constituencies must be unrepresented during the term of Parliament, or else the expense is imposed on the county of holding another election. I trust that this matter will receive the serious consideration of the House, and if it be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, I trust they will submit a recommendation to this House for removing this evil that has existed for a long time in this country. If a candidate is going to stand for election to the House of Commons, I think there should be a means by which he would have to declare what is his intent, and his deposit should be paid previous to nomination day, so that it will be impossible for one candidate to receive a nomination for two constituencies on the same day. There is absolutely nothing in justice, right or equity to justify the pernicious principle by which a man is allowed even to contest two constituencies for the same House.

We have often discussed in this House the question of making election day a holiday; and there has been a difference of opinion. Some years ago the Municipal Act provided that the first Monday should be the date for the municipal elections; but certain cities had powers conferred on them by the Provincial Government to select New Year's Day instead. The arguments urged strongly at that time for making polling day a holiday was that commercial travellers and others would thereby be enabled to take part in the election, but the very reverse of what was anticipated has resulted. There was a very large shrinkage in the vote polled, and to-day in the city of Toronto, London, and other cities in the province of Ontario where municipal elections are held on a holiday there is a decided shrinkage in the vote polled, which is not in the interest of good government. Owing to the lack of interest in municipal elections, which should be a matter of concern to the citizens, men of mediocrity get elected to important positions in the municipal service.

I agree with the hon. member who said that this measure had points in it that were of value. However he did not say much on what he thought was of value. I agree that some definite limit should be fixed within which an election should be held after a seat has become vacant. Whether it should be sixty days or longer I am not prepared to state, but that is a matter which the Committee on Privileges and Elections, if it was referred to them, could decide. I repeat, that the mere fact that the principle has been followed by the Dominion and Provincial Governments for many years past of allowing a member to represent two constituencies does not make that principle right. No constituency should be unrepresented for years, or even for too many months, and legislation against this pernicious principle should be enacted.

As the Minister of Justice has said, there are points of interest presented in this Bill. and I trust that they will receive proper consideration. I trust that if the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) introduces a similar Bill later on he will provide an amendment absolutely to prevent the possibility of any candidate contesting two seats for this Parliament in one election.

Mr. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queens): There is a point I have not heard mentioned in the debate which I think would be worthy of the attention of the Committee, if the suggestion of the Minister of Justice is to be carried out. There are eight, unhappily, now nine, vacancies in this Parliament. Under this Bill now before the House we would be obliged to have these elections within sixty days of the date of the vacancy, but they would not all take place together. The Government might still pick and choose for itself. Now in our general elections we have accepted the principle of simultaneous polling. I would suggest for the consideration of the Committee that they should endeavour to find words the effect of which would be that where two or more vacancies exist at the same time, unless there is good reason to the contrary, the elections shall be held together. As far as possible we should have simultaneous polling, and no Government of either party should have the right to pick and choose, bringing on an election that might be helpful at one time, and another one later on. The House will generally agree that if we are asking for changes along these lines, that question deserves careful consideration.

Mr. W. F. COCKSHUTT (Brantford): It appears to me that there is a point that has not been discussed with regard to the question of dual representation. We know that very often protests are entered and it might be very convenient for a gentleman to retire from a constituency in which his election was being protested.

Mr. S. W. JACOBS (George Etienne Cartier): Provision is being made for that.

Mr. W. F. COCKSHUTT: Protests frequently drag out one or two years and that is why on many occasions members who have been willing to retire from one of their constituencies have not been permitted to do so. While the matter is pending in court and the validity of the election is in peril a member is not allowed to retire even if he is willing to do so, and on some occasions seats have been held in that way for one or two years after an election. I would further point out that sixty days is a very short notice. In the case of by-elections in Ontario, and I presume it is the same in most of the other provinces, the lists are not by any means ready. In a country district it is a very serious matter to prepare an electoral list. It may not have been got ready for one or two years prior to the vacancy and it is absurd to think that an election could be held within sixty days and a proper list prepared for the particular constituency in such great haste. I submit these suggestions to my hon. friend, asking him if he has taken them into consideration, and if he does not think that the Bill should be modified in the direction I have indicated in both these respects. For myself I agree with the member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) that no candidate should be permitted to run for more than one constituency. I cannot remember it having been done in Ontario.

Mr. BELAND: Is my hon. friend aware that it is the custom in England?

Mr. COCKSHUTT: I believe it is. I am not saying that it is not a time-honoured custom, but we are reformers sometimes even if we are called Tories or strong Conservatives, and I am a reformer to that extent. I believe that if an abuse exists, and I think it does exist, whereby a constituency can be disfranchised for a year or a term of years, it should not be permitted in any province, and I say that with all deference to my hon. friend (Mr. Lemieux), who is an excellent member of the House; for if any man can represent two constituencies I presume the hon. gentleman can do so as well as any one else. He carries great weight and is a man of breadth and ability. I am not disparaging his ability to represent two constituencies, but I think it is an entirely wrong principle, and if the Bill were amended in accordance with the suggestion of the member for Frontenac, at the same time having in view the points I have mentioned, I would have no serious objection to it, although I have not considered it in all its details as closely as I should like to.

Mr. H. B. MORPHY (North Perth): There seems to be some confusion in connection with the constituency represented by the hon. member for Maisonneuve and Gaspe. I do not see how the hon. member can legally hold two seats. Rule 79 says:

> All members who are returned for two or more electoral districts shall make their election for which of the districts they will serve, within twenty days after it shall appear that there is no question upon the return for either district.

The hon. gentleman can therefore hold only one seat unless there was a protest against his holding either. It is interesting to know whether or not a protest was entered against the hon. member in respect of either Maisonneuve or Gaspe. The hon. gentleman would seem to be more interested in this question than any one else.

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maisonneuve and Gaspe): I am not more interested than any one else in this matter. I wish to obey the law and I have always obeyed it. I was the happy victim of circumstances at the last general election in the fact that I was elected for two constituencies. I must say that personally I do not think that any member of the House should monopolize two seats. I adhere to the principle of my hon. friend's Bill, for which I shall vote. But sometimes in an election party exigencies here as in England make it necessary that a man should be a candidate for two constituencies. The law, however, is very wise. My hon. friend has just read one of the rules of the House providing that twenty days after the election a member who has been returned for two constituencies must decide which of them he elects to represent in the House, unless he is protested. Mr. Speaker, I would not have sat for both seats last session had I not been protested at the last election. There is a protest against my election in the constituency of Maisonneuve, and I am awaiting the result of that protest before electing for which constituency I shall sit in the House. I may say, however, that during the last Parliament our late lamented friend the ex-member for Charlevoix-Montmorency sat for both the county of Charlevoix and Montmorency, and there was no protest. I remember asking him at the time how he could sit for both seats without being subject to the consequences of the law. He told me at the time that he had taken the

advice of the Minister of Justice—I do not know whether he referred to my hon. friend (Mr. Doherty) or to some one in the Department of Justice—and he said that, protest or no protest, there was no sanction to that rule. For my part, I have more regard for the sanctity of the rules of the House, and when a rule says that within a certain period the member who happens to represent two constituencies must elect which he shall sit for, I consider there is an obligation, at least a moral obligation, on him to obey that rule, and I stand ready to obey it as soon as the protest against my election in the county of Maisonneuve has been disposed of. In all sincerity, however, I say that although it is a great honour to represent two constituencies, I do not believe the principle is democratic. We should give each constituency in the country the opportunity of having its own representative, and though a member may be able to serve the interests of two constituencies, the principle is undemocratic and should not prevail. The Bill introduced by my hon. friend (Mr. Jacobs) will therefore have my support.

Hon. Mr. CROTHERS: Has the protest referred to by my hon. friend been disposed of yet?

Mr. LEMIEUX: No.

Mr. CROTHERS: It is nearly two years since the election.

Mr. LEMIEUX: It is not two years; it is only eighteen months.

Mr. DOHERTY: I beg leave to make a statement in regard to what the hon. member (Mr. Lemieux) has said. There must have been some misunderstanding between the late distinguished member to whom my hon. friend referred and himself as to the statement that was made. I certainly was not consulted on the question by the ex-member for Charlevoix-Montmorency.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I think he said the Department of Justice; I do not think he said the Minister of Justice. Perhaps that was not the intention of the then sitting member for Charlevoix.

Mr. DOHERTY: I have no recollection of having heard of it.

Mr. JACOBS: I am disposed to accept the suggestion of the Minister of Justice that this Bill should go before the Privileges and Elections Committee. That committee, selected by the Government from both sides of the House, is particularly fitted to deal with this important Bill. I feel sure that the committee will be favourable to the passing of this measure by the House.

I am sure we must all appreciate the delicacy of our good friend the hon. member for Annapolis (Mr. Davidson) in halting this debate on Thursday last in order to have the view of the hon. member for Maisonneuve and Gaspe (Mr. Lemieux). I did not think it was in him, and I am sure that the opportunity given us of learning of his goodness of heart is something that we all appreciate particularly as it caused him to be somewhat severely castigated by the Montreal Gazette a day or two ago. I quote from the Gazette—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. gentleman is not in order in quoting any newspaper report reflecting upon the motives or statements of any member of this House.

Mr. JACOBS: There is no reference to any member of this House. It has reference to the policy of the Government. Inferentially, it may reflect upon the hon. member for Digby and Annapolis (Mr. Davidson). I quote from the Montreal Gazette of yesterday:

> The subject of the division of Thursday was the Bill of Mr. Jacobs to require the prompt filling by by-elections of vacancies occurring in the House of Commons, and the stopping of the abuse of members elected for two constituencies holding both seats through a Parliamentary term and depriving a section of the electorate of their proper voice in the decision of national issues. It should not have been the occasion of a party division, and the generalship that permitted one was at fault.

I do not wish to make any comment.

Mr. DAVIDSON: Does the hon. gentleman blame me for the attitude taken by the other side when they made it a party question and voted against my motion?

Mr. JACOBS: I am merely referring to the fact that the hon. gentleman who happens to be a whip on the other side of the House, should have taken the action that he did in raising a question at the time, bringing about this comment from the Montreal Gazette which probably knows more about the affairs of hon. gentlemen on the other side than I do.

Mr. DAVIDSON. It is a rebuke to those on the other side of the House.

Mr. JACOBS: The hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) stated he would support the Bill if it contained a clause to the effect that no candidate should present himself for more than one seat. He seems to think that if he cannot get a whole loaf he is not going to be satisfied

with half. The rule which I have incorporated in my Bill in regard to candidates presenting themselves for more than one seat is the rule in England and my object in incorporating it in this measure was to bring it in line with the English law. The English Parliament has been functioning for six or seven hundred years and I do not think you could have a better pattern than the English system. When we fall away from the rule laid down by the Mother of Parliaments we always get ourselves into trouble. That is the case with the matter now under review. In Ontario there is a provision whereby practically automatic elections for the legislature must take place. I have not seen the Act myself but I am told that there is a provision that when two members give notice to the Speaker, signed by their own hand that a seat is vacant, it is the duty of the Speaker to take cognizance of it and cause the writ to issue forthwith. I am inclined to think that for the present we ought to be satisfied to permit candidates to present themselves for more than one seat because there is always a danger that a candidate, no matter how good he may be, may be without honour in his own county, and for that reason we ought to permit him to try his chances in more than one division. So soon as he has a seat, so soon as he is elected in one constituency his duty is to see that some body else is provided with the seat which he himself cannot use.

Mr. GLASS: If the principle which the hon. gentleman enunciated be right as regards running for two constituencies, why would it not be as right for a candidate to run for fifty constituencies?

Mr. JACOBS: The principle is the same and when he obtains one seat he gives the other forty-nine to other people who can use them. I am rather inclined to think that the attack made upon my hon. friend from Maisonneuve and Gaspé by some of the members of the House is due to the fact that they cannot pronounce the word "Maisonneuve" as it should be pronounced, and they think that if he elects to sit for Gaspé it will make it more convenient all round.

With regard to the last clause of my Bill which has been subjected to a good deal of criticism, when the Bill goes before the Privileges and Elections Committee I will be prepared to amend it in a way which will suit the committee or I may ask that it be struck out altogether. As I said in introducing the Bill, I am not wedded to that particular section. I do not think it is as important as the other provisions of the Bill. I think it would be preferable that the voter should go to the poll untrammelled and unencumbered by the aid of his boss or employer. It sometimes makes for independence in the matter of voting, but perhaps we have not yet arrived at the stage in our development when a consideration of that kind weighs with members of the House. At any rate, the matter can be discussed and dealt with when it goes before the Privileges and Elections Committee. I feel that when it comes back to the House from that committee we will have something substantive upon which we can act.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty, the Bill was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

ADJOURNMENT—FUNERAL OF THE LATE HON. MR. COCHRANE.

Mr. DOHERTY: Mr. Speaker, before making the motion to adjourn the House, I would ask leave to premise it by another motion. There was among the members of this House, I think, a very general feeling that the House had taken no action to express the sentiment which it entertained in regard to the loss we have sustained by the death of our colleague and confrere, the late Hon. Frank Cochrane.

It is a matter of regret, I am sure, to all of us that, the funeral not taking place in this city, it is not possible for us to attend that ceremony and pay that last tribute of respect to our departed friend. But it has been suggested to me that as that is impossible, it would be a fitting thing that this House suspend its sitting at the hour at which the funeral is to take place to-morrow in Toronto. Recognizing the sentiment that underlies the desire for that action, a sentiment which I am sure is shared by us all, I beg now to move that when this House adjourns this evening it stand adjourned until four o'clock to-morrow afternoon. In this way we shall refrain from carrying on the business of the House for the period of time during which the funeral ceremony will take place.

Motion agreed to.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 10.20 p.m.

Wednesday, September 24, 1919.

The House met at Four o'clock.

REPORTS AND PAPERS.

Major-General MEWBURN: I beg to lay on the table of the House return to an Order of the House passed last session in connection with a motion similar to a motion of the hon. member for Victoria (Sir Sam Hughes) standing on the Order Paper to-day.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: With the consent of the House, I should like to move that we proceed now to Government Orders. There are two Bills standing there for third reading, and as the Senate is in session and, I think, has not very much work to do, this would facilitate passing up to the other House the two measures for their discussion and approval there.

Motion agreed to, and the House proceeded to Government Orders.

THE PEACE TREATY.

BILL TO CARRY INTO EFFECT THE TREATY BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY AND CERTAIN OTHER POWERS

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved the third reading of Bill No. 3 for carrying into effect the Treaty of Peace between His Majesty and certain other powers.

He said: I ask leave to make a statement in connection with this Bill. I feel that I ought to do so because I want to acknowledge that the hon. member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding) yesterday was right and I was mistaken in the interpretation I put upon the provision of the Bill with regard to the appointments that would be made under it. Upon reflection I quite realize that an appointment of the kind the hon. member mentioned, that is, the appointment of a representative to a conference of the League of Nations, if occasion arose for that,—would be an appointment that would be provided for by this Bill. If I understood rightly, we agreed it was proper that should be so, but at the moment my mind was too closely centred on what I might call the domestic feature of the matter, and I fell into the error of giving that interpretation. I think it is only fair to the hon. gentleman and in order to avoid any misunderstanding in the future, that I should make that statement.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the third time and passed.

NAVIGABLE WATERS PROTECTION ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Hon. A. L. Sifton (Minister of Public Works), Bill No. 11, to amend the Navigable Waters Protection Act, was read the third time and passed.

On motion of Sir George Foster, the House returned to the order "Motions."

VACANCY.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the House that I have received a notification of a vacancy having occurred in the representation of the Electoral District of Timiskaming, by the decease of the Honourable Francis Cochrane, the sitting member.

I accordingly issued my warrant to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery to make out a new Writ of Election for the said Electoral District.

THE PEACE TREATY.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH GOVERNMENT OF UNITED KINGDOM TABLED.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY: On the 10th September, the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) asked for the production of correspondence with the Government of the United Kingdom concerning the attendance of representatives of Canada at the conference and concerning the proceedings for the approval of the Peace Treaty. A telegram was received yesterday from the United Kingdom authorities consenting to the publication of the correspondence and I beg in consequence to lay upon the Table a copy of that correspondence. I have had prepared for the leader of the Opposition an additional copy which I shall be glad to hand to him.

NATURALIZATION ACT, 1919, AMENDMENT.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE (Solicitor General) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 14, to amend the Naturalization Act, 1919.

Mr. MURPHY: Explain.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This amendment, which is a very minor one, will affect only the province of Ontario. It gives the court of General Sessions of the Peace of Ontario power to entertain applications for naturalization. For the past fifty years that court has been the chief court which has dealt with naturalization matters, but in the Act passed last session we gave the

county court exclusive jurisdiction in such matters. This is to remedy that and to include in the list of courts of Ontario which can entertain applications of naturalization the Court of General Sessions of the Peace.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by asterisks.)

WAR BONUS.

Mr. DECHENE:

1. Are all persons who were in the employ of the Government on the 1st of April, 1918, entitled to the full amount of the war bonus granted by the Government?
2. What are the conditions required in respect to those persons who were employed on the Government steamers of the various departments to entitle them to the full amount of their bonus?

Hon. Mr. GUTHRIE:

1. All employees of the Government are entitled to bonus, with the exception of: Married employees receiving $3,000 and over. Single employees receiving $1,800 and over. Employees under 18 years of age, unmarried or not sole support of dependents. Employees not giving their full time to their duties. Employees receiving prevailing rates of pay.

2. Employees engaged on Government steamships, if not receiving prevailing rates, are entitled to bonus, providing they do not belong to the Royal Canadian Naval Service, or enlisted men on military service.

The above has reference to the Cost of Living Bonus payable from April 1, 1919 to March 31, 1920.

ST. LAWRENCE CHANNEL DREDGES.

* Mr. CARDIN:

In dredging the channel of the St. Lawrence river between Montreal and Quebec, how many dredges were in service during the seasons of navigation in 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918?

Major-General MEWBURN: 1911, 11 dredges; 1912, 12 dredges; 1913, 13 dredges; 1914, 15 dredges; 1915, 15 dredges; 1916, 15 dredges; 1917, 11 dredges; 1918, 5 dredges.

SOREL SHIPBUILDING YARDS.

* Mr. CARDIN:

How many persons were employed in the Government shipbuilding yards at St. Joseph de Sorel, during the month of August, 1911, 1912, 1913 and 1919?

Major-General MEWBURN: During August, 1911, 798 persons; during August, 1912, 601 persons; during August, 1913, 724 persons; during August, 1919, 355 persons.

LOBSTER REGULATIONS—FINES.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Antigonish):

1. How many fines have been collected in Nova Scotia during the year 1918 for infractions of regulations relating to the lobster fisheries?
2. What was the gross amount collected?

Major-General MEWBURN: No fines were collected although considerable lobster gear was seized for being illegally used, the owners or operators of which were unknown.

THE ROSS RIFLE.

On the motion (Sir Sam Hughes):

For a copy of (a) Circular, supposed of German inspiration, containing ten suggestions, surreptitiously distributed among the Canadian troops about the time of the battle of St. Julien, deprecating the Canadian rifle. (b) Reports by Colonel Primsmall, a British officer, showing comparative and competitive tests between the Canadian rifle and the British (improved) Lee-Enfield rifle, both using the defective ammunition and also good ammunition. (c) Any other reports or authentic data comparing the two rifles in regard to rapidity of fire, accuracy of fire, endurance, jamming, etc. (d) Reports showing various brands of ammunition supplied by the British to their own troops and to the Canadians, also marking which were defective, irregular in size and with cases too highly annealed or were otherwise unsafe or unfit for use. (e) Reports of evidence giving instances where splendid troops of the British Service armed with the Lee-Enfield rifle suffered disaster through jamming of the Lee-Enfield rifle owing to bad ammunition. (f) Reports showing that ammunition of every nation, both in the allied and enemy service, at times caused jamming through defects or dirt. (g) Reports of the withdrawal from service by order of the British authority of the defective brands of ammunition. (h) Evidence as to the finding among the Canadian troops armed with the Canadian rifle of thousands of the defective ammunition mixed with the good ammunition long after the order to withdraw the defective ammunition, and the absence of any defective ammunition in the Canadian battalions armed with the Lee-Enfield rifle. (i) Report by Colonel Embury, now Brigadier-General Embury, and officers of the 28th Canadian Battalion, of the finding of brands of the defective ammunition mixed with the good ammunition the morning that splendid battalion distinguished itself when a mine was blown up under them. (j) The reasons assigned by the, then, Minister of Militia on finding that many of the Canadian soldiers were honestly and innocently prejudiced against the Canadian rifle owing to enemy reports whispered against it, and his determination not to ask any man, under such circumstances to carry a rifle in which he had not the fullest confidence. (k) Evidence showing the unauthorized action of certain parties in England in hardening parts of the bolt action of the Canadian rifle to extreme brittleness, thus

ruining the rifle after these rifles had left Canada in perfect condition.

Major-General MEWBURN (Minister of Militia and Defence): I have today laid on the Table a return to an order of the House made in connection with a similar motion last session, and it gives all the information requested by this motion so far as it is available to the Department of Militia and Defence.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I should like the motion to stand until I have had an opportunity of looking over the return.

Motion stands.

HOUSING ACCOMMODATION AND FUEL SUPPLIED TO THE CANADIAN TROOPS.

Sir SAM HUGHES (Victoria) moved:

For a return showing: (a) The quantities of coal and other fuel per man per day supplied to the Canadian soldiers during December, January and February, 1918-19. (b) The character of the housing of the soldiers in each case, i.e., was it in wooden huts or in tents? Were there floors in these places? Were the cracks in the floors covered? Had the men cots, or were they obliged to lie on the floor? How many blankets were supplied per man? (c) What was the nature of the stove or heating apparatus furnished? (d) What were the sewage and sanitary plans and conditions in these camps? (e) How were complaints on the part of the officers and men treated or disposed of?

Major-General MEWBURN (Minister of Militia and Defence): This motion appeared on the Order Paper last session. It refers to the quantities of coal and other fuel per man per day supplied to the Canadian soldiers during December, January, and February, 1918-19. I would ask the hon. member to make it clear whether this has reference to Canada or Overseas.

Mr. SPEAKER: In the meantime the motion stands.

Motion stands.

ALLEGED MANIPULATION OF SOLDIER VOTES.

MOTION FOR PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria) moved:

Whereas, the following telegram was despatched in code from Winnipeg by the Hon. Arthur Meighen, one of the ministers of the Crown, to the Right Hon. Sir Robert L. Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, on or about the 30th November, 1917:

Canadian Pacific Railway Company's Telegraph.
Winnipeg, November 30, 1917.

Sir Robert L. Borden,
Ottawa, Ont.

Duncan Lobby Osier Tottering spasm weapons avenged Leaves fracas Manitoba ordaining, work, towed, imaginative, fracas, Selkirk, batten, dress, blamable, Provencher, MacDonald antiquarianism, Springfield, Scarlatina, pruned, ordaining, drifting, nurtured, mentally, woad, paddock, amphibological, meretricious, belle.

Charge Union Government Committee.

Arthur Meighen.

and, whereas, the said telegram when deciphered reads as follows:—

Canadian Pacific Railway Company's Telegraph.
Winnipeg, November 30, 1917.

Sir Robert L. Borden,
Ottawa, Ont.

Would like one thousand soldier votes at large for Manitoba, of which 300 for Selkirk, balance divided between Provencher, MacDonald and Springfield or same proportion of division no matter what our allotment may be.

Charge Union Government Committee.

Arthur Meighen.

and, whereas, the said telegram indicates the existence of a widespread system of manipulation of votes, under the direction and with the approval of ministers of the Crown, for the purpose of defeating the will of the Canadian people as expressed at the polls, and

Whereas, such scheme of manipulation involves not only the honour of the ministers concerned, but the constitutional rights of the people.

Therefore, be it resolved that in the opinion of this House, a Parliamentary Committee should be chosen immediately for the purpose of investigating the matters expressed or implied in said telegram, and that the said committee be vested with all power and authority necessary for the purpose of said inquiry, including the right to summon witnesses and to cause to be produced all necessary papers and documents.

He said: The part of the notice of motion to which I wish particularly to refer is the telegram as decoded, and in order to make my observations intelligible to any one reading Hansard and connect them with the notice of motion, I shall read the decoded telegram:

Winnipeg, November 30, 1917.

Sir Robert L. Borden,
Ottawa, Ont.

Would like one thousand soldier votes at large for Manitoba, of which 300 for Selkirk, balance divided between Provencher, MacDonald and Springfield or same proportion of division no matter what our allotment may be.

Charge Union Government Committee.

Arthur Meighen.

There are two points in connection with the interpretation which I propose to put on this telegram which are more or less elaborated in the notice of motion itself, which reads in part:

and, whereas, the said telegram indicates the existence of a widespread system of manipulation of votes, under the direction and with the approval of ministers of the Crown, for the purpose of defeating the will of the Canadian people as expressed at the polls, and

Whereas, such scheme of manipulation involves not only the honour of the ministers concerned, but the constitutional rights of the people.

Those are two points which I wish particularly to bring to the notice of this Parliament. At the outset, let me say that for some time I had hoped that it would not be necessary for any member on this side of the House, or indeed any hon. member, to bring this matter to the notice of Parliament. This telegram was not new when it appeared on the Order Paper.

It is not new to-day. For weeks and possibly months it has been a matter of common knowledge in the country. Early in August two gentlemen, one from the province of Manitoba and the other from Ontario, both of them well known in Canada, when addressing a public gathering in the city of Ottawa read the telegram from a public platform and in the presence of newspapermen. It is unquestionable therefore that its contents, far from being a novelty, are familiar to the people. I did not think it would be necessary for us to broach the subject in this House, because when men of responsibility made statements of the character of those which were made publicly in connection with this telegram, statements which in my judgment were highly slanderous and actionable if false. I certainly thought that the parties concerned would of their own volition institute proceedings before the courts of the country and have the truth or falsity of the matter definitely established. That was not done, and it became palpable to us on this side of the House that if the matter was to be threshed out at all it had to be done on the floor of parliament.

Certain responsibilities devolve upon the Opposition, and more particularly upon him who for the time being occupies the position of its leader, and if matters of vast importance to the public are allowed to pass without question, I think that a grave responsibility would lie at the door of those who owe a duty to the House and the country, and who by the very nature of their position in parliament are bound to exercise due care and vigilance to safeguard the interests of the people. For that reason, it devolved upon me to bring this matter up in the House and to submit it for your consideration, Sir, and the consideration of hon. members. I said a moment ago that I considered this a matter which should not have escaped the attention of the gentleman against whom the charges were publicly directed in the city of Ottawa in August last. There are some things which public men necessarily can ignore. Certain hard things are said of public men which it would be vain and futile for them constantly to tilt at. On the other hand, however, there are things which public men cannot with impunity ignore, and if ministers of the Crown are charged with unwarranted and undue interference with the rights of the people it is not only their duty to the public to challenge the allegation, but it is in their own interests, and vitally important to their reputation, to refute any misstatement and establish their integrity. The position of a minister of the Crown is one of supreme importance in the country, and it is incumbent on every one who fills a high office to show clean hands and open conduct, and an impartial fairness in his dealings with public matters. Such charges as the present are therefore too grave and important, and fraught with too much seriousness to be allowed to slide without adequate investigation, more particularly when they concern men in whom the public have reposed their confidence. For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I think it is my bounden duty to bring this matter up in the House in order to ascertain the attitude of hon. members in regard to it, and to learn what the minister in question has to say in reply to the charge that is laid against him. I am not pleading a case against a man charged with a crime; that is not the nature of my address. I have no interest in this matter beyond a sincere desire to secure an absolute and complete disclosure of the facts of the matter, and to find out exactly the real import of this telegraphic message which I have read to the House this afternoon. Shortly after the speeches were made, to which I have referred—indeed, the next morning, I think —the newspapers of this country contained what I presume to be a correct interview alleged to have been had with the Minister of the Interior (Hon. Arthur Meighen). That hon. gentleman was asked if these reports were correct, and whether or not he had sent the message in question. As I remember, his reply was that he had no recollection of the message, but that whether he had sent it or not the message was all right; there was nothing wrong about it except that it was stolen. I am taking no responsibility for what I quote from the newspapers. I take it that the interview was correct, that the Minister of the Interior was properly reported, and that he now admits the paternity of this telegram.

Therefore, for the purposes of my argument and for the full presentation of this matter, I shall take it for granted that the telegram is authentic, that it was sent, and that there is no denial of it.

Now the whole question is as to the proper interpretation to be placed upon it, and the meaning that is to be assigned to its contents. If it is true that the message was sent, then inevitably we desire to know why it was sent and what was the purpose of it. If it was a proper legitimate transaction why were we treated to a secret code? If it was lawful for the Minister of the Interior, under the Act, to say to the Prime Minister: "You will gather up a thousand soldier votes in England or France and assign them to different constituencies in my province of Manitoba;"—if that was perfectly legitimate and there was nothing to conceal about it, one naturally would suppose that the telegram could be sent in plain English; since there was no mystery connected with it. But it is suggested to one's mind that when the message is clothed in these unusual and mysterious terms there is really something about it which the Minister of Interior is anxious that ordinary men shall know nothing about, and that he wants it to be understood only by the Prime Minister and those who would be concerned in carrying out the instructions contained in it. Now, it is true Sir that when the Military Voters' Act was going through the House in 1917 it was very strenuously pointed out by members on this side and members who are to-day sitting on the Government side of the House, that the measure was intended for this very purpose, that it was a piece of machinery that was created for no other purpose than this, and that for that reason therefore it should not be countenanced by Parliament. We were informed then that the intention was perfectly legitimate and that everything was to be entirely open and above board. Now, however, we find that the prophecies which were made when the Act was before the House have been fulfilled and that the fears of the Opposition have unfortunately been realized. If it is lawful under the Act for the Government to have absolute control of non-resident soldiers' votes, then, under such an interpretation of the statute, I should say that the Government is responsible for a piece of election machinery which is in utter defiance of the Constitution and the rights of the Canadian people. If the ministers of the Crown take the ground that the contents of this telegram, and the conduct to be followed in consequence of the instructions conveyed by the message, are both justifiable, I say that the Government is responsible for insidious legislation. Secondly, I make the statement that if on the contrary the law is not open to that construction—and I certainly believe it is not—then the conduct of the Government in tampering with the soldier's votes is not only censurable, but constitutes a political crime against the freedom and the constitutional rights of the people of Canada. It is in that light, Sir, and in the belief that the telegram is not open to the construction which the minister will no doubt put upon it that I wish to devote some attention to this motion. This is perhaps an unfortunate occasion on which to introduce this subject; but gentlemen on this side of the House have no selection of their days. They have to be content with the days as they come to them and according as the rules of the House afford them opportunity. It is different with the Government. They can put their motions and Bills just where it suits their convenience. It is suggested to me that I should not take very much time this afternoon in discussing this subject in view of the fact that the House, under the rule, adjourns at six o'clock. Well, Mr. Speaker, I have no desire to encroach upon the time of the House beyond doing what is absolutely necessary for the proper presentation in my case.

But I do say, Sir, that it is open to the Government to bring this up again at any time—to bring it up to-morrow if they like—if my taking more than half the time between my commencement and six o'clock should be regarded by them as unfair. If ever I won any success in politics, or at the bar, or anywhere else, it was never by taking an undue advantage of an opponent. I have no skill in that line and I have no intention of attempting to take an advantage of any person by reason of any time that I may take in trying to discuss this matter this afternoon. If I should be regarded as trespassing upon the time which my hon. friend (Mr. Meighen) may think should belong to him, I shall be very sorry. All I can say is that I will get along just as quickly as possible.

What is the law that we are dealing with? What is the law under which the minister justifies this telegram? I am not saying that he is going to justify the telegram. I am not saying that he is going to admit that he sent it at all. I do not know what his answer may be. This is not like a case in court where the pleadings are filed and you know to a great extent what the answer of the other side is. It is the privilege and right of hon. members themselves, as re-

ceivers and senders of this message, to hold their tongues entirely, to speak or not to speak at all, but up to the time that they will speak we have no means of knowing what the answer may be. But taking it for granted that they are going to justify this telegram, I wish to point out what the section of the Act is under which they were acting.

I think it will not be disputed or controverted when I say that the right to the franchise, and the use of the franchise by any individual, is one of the most sacred and dearly prized possessions of a British subject and that any interference with that right is an offence of the gravest character. I must say further, Sir, that as I understand the exercise of the franchise by any individual, it is a judicial act. Lawyers will have no difficulty in knowing what is meant by an executive act as distinguished from a judicial act. The magistrate signs a summons; that is an executive act. The man who is sued appears before him and he gives judgment against him; that is a judicial act. So, there is a difference between an executive act and a judicial act. I submit, Sir, that the man who goes to the polling booth and marks his ballot is not performing a mechanical, executive act, but he is performing a judicial act. He is exercising his judgment as to the way in which he shall vote and he is exercising his judgment upon the Government for or against which he is voting. He is passing judgment on the concerns of the country in which he is entitled to exercise the rights of citizenship. Therefore I submit that when that man is going to exercise the right of voting he must do so by the proper exercise of his own judgment, that it should not be in the power of any other party to say to that man, or woman: "This way you shall vote," or: "This way you shall not vote, and you have nothing to say about it beyond the mere mechanical act of marking your ballot." The section to which I wish to refer is section 3 of chapter 34 of the Act of 1917, which is called "The Military Voters' Act" Section 3 reads as follows:

(1) Every military elector shall be qualified and entitled to vote at a general election.

(2) If he can state the electoral district wherein he last continuously resided during at least four months of the twelve months immediately preceding his appointment, enlistment, enrolment or calling out on active service, or so particularly specify a place or places within an electoral district whereat during such period of time he so resided that such electoral district can therefrom be ascertained, he shall be deemed an elector of the electoral district so stated or to be ascertained, and his vote shall be applied thereto.

(3) If he cannot state or so specify an electoral district or place wherein he has so resided for the time and within the period mentioned in subsection two but can state an electoral district or so specify a place within Canada wherein he has at any other time resided, he shall be deemed an elector of the electoral district so stated or made ascertainable and his vote shall be applied thereto.

(4) If he cannot, because of non-residence or otherwise, so state or specify, he shall be deemed an elector of, and his vote shall be applied to, such electoral district as he may indicate.

This last subsection 4 is the one that is right in point in connection with the matter that we are discussing. A person who had never lived in Canada, but who was made an elector under this section, although he could not name any spot in Canada which he knew, was permitted to designate some part of Canada where he wanted to deposit his ballot, which place he might indicate. I will read that subsection again:

If he cannot, because of non-residence or otherwise, so state or specify, he shall be deemed an elector of, and his vote shall be applied to, such electoral district as he may indicate.

It is rather a hard proposition that men who know nothing about this country, who have never seen this country, who have never lived in it, who, in so far as we know, are absolutely ignorant of our institutions, who know nothing about the right to the exercise of the franchise, or what it is exercised for, should step in and interfere with our affairs. But if those men have such knowledge of this country as will enable them to exercise that right intelligently, it is not so very bad after all. But if a group of people of that kind, running up into the thousands, who have never lived in this country, who know nothing about our institutions, are put in the hands of the Government, or in the hands of anybody else—I do not care whether it is in the hands of the Government or in the hands of one party or another—and they have power to place them, just like so many sheep in any yard in which they wish to drive them, I submit, Sir, that it is a most extraordinary thing and a condition that no civilized people should tolerate for one minute.

Yet that was the condition that existed and it was under a condition of that kind and in regard to men of that class that this telegram was sent.

Will you suppose, or will any intelligent man in this House suppose, that this was the first intimation the Prime Minister had that this telegram was coming? Will anybody suppose that a man of the intelligence of the Prime Minister of this country could

be approached, even by one of his colleagues, and told to do a thing of this kind unless it was pre-arranged and understood that this thing was on and that it could be done? I submit, therefore, that I am justified in stating in this motion that there was a pre-arranged and preconceived scheme by which this thing was to be done. Otherwise the telegram would not be put in the bare, bold, blunt manner in which it was put, except of course that it was in code.

Before I forget it, I wish to say that it was hinted in the interview of the Minister of the Interior that this telegram was stolen. Let me assure you, Sir, that as far as I am concerned, or as far as anybody getting this information from me is concerned, the telegram was not stolen but was passed out of the inner court of my hon. friend's party in the city of Winnipeg and placed in the hands of those who brought it here; and if it is necessary, the finger-marks of those who were handling it, and every evidence of originality in connection with the whole business, can be produced and privately shown to my hon. friend at any time that he wants to see it. So that as far as I am concerned——

Mr. MEIGHEN: Will the hon. gentleman show it now?

Mr. McKENZIE: I have not got it now.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: Great comfort.

Mr. McKENZIE: Some hon. gentlemen seem to laugh at that idea. Do they think, Sir, that it would be a proper thing for me to carry around on my person evidence of that kind?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McKENZIE: Nothing of the kind. If my hon. friend wants to see it, if hon. gentlemen opposite want to see the whole truth let them constitute a proper court——

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McKENZIE: ——and ask for its production. It will be produced, Sir; the man who sent the telegram, and the man who delivered the code and the interpretation into our possession, will be produced, and then we will be able to tell where this thing came from. It would be a pity indeed that I would be going around peddling this thing from house to house. Nothing of the kind —it is in proper custody and will be produced at the proper place.

Now, Sir, I have already argued that in my judgment such a condition of things should not exist and I now wish to point out that the grouping of men or voters into any counties to which they do not belong is a violation of the rights of the people of this country. Why is this country divided into ridings, counties, and subdivisions? Why would not the people of the whole of Canada vote for a certain group of men at large and send members at large to the House of Commons if there was no purpose in creating subdivisions and counties? The idea was that a certain group of men in certain places would have the privilege of being represented in this House, and for that purpose the Constitution provides, as set forth in section 51 of the British North America Act, as follows:

> On the completion of the census in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and of each subsequent decennial census, representation of the four provinces shall be readjusted by such authority, in such manner, and from such time as the Parliament of Canada, from time to time provides, subject and according to the following rules:
>
> 1. Quebec shall have the fixed number of sixty-five members;
>
> 2. There shall be assigned to each of the other provinces such a number of members as will bear the same proportion to the number of its population (ascertained at such census) as the number of sixty-five bears to the number of the population of Quebec (so ascertained):
>
> 3. In the computation of the number of members for a province a fractional part not exceeding one-half of the whole number requisite for entitling the province to a member shall be disregarded; but a fractional part exceeding one-half of that number shall be equivalent to the whole number.

There is another subsection dealing with this matter, but I have quoted this section in order to show that the Constitution provides for the subdividing of the country or for giving a representative or a vote in this House to a set number of people. The unit of representation at the last re-adjustment was 30,819. That is every group of 30,819 individuals in Canada are entitled to a representative in this House; in other words that for every five thousand, or thereabouts of voters, there will be a representative. I think it is a fair statement to make that before women were given the right to vote and when this Act was made there would be only one in every six of the population who had a vote. Therefore, when the British North America Act was enacted, every five thousand electors were supposed to have a voice in this House through a member of Parliament. Are you going to destroy that unit by giving the electoral qualification to men all over the world who have

no interest in Canada at all? If so, when a group of men in any constituency in the Dominion wish to express their views by sending a man of their own choice to Parliament, you can always defeat that idea by gathering some of your cohorts from different parts of the country and throwing them into that constituency, and so defeating the will and wish of the people. That, Sir, is evidently the purpose of the Military Voters' Act, and that is the purpose of this telegram—at least that is the effect of the telegram if I am to believe its contents and the instructions that were given under it. In this way the will and wish of the people and their constitutional rights can be defeated.

I am now going to quote some observations made in this House some years ago by a very distinguished Conservative, a gentleman who was for many years a member of Parliament, I refer to Sir Edmund Osler. That gentleman, who is well known and much respected in the Dominion and in this House, speaking here in 1900—and his words will be found at page 5508 and 5511 of the Hansard of that session, said:

> I claim that if there has been fraud to the extent of only one ballot, that affected the whole election no matter even if the gentleman elected had 400 ballots of a majority in his favour. I say that the man who sits here representing that constituency is sitting here fraudulently. . . . There is a greater dishonesty than stealing money from the treasury of the country—the dishonesty of stealing the franchise from the people. This country can stand the stealing of millions of money, humiliating and degrading as that may be; but this country cannot stand the slighest attempt on the part of the Government or of any man to shield electoral corruption.

That is the view that was held by a leading Conservative, a view which no doubt he holds to-day; and when he expressed that view in the House, sitting then in Opposition as he was, I am sure it received the acclamation of the hon. gentlemen who sat around him on the Opposition side, which was then the Conservative Opposition.

Sir Edmund Osler is no longer a member of the House, but this principle which he enunciated is just as true now as it was then, and if there is any attempt to interfere with the law so as to thwart the will of the people the atmosphere should be made so hot that no Government and no man attempting such a thing could live for one day in our democratic country.

Mr. M. CLARK: Might I ask my hon. friend if he gave the date of that quotation?

Mr. McKENZIE: I have only the year, Mr. Speaker. The quotation is from page 5509 of Hansard for 1900. Speaking at the same time I assume, for it is the same year, at page 5186 I find the Right Hon. the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier is reported to have said:

> But such is the sanctity of the ballot, such is the sanctity of the rights of the people which they must exercise, whenever they are called upon at the polls, that though, in my opinion, speaking here in behalf of the Government, the case made out in regard to Brockville is more than weak, still the government will not offer any objection to the case also being referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

That was the view taken by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at that time, and it is the view that every honest man and high-minded statesman would take. I was not in the House of Commons then, and do not know what was done, but there are hon. gentlemen here who may remember what followed as a result of that debate. It is clear, however, from the statement of the then Prime Minister that although he regarded the case as weak he would not allow anything to be shielded; on the contrary, everything would have to be presented in open court before the tribunal which would deal with it. That is what we are asking for to-day. I am not saying that anybody is guilty, I am only saying that there is a prima facie case here, and it looks as if there was "something rotten in the state of Denmark."

Now, Sir, I may be asked: What evidence have you got? Well, I have here a statement made by a presiding officer who held office under this Government in England at the time and took the vote, and in that statement he says—I am not going to give his name—But if a court is constituted to investigate this matter he will appear before it and tell everything he knows. It appears to me that if he will stand by his statement he will make out a case to the hilt.

This man says that he voted seven hundred voters in one day—seven hundred men passed through his hands in one day and deposited their ballots in the ballot box. I have rehearsed the preliminaries that must be gone through by an officer of swearing the voter, asking him five or six questions, writing out a certificate, giving him the ballot, receiving it back and putting it in the box. I submit, Sir, that the most expert man could not do all those things in less than five minutes, and if an officer under the circumstances voted a man every five minutes he would be doing well. If this man in one day voted seven hundred voters he worked a full day of fifty-nine hours and some minutes.

Mr. J. A. CURRIE: The men filled those papers out themselves, and all the presiding officer had to do was to swear them as they passed by him. He did not have to fill out the papers; the soldiers could all write for themselves.

Mr. McKENZIE: I can only tell my hon. friend what the law is. This is the law, and I have to take it in preference to any statement made by any hon. gentleman, no matter what his information may be.

An hon. MEMBER: You are safer.

Mr. McKENZIE: This is what the law provides:

A sufficient even number of Special Returning Officers, and the same number of clerks, of whom one clerk shall be assigned to each Special Returning Officer to assist him in the performance of his duties. Such officers and clerks shall perform, at the places to which they respectively may be assigned upon appointment, the duties of counting, recording and returning the votes polled under this Part. . . . . .

The ballot-paper shall be marked in the presence of the Deputy Presiding Officer and deputy scrutineers present, or military electors acting in their stead, but in such manner as not to disclose to them or to any other person any marking thereon. The voter shall fold the ballot, place it in the envelope, securely close the same and hand it to the Deputy Presiding Officer, who shall then and there, in the presence of the voter and deputy scrutineers present, or military electors acting in their stead, place it in the ballot-box.

But before that is done:

The voter shall answer under oath, before the Deputy Presiding Officer, the questions set forth in the certificate which is form B in the Schedule. Such certificate shall be endorsed on the envelopes referred to in section five of this part.

These are the questions which must be answered before the deputy presiding officer. First of all, the man is sworn. We know the procedure. The man presents himself at the table to vote, and he is put upon his oath. The presiding officer then produces this certificate and asks him:

1. What is your name?

2. What is your rank?.....What is your number?

In what force or service are you?

4. Are you a British subject?.....Have you previously voted at this election?

5. Were you in Canada when you were appointed, enlisted, enrolled or called out in active service?

6. Specify the names of the place or places in Canada (giving streets and numbers where possible) whereat you last continuously resided during at least four months of the twelve months immediately preceding your appointment, enlistment, enrolment or calling out on active service?

7. State if you can the electoral district wherein such place or places in which you so resided are situate?

Electoral district..... .....

Province.....

8. If you cannot specify as required by question No. 6, or state as required by question No. 7, then state in what electoral district or place within Canada (giving street and number where possible) you have resided at any other time than is referred to in question No. 6.

9. If none of your answers to questions Nos. 6, 7, and 8, specify or state as required thereby, to what electoral district do you desire your vote to be applied?

Then the certificate is certified by the returning officer:

I certify that the above named military elector did this day make to me under oath the preceding set forth answers to the preceding set forth questions.

After this procedure is gone through the man votes. That those things could be done in advance or varied in any way, except as the law provides, shows of course that the law was not being carried out. I submit, Sir, if this officer, who is now in the Government service in this city, is making a proper statement, that in voting seven hundred men in one day he did that which was absolutely physically impossible if the law was complied with, and it shows that what we have been told is absolutely right, that the legal procedure was not followed, and that the votes were put in sheaves and packages and divided up just as it suited the exigencies of the case. This officer was told what was alleged, and he said:

"It's all true." . . . . "I know all about it." "I filled out all the envelopes for the ballots, the men simply swore to the statements on the envelopes being correct. I voted 700 in one day. . . . Mostly the men did not know where they were voting." . . . . "I had my instructions, we all had our instructions from headquarters." . . . . . "What we should do was laid out fully by the orders of the Returning Officer. It was all cooked and dried that the Liberals should not get one soldier's vote. That was our instructions." "I can tell you a thousand things you don't know." "We got instructions every day from Ottawa as to where the votes were to be placed, and I have all the documents to prove what I am saying." . . . . "I knew the men were making false affidavits, but they were doing what their superior officers had instructed them to do." . . . "All that we did was upon the best legal advice in the Dominion." . . . . "We held a good many organization meetings (at which all the regiments were represented) about where the votes were to be fraudulently placed, and all the Deputy Presiding Officers and poll clerks were specially schooled as to how the vote was to be taken and how it was to be allotted from each battalion to the Government candidates in the different constituencies, lists of which were given to us at the organization meetings." "Our Padre had been appointed Deputy Presiding Officer, but he would not stand for work which we had arranged, so I was put in his place." . . . . "I saw it all through, and I would like to know the name of a Deputy Presiding Officer who

did not do just as I did." "Of course, it was fraud, but we only carried out instructions." . . . . "Yes, I have lots of documents to prove all I am saying. I keep them as souvenirs. I will produce them if there is a Parliamentary inquiry." . . . . "The War Times Election Act was framed so as to allow the soldiers' votes to be manipulated in this way." . . . . "If I am called by a committee, I will tell the whole truth."

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton East): What is the name?

Mr. McKENZIE: That, Sir, is a statement made by a presiding officer who lives in this city, who is in the employ of this Government, who is at their bidding at any time that they may call upon him to give testimony as regards the manner in which the votes were manipulated on the other side of the water in connection with this election.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Name.

Mr. McKENZIE: If that be true, if that be the way in which this thing was done, if those men were not given any permit to exercise their God-given right of using their own brains and head and judgment as to how they should vote, surely this is not a matter that is going to be tolerated by the people of Canada and by hon. members in this House. We are asking only that this question should be fully and properly investigated and the truth made clear to the people of Canada. I do not know that it is necessary that I should make any comments now upon the views that were expressed in Parliament when this Military Voters' Act was passed. But I think I should point out some observations made by some hon. gentlemen who still have seats here and who would seem even then to have had some knowledge of what was going to be done. I find that the hon. member for Westmorland, N.B., said:

Mr. Copp: I would give every British subject the freedom that any citizen of this country is entitled to.

Mr. Morphy: Except the right to vote.

Mr. Copp: My hon. friend is wrong there. Take the case suggested by the hon. member for St. John, of a British subject who has enlisted in our forces after residing in the United States for a number of years. Now, although that man knows nothing about Canadian politics, he is to be given the right to vote. Then subsection 3 of section 3 says: If he cannot, because of non-residence or otherwise, so state or specify, he shall be deemed an elector of, and his vote shall be applied to, such electoral district as he may indicate. He may not know a single candidate or a single electoral district in all Canada; so how can he intelligently indicate what district his vote shall be applied to?

Mr. Morphy: It will be done for him.

He will not be called upon to exercise any judgment; he will not be called upon to know anything; he will be only a mere pawn on the chess board, and he will be told what to do.

Mr. Copp: By whom?

Mr. Morphy: Don't ask me.

Don't ask me, says the good member for Perth, North. He would not disclose any secrets; he would not give away any of the machinery; but this slipped out of him, as much as to say to the hon. member for Westmorland: Do not worry; this thing is all arranged. As this officer said: "It was all cooked and dried," and the Government could not very well afford to keep my good friend from Perth altogether on the outside of this thing. He was too important a man. He knew what it was, but he would not tell. He said: Do not ask me, I know all about it, but I will not tell. That goes to show that this was not a new scheme; that it had been well known for a long time. The hon. member for St. John at that time, the Hon. Mr. Pugsley, is a gentleman whose word must be received with a great deal of acceptance and weight by this Government, because they thought he was good enough and deserving enough to be made a representative of the King in the province of New Brunswick. This Government, with all the wisdom and experience they had in a general way and the express and definite knowledge they had of this hon. gentleman who is now Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick, thought he was the only man who should be given that appointment. Therefore, what the Hon. Mr. Pugsley said on that occasion must not and cannot be sneered at by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. He said:

Mr. Pugsley: If the hon. member for Annapolis (Mr. Davidson) is not going to resume his remarks, I would say that, in my judgment, the Minister of Justice ought to withdraw this provision to which exception has been taken. My hon. friend from North Oxford (Mr. Nesbitt) made the statement before recess that he would not suggest that the minister had any ulterior motives, but I am prepared to say that if the minister, after his attention has been called to the injustice which may be done by continuing this provision in the Bill, insists upon its being continued there, he must not object if we suspect him of having ulterior motives and of having designed this Bill in order that unfair practice may be exercised and unfair advantage obtained in an election.

Further on he says:

What can be done under this provision? A Canadian soldier who has gone to the front is limited in his choice of a constituency to that particular constituency in which he has resided. He has one vote and one choice. The American

soldier, the man who is not a resident of Canada, who may happen to be a British subject, no matter in what country he may have resided, who has joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force, not necessarily enlisting in Canada, possibly enlisting in the United States, or in England, possibly enlisting on this side, because if he enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, his expenses across the ocean would be paid and he would receive a higher rate of pay than if he went to England and enlisted in the Imperial Forces, is to have the choice of 230 odd constituencies in Canada in the casting of his vote. That is grossly unfair. It gives opportunity for fraud of the worst kind. It gives opportunity for men who may not have been residents of Canada to join together, to make up their minds perhaps under proper guidance, as to the constituencies in which their votes shall be cast, in which the contest will be close, in which the majority will be a narrow one, and thus, they may possibly control many constituencies in Canada in favour of the Government of the day. The Government, under this Bill, appoints its own presiding officers; with the choice of those presiding officers the leader of the Opposition has nothing to do. That, in my judgment, is wrong. It is contrary to fair and proper administration, and it would not be too much to say that, if the minister persists in continuing this provision in this measure, it is designedly intended to offer an opportunity to steal the election from the people of Canada.

That was the expressed opinion of Dr. Pugsley at that time. We are not obliged, however, to rest entirely on the opinion of such a man as Dr. Pugsley, high as that authority may be. When this Bill was going through, fortunately we had sitting on this side of the House the present senior member for Halifax (Mr. Maclean) now a member of this Government. Hon. gentlemen sitting to your right, Mr. Speaker, cannot sneer to-day at any statements made by that hon. member, because they regard him as one of their big men, and as a man who would always express his opinion as the truth came to him. What did he say about this Bill, about the machinery that it was creating, and about its possible effects? He said:

The hon. member for Annapolis (Mr. Davidson) stated that this Bill does not involve the question of what Government should be in control of public affairs; nor is it important to consider which party is in power in this country. In that statement I am sure we can all agree with him. For the life of me I cannot see how it is possible for the membership of the House of Commons to divide on party lines upon a question of this kind. I regretted hearing one or two hon. gentlemen opposite rather insinuating that, because one does not agree with the principle of this Bill, therefore, he is discriminating against the Canadian soldier. That is an unfair suggestion to make, and, as far as I am concerned, I resent it altogether. Personally, I would not care if every soldier enlisted in the Canadian force was given the vote. It would matter little to me personally; personally it would matter little to any member of the House, but we are dealing with a piece of substantive legislation which has to do with the franchise. The franchise has alwoys been in all countries a question of citizenship. We should settle this Bill upon some principle. There is no desire on the part of any hon. member on this side of the House to do an injustice to anybody who is fighting in the Canadian forces to-day. It is rather unpleasant to make any suggestion in the way of an amendment to the Bill which gives anybody an opportunity of making any insinuation. I do so simply because I believe the principle involved in the particular section which we are discussing is unsound. The member for Annapolis justifies his position by reference to the Franchise Act of Nova Scotia wherein it is provided that ownership of real estate carries the right to the franchise on the part of any British subject. That will only carry the hon. gentleman a certain distance because in most of the provinces of Canada residence in addition to ownership of real estate is necessary to qualification to vote. So, my hon. friend does not get very far with the argument, because the majority of the provinces require residence as well as real estate property qualifications. I doubt very much if England would follow our example, if they were enacting legislation of this character. Take the aviation service; I am told that in the Royal Naval Air Service sixty-five per cent of the men are Canadian born. It is quite proper that we should provide a method by which they could exercise the franchise at the first election, but I doubt if the British Parliament would give them the franchise simply because they constitute a large portion of that force.

[Mr. McKenzie.]

Now I come to the part of his speech that I wish to emphasize:

I think the suggestion in the Bill is fundamentally wrong, and it is for that reason I oppose it. It is true, as the Minister of Justice says, that there are only a few men in the whole Canadian force who will be affected by the Bill, and by that reasoning possibly we might forego our objection, as little harm would come if they were allowed to vote. But there is a principle involved.

A little further on he says:

I want to protest against this legislation. I say it is in principle abominable, as were the motives which prompted its introduction. The whole thing is outrageous and unnecessary, and, besides, it is a cruel exercise of the powers of the majority of this Parliament. . . . . We shall appeal to the people—

Here is where the good Liberalism of my quondam friend came to the fore.

We shall appeal to the people of my province against this iniquitous legislation. I feel sure that they will not approve the miserable partisan course pursued by some members of the House in seeking at this stage to introduce an amendment into what is already a very cumbersome piece of legislation, the War-Time Election Act—an action taken purely for base political and partisan purposes. We will take our appeal, Mr. Speaker, from this House to Philippi, and we will meet hon. gentlemen there on this issue.

The only trouble is that my good friend worked Philippi off the map before the election. Those are the views of two of the

most reliable hon. gentlemen that we had on this side of the House at that date. One of them was taken into the bosom of the Government and given the highest position they could offer him. He was made Lieutenant Governor, and I presume that if the Government had had the power they would have made him Governor General. Not having that power they did the next best thing. They held him up to the good citizens of New Brunswick saying "Here is a man that the good populace of New Brunswick will delight to honour; we have made him Governor."

Although he received his gift at their hands, that was his opinion of their actions; and having accepted him as a man of such high standing they cannot very well now ignore the truth of his statement. On the other hand, we have the views of our good friend the member for Halifax, who is now a member of the Government. These are his statements and his views then, and they are his views to-day if he would care to express them and to find out where Phillippi is.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there are other observations which I feel should be made but time does not permit me to express them. My case, however, is that such a power as appears to have been exercised by the Government in this connection was improper. I contend that it is a violation of every principle of civil government in this country and should not have been exercised. It is absurd to pretend that we enjoy responsible government when the Government of the day assume the right to dictate to free men just how they shall vote and where, and how many votes shall be taken here or there, altogether regardless of qualifications or legal procedure. This, I say, is a mockery and is absolutely subversive of all the traditions of responsible government. I think, Sir, that both you and the country as well as every hon. member in this House will fully realize that I am justified in bringing this matter to the attention of Parliament, and if this Act allows a condition of this kind to exist, then it should be absolutely abolished. Are we to be told that an independent parliament such as this will have on the statute books an Act that places in the hands of the Prime Minister and two or three of his followers, or even one of them, the power to instruct their own officials as to how they shall act under circumstances of this kind, when there are certain constitutional and regular methods to be followed? Is a minister to direct the officials of the Government in this manner—their own commanders and officers and every one under their thumb and control, officers who were preaching to these men only the Sunday before the election in such terms as these: "Gentlemen, we do not want 99 per cent of your votes; we want 100 per cent"? That was the exhortation of generals, colonels and others from the top to the bottom, and for the poor man who might attempt to exercise his own right there was a place to which he would be consigned, and of which fact he was well aware. Such a condition should not exist in any country, far less should it prevail in the free air of Canada. I am not taking the case for granted. I am putting the matter as it stands. This telegram has but one meaning, which is that there was an arrangement by which any minister could send word to the Prime Minister who would set the machinery in motion to enable men to be elected by the switching of ballots from one place to another.

Now, Sir, I have put my case before the House. I do not know whether the facts are exactly as I present them; I take no responsibility. I give such facts as I have, and I say to the Government and to the members of this House that I am informed on the most reliable authority that abundance of the very best proof can be advanced to show a committee of this House and to show to the country that the soldiers had no voice or word in the casting of votes, and no opportunity of pronouncing their own judgment, but did exactly as the Government directed and as suited the convenience and the designs of the Government in their support of their own friends. My motion is seconded by the hon. member for Queens and Shelburne (Hon. Mr. Fielding) and it is to the effect that a committee of the House be appointed and such inquiry be made in connection with the subject matter of this telegram and everything involved in it as the committee may deem advisable, to the end that this matter may be thoroughly investigated and such remedy applied as will prevent the recurrence in the future of such conduct as has been disclosed, which interferes with the rights of the people and puts an unfortunate blotch upon the good name of the country.

Right Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): I am not intervening in the substance of the debate, but circumstances over which we have no control limit the time at our disposal this afternoon. Both sides of the House were quite willing that we should honour our respected and beloved colleague and co-mem-

ber, and we were therefore late in meeting. It is only fair that as much time should be given to the reply as has been taken in the presentment of the case, and my suggestion is that, as we do not meet to-night, when it comes to six o'clock the Speaker may have the liberty of permitting the time to be exceeded to a reasonable extent to allow my hon. friend (Mr. Meighen) to finish his reply.

Mr. McKENZIE: I suggest that it would be better to adjourn now, and resume the subject to-morrow. The discussion by my hon. friend and myself will not have exhausted the subject.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: In that event only part of the case will go before the public.

Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN (Minister of Interior): One of the last remarks of the leader of the Opposition was an expression of regret that unfortunately time did not permit him to give to the House a great deal more information than he had imparted. Well, if there was anything in the world in relation to this motion which he ought to have said, it is a great pity he did not say it, because he occupied an hour and a quarter in saying a lot of things that had no relevancy whatever to the motion, chiefly in rehashing a debate of two years ago on the merits of the Military Voters' Bill. He read a letter from a man whose name he refused to divulge; he read and re-read whatever he could find around him, but he never uttered a sentence to indicate, much less to prove, that there was the slightest semblance of dishonour or impropriety in anything alleged about myself in this motion. The hon. gentleman knows that there was not, and I will tell him why. I say he knows. He knows that if he could establish a charge there is a right and proper method by which he could bring that charge before the House. He knows that there is a proper method of levelling an accusation against a minister of the Crown or a member of the House, a method by which he would place his own seat and honour in jeopardy, but that method he very cannily refuses to follow.

Prior to the opening of the House to-day I addressed to the hon. member the following letter, which I had delivered to him:

September 24, 1919.

D. D. Mackenzie, Esq., M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Mackenzie,—You stated on Monday that you purposed going on this afternoon (Wednesday) with your motion regarding myself. I have no objection at all to your going on to-day, or any other day, but as you are aware, the House rises at six, and does not sit in the evening on Wednesday, and should the debate not be concluded at six o'clock, the subject might not be again reached this session. I therefore request that you arrange your speech so as to divide the time equally between us, as any other course, you will quite realize, would be quite unfair to me.

Yours truly,
(Sgd.) Arthur Meighen.

In reply, I received an intimation through the Whip that he would not accede to this request. He stated that he would require an hour and a half to present his case and that he would not defer the motion unless I would personally request him across the floor of the House to do so. In relation to a motion of this character I would never make a personal request. I am ready to answer such a motion at any time. He has chosen to go on; has taken an hour and a quarter and left me 30 minutes.

I have said to the hon. member that if he believes that there was any conduct on my part that was inconsistent with the highest principles of honour and propriety, he knows the course which is open to him. That course is known to him as well as it is to me, and if he follows it in this debate or to-morrow or any other time this session; if he makes his charges and alleges dishonour, stating specifically what was improper, he need not ask for an investigation; I will attend to that myself.

He comes before us and quotes a telegram which he alleges was sent. He remarked at the close of his speech that he did not know whether the facts that he was presenting were right or not, but that he was presenting all the facts he had. No doubt he was. But he did not present any facts. He did not even present the telegram. He had not it with him and he has not it with him now. He says that I admitted writing the telegram. I admitted no such thing. I said immediately I heard of the message what I say now—I have no recollection of the telegram whatever. The message might have been sent; it might have been sent by me; it is a message which might have been sent by any honest man. It is not a message of the character that I will refer to as I proceed with my address for I shall quote, as I proceed, messages that could only have issued out of malevolence and mendacity.

Whether it was sent or not, I do not know. I do not think it was sent by me for the reason that I would not likely address that message to the Prime Minister. The matters regarding which the wire appears to have been sent, while quite proper, were

matters that necessarily could not have been attended to by the Prime Minister.

But if a man, however vaguely or obliquely alleges wrong-doing, surely the onus is on him to produce the facts; surely it is on him to establish the truth of his allegations; surely it is on him to produce the proof. The time for a prima facie case is now—now. Where is the prima facie case? Upon what does it rest? Will any hon. gentleman answer me? There is no telegram; there is no signature. Upon what does it rest? I have no reply from hon. gentlemen opposite. If that telegram were produced and if there is anything wrong with it, it would be a prima facie case if my signature is there. Still more this telegram, were it actually produced to the world, would be no prima facie case at all for the reason there is nothing wrong with it whatever. The hon. gentleman himself has proceeded for most of his speech on the assumption that there was nothing wrong because he said this telegram intimates what was intended by the Act, and what is within the meaning and intent of the Act. If it is within the meaning and intent of the Act how is it wrong? He says that the Act is wrong—I say it is not, but that it is not the question now.

Furthermore, I say this on behalf of the Prime Minister who is not able to be here—although that is a matter of no immediate consequence because, I assure the hon. gentleman that the Prime Minister is not bothering his head about the subject at all—the Prime Minister never received the message. He has had made a most careful and thorough search and he says that it never was received. If it ever existed, it may have been sent by some one under the authority of the general committee—I do not know. If it was sent by the organization, then I have no desire to repudiate the message—none whatsoever.

I said in the statement I made shortly after the notice of it was issued in the press, at the time of the Liberal Convention, that I had no recollection of it but that its terms were quite in accordance with propriety and that the only thing in the way of turpitude about it was its theft. The hon. gentleman says to-day that he is not the thief. I never suspected that he was. He says that the message was purloined out of the committee rooms—I understood him to say so—at the time of the contest; in other words that the thief, instead of being a bandit, was a sneak. That is all the difference. There is a thief somewhere close back in the chain of possession and the hon. gentleman is now his descendant in title.

The hon. gentleman read the law on this subject. He read it twice; why, I do not know. The law states—to paraphrase it, to hurry and not to delay the House—that there was a certain class of soldiers who, in the last contest, had the right to choose the constituencies in which they should vote. They were those who being British subjects had not resided for any four months of the year preceding enrolment in a particular county and who besides had never at any time lived in Canada. If a man had resided for four months or more in any electoral district, there his vote could count and nowhere else. If he could not specify an electoral district wherein he had resided for the time mentioned but could specify a place in a certain constituency in which he had at any time resided, his vote could count in that constituency and nowhere else.

If he was a British subject and had at no time resided in this country, there was no place to which Parliament could with propriety allot his vote and the only way to give him the franchise was to permit him to select his constituency. Will hon. gentlemen suggest any other way of giving that soldier the franchise? Did hon. gentlemen suggest any other way in the session of 1917?

Mr. McMASTER: I understood the hon. gentleman to ask a question and I desire to reply to it. I have been reading the discussion in Hansard. The suggestion was made that the men should be allowed to vote in the counties in which they had enlisted. There was an objection made to that and that was the suggestion which was made.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The hon. gentleman was not in the house at the time.

Mr. McMASTER: But I can read Hansard.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That suggestion received practically no support at all. It would have flooded with these votes the points of enlistment that had no special claim whatever. By flooding single constituencies the men would have been virtually disfranchised.

Mr. McMASTER: There were objections to it.

Mr. MEIGHEN: There were insurmountable objections. There was no method by which Parliament could with propriety allot that vote other than to leave the choice

to that small class of soldiers themselves. I was not the sponsor for the Military Voters' Act in the House. The Act was introduced and carried through the House under the superintendence specially of my hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), but I do remember something about this section. I remember that it did not finally stand in the form in which it was introduced because, by means of a conference with the other side of the House, an effort was made to reduce the class and confine its members to the narrowest limit possible. The section as it was finally passed was the result of that conference at which representatives of the other side of the House were present. Although afterwards some did object in the House to its terms, they did not seriously propose any other method by which Parliament could accord these men a vote. Parliament was confronted, I say, with the alternative of having them select their constituency or disfranchising them altogether.

Who is there who will stand up and say that British subjects who had sufficient interest in this country to come and join our armies and fight had not some right to say what should be the Government of this country during the war? The leader of the Opposition stands up this afternoon and says that these men had no interest in Canada, that they did not know anything about Canada, and intimates that they should not have been given the right to vote. He was very anxious in 1917 that the right to vote should be given to a lot of other people in this country. He was most anxious that the right to vote should be given to those who stood at the other end of the thermometer of patriotism, and he insisted on their full right, and what many thought was more than their full right, in that regard.

But I ask this House seriously to consider who had the greater interest in this country, the greater right to a voice in the determination of its government and policy —those on the one hand who had lately come from amongst the enemies of the Empire, those who bore in their hearts and in their blood sympathy for the enemies of Canada, those who could not possibly disavow that enemy sympathy, who could not in nature get rid of it, those who necessarily were not supporting us in our struggle, as were the rest of the population, or, on the other hand, those who were fighting and suffering for us on the fields of battle?

[Mr. Meighen.]

Had there been a method by which those men who had not lived in Canada but were none the less British subjects and fighting in our army, could have been alloted to a constituency fairly or reasonably or with propriety, that would have been better, that would have been far better. But there was no method, and the two alternatives were these: To disfranchise them altogether or to give them a vote in this manner. Their number it is very hard to estimate. I have asked the opinion of him who had to do with the election chiefly, of the general returning officer, and the estimate he makes is that there were about from ten to twelve thousand persons, men who enlisted mostly in the United States, who were British subjects and enrolled in the Canadian Army, but who had not resided in Canada and who consequently came within the terms of section 3 of the Military Voters' Act and were known as voters at large.

Now, with that explanation of the law, let us examine the telegram which the hon. gentleman refers to and which he alleges exists. It is dated November 30:

Would like one thousand soldier votes at large—

The hon. gentleman did not emphasize those words "votes at large"—that is to say, votes of the class of those who voted under section 3, or rather under subclause 9 of section 3 of the Military Voters' Act, for no others can be "voters at large."

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: Of course.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Of those: One thousand for the province of Manitoba and the division, the suggested division, follows. Now, why would that telegram be sent? Let us inquire for a moment. The desire of those men who had not resided in Canada, say ten to twelve thousand in number, would be on the day of polling to cast their ballots where they would be most effective.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The hon. member for Provencher (Mr. Molloy) especially applauds. I will refer to the effect of that sentence on his election just in a very few moments. They would naturally desire, and legitimately, lawfully, and properly desire, to cast their votes where they would be most effective; and it would be the manifest duty of any party organization, be it opposition or be it government, to be in a position to inform them where those votes could most effectively be cast.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Hon. gentlemen opposite laugh. They did not take much interest in informing the soldier where his vote would be most effective. That would not be of very much concern to them in the last contest, and they very well knew it. But, if it had been another class of the population who voted at large, instead of that class of soldiers; had it been the slacker vote of this country——

Some hon. MEMBERS: Shame.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Had it been——

Some hon. MEMBERS: Shame.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Had it been the votes of those who were seeking to evade their duty, then hon. gentlemen opposite would have had more interest in seeing to it that those votes were effective.

Mr. McMASTER: Shame.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Sit down.

Mr. McMASTER: I rise, Mr. Speaker, to a point of order.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Sit down.

Mr. McMASTER: I rise to a point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. McMASTER: I rise to a point of order. I understand by the Rules of this House that no hon. member has the right to accuse any other hon. member, or any body of hon. gentlemen, of unworthy motives.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McMASTER: I say that the words of the Minister of the Interior impute unworthy motives in connection with political matters to the whole of His Majesty's loyal Opposition.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McMASTER: I resent that. I claim that it is out of order and I confidently look to the Chair to support me in that contention.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is perfectly true that it is not competent for any hon. member to impute dishonourable motives to any other hon. member or group of hon. members. I regret to say that the first portion of the remarks which were made by the Minister of the Interior were not heard by myself for reasons which the House will recognize. The second part of the minister's remarks, as I gathered their purport, did not impute motives. As I understand, they were an interpretation of the effect of a certain attitude taken by hon. members. If, as the minister proceeds, any unworthy motives are attributed to hon. members, I shall be the first to call him to order.

Some hon MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I was proceeding to say—

An hon. MEMBER: Give them another crack.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Hon. gentlemen opposite laughed when I asserted that it was right and proper that soldiers, "voters at large" within the meaning of the section referred to, should have information as to where their votes should be most effective. That was provided for by the Act and it was strictly within its terms. That was equally open to both sides; and if the other side were not as interested in securing that information as we were that is their fault and not ours.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Consequently the telegram requests that, as regards those votes at large in so far as an organization can fairly and legitimately secure it . . . and there is not a sentence, there is not an intimation, there is not a reference, however remote, to anything illegitimate or wrong . . . those are the constituencies, and that the extent, in which those votes could be most effectively cast. What is there about ballot-switching there? What did the hon. gentleman mean when he mentioned ballot-switching? Will he stand up in this House and charge that I had any connection with ballot-switching, however remote, however oblique, however indirect?

An hon. MEMBER: Speak now.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Consequently, the telegram is quite proper. He says he thought this thing would have been attended to sooner, and he tells me that a speech was made at the time the telegram was read—that a speech was made at that time which he says was slanderous, and he thought I would have taken action in the courts. Well, I am sorry to inform the hon. gentleman that I really have never read that speech. The telegram was brought to my attention and I made reference in reply

to it but I have never read the speech. When the hon. gentleman made that remark I addressed a question to a friend who was near me as to who made this speech and whether it was slanderous. He said he presumed it was made by Mr. W. T. R. Preston and if it was I could safely assume it was slanderous. I am a little too busy to waste my time on him.

Now I am quite aware that in the last contest there was an impression more or less general that was erroneous, with regard to the Military Voters' Act. I am quite aware there were many people in this country, both soldiers and civilians, who thought that any soldier could vote where he liked. And why was that impression abroad? Was it because of the terms of the Act? No. the terms of the Act are as explicit as terms can be, not only explicit but so clear that any one could understand, so clear that he who runs may read. Why then, did that impression get abroad? I encountered it wherever I went in the contest.

I remember a lawyer of great distinction of the city of Winnipeg, Mr. Isaac Campbell, calling me over the long distance 'phone and directing my attention to this impression which he found to be very prevalent, and asking me if I thought there was anything in the law to found it upon. I explained the situation to him and gave him my view of the law, which entirely agreed with his own and I also took pains to intimate to the public from the platform and to the press through its representatives what the law was in this regard. As a consequence, in the papers supporting the Government a fair statement of the law was published. For instance the Winnipeg Free Press of the 6th of December, 1917, contained the following statement, I think, but I am not certain that this statement followed an explanation of the law made by me:

> If a soldier can state the electoral district wherein he continuously resided during the last four months of the twelve months immediately preceding his enlistment or enrolment for actual service, or specially state a place in a constituency where he resided, his vote will be assigned to that constituency. If he is unable to do either of these things, but can name a place where he has previously resided in Canada, his vote will be assigned to the constituency in which the place named by the soldier is located. In the case of a British subject in the Canadian forces, who has never been a resident of Canada, the vote can be placed in any constituency indicated by the voter.

That was the law as the statute read. A statement also appeared in somewhat different language, but to precisely the same effect in the Winnipeg Tribune and I believe in the Winnipeg Telegram. Nevertheless we encountered everywhere this impression. Let us inquire how the impression was created, whence it issued and how it was disseminated. In the course of the debate in this House hon. gentlemen opposite alleged time and again that we were giving the soldier the right to vote where he liked, and their representatives in the country circulated most diligently the impression that every man in the Canadian army had the right of choosing the constituency in which he would cast his ballot.

I am asked for evidence of that. One has only to read the debates of that time to see where the idea first started; it was afterwards circulated deliberately through the literature of hon. gentlemen opposite, and hundreds, yes, thousands of soldiers were deceived thereby into voting in such a way that their votes were lost and about 50,000 soldiers were disfranchised. I hold in my hand the Canadian Gazette, published overseas, in which an advertisement appears signed by W. T. R. Preston "on behalf of the Liberal candidates." He added those words "on behalf of the Liberal candidates" below his name. The issue is that of the 29th of November, 1917. Another advertisement appears in the issue of the 22nd of November, 1917. Now, who is Mr. Preston? I do not know Mr. Preston personally; to the best of my knowledge I never saw him. But Mr. Preston was one of the scrutineers named by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the exercise of his rights under the Military Voters' Act.

Let us examine at this point for a minute the machinery that the Military Voters' Act provided. First of all it provided that the duties of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery should remain unimpaired. Now, the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery was Mr. Foley, an appointee of the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a man of well known Liberal views, but a man whose fairness I have never had any reason to doubt or to attack. The Act provided also for a general returning officer who should have general supervision over the whole taking of the vote. That general returning officer was to be appointed by the Governor in Council and his supervision was to be general. To put it briefly, he was responsible for the proper execution of his office by each returning officer under the Military Voters' Act.

Mr. McMASTER: It is six o'clock, Mr. Speaker—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McMASTER: Wait a moment.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Sit down.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. MASTER: Mr. Speaker, I think the hon. members might give me credit that I would not propose any drawing back from the—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Minister of the Interior yielded the floor to the hon. member for Brome, and I presume he wishes to make some reference to its being six o'clock. We might grant the hon. member the courtesy of hearing what he has to say.

Mr. McMASTER: I thank you, Mr. Speaker. I merely wish to say that I would ask that this arrangement be made—when the Minister of the Interior finishes his remarks I will ask you, Sir, to allow me to adjourn the debate. I would not like this debate to proceed and have the very able speech of the Minister of the Interior go out without my having an opportunity to reply—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McMASTER:—And Mr. Speaker, I think it should be understood between both sides of the House that an opportunity will be given this session for the resumption of the debate.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. member (Mr. Meighen) desire to conclude his speech?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I have just a few remarks to make and I shall leave the matter with the Chair. It will be seen from the letter I read that responsibility for going on to-day under these circumstances, and for using more than three-fourths of the time, was taken by the leader of the Opposition. I understood from an intimation I received from the Acting Prime Minister that he (Mr. McKenzie) acceded to my going on until I had occupied the same time as he had. If he does not accede to that, and if he insists on the rules of the House being followed and adjournment take place now at six o'clock, then I do not think I have any right to ask to proceed or to ask for a vote; I think we should be unanimous or not proceed. I therefore must ask my hon. friend to take the responsibility.

Mr. McKENZIE: I told my hon. friend I was going on to-day, but I sent word to him by a Whip that if he would move to put this matter off until Monday I would consent. The matter was entirely under his control, and he was under no disadvantage there. All I want now is an understanding that there will be a right to adjourn this debate when my hon. friend is through, and that we shall resume it at such time as the Government may wish to give us the privilege.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is not the point—

Mr. SPEAKER: It is now actually six o'clock and under the rules I would be obliged automatically to adjourn the House. As a matter of courtesy heretofore, it has been the practice to let a member finish his speech. If any objection is taken we must of course adjourn.

Mr. McKENZIE: I take no objection.

Mr. FIELDING: I think the minister should finish his speech and take his own time, if the right hon. gentleman (Sir George Foster) who is leading the House can give us an assurance that at a later stage the Government will see that an opportunity is provided for proper consideration of the matter. I think that would settle the difficulty.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the House adjourns now this debate automatically comes on as the first order of business to-morrow.

Mr. MEIGHEN: On the understanding that there is no objection, I will proceed.

I was outlining the general scheme of the Military Voters' Act. I said that Mr. Foley, the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, remained in possession of his powers and office and exercised them, which exercise involved the decision of all questions of law in relation to the taking of the vote, and that a general supervising power over presiding officers was given to the general returning officer appointed by the Governor in Council. That returning officer was Mr. W. F. O'Connor, who was appointed on the recommendation of myself as Secretary of State at that time. The Act also provided for a number of special returning officers and clerks, and that one half of those, namely one for each poll, should be appointed on the nomination of the leader of the Opposition.

The Act also provided for the appointment of six scrutineers, three of whom were to be on the nomination of the leader of the Opposition and three on the nomination of the leader of the Government. Therefore, the Act in its appointive terms was bilateral; it provided for fairness in

a degree that had never been provided for in any Election Act at any previous time. A representative of the Opposition was intended to be, and, I believe, was at all places where votes were cast—a representative not only as a returning officer, but as a scrutineer or deputy scrutineer, because such could be appointed by each scrutineer, and a representative of the Opposition was present at the counting of the ballots at every point. The scrutineers appointed by the Government were Mr. Orde for Canada, Colonel A. T. Thompson for England, and I think it was Colonel Gibson for France. The scrutineers appointed on the recommendation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier were Mr. Hearn for Canada, Mr. W. T. R. Preston for England, and M. Langlois for France. The Mr. Preston who signs the advertisement to which I will refer was the scrutineer named by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to act as head scrutineer for Great Britain. This Mr. Preston, in acting as head scrutineer, evidently felt it was part of his duty and right to publish appeals of all characters and colours for votes for the Opposition, and for Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on any ground that happened to come into his head. He certainly made use of his time as chief propagandist for the Opposition, while he was on the pay-list, as regards expenses at all events, of the people of this country. The advertisement from which I read first is headed:

To the Canadian Overseas Forces—Fellow Citizens of Canada.

In the body of it appears this:

The floating vote can name the constituency in which it desires to vote, and consists of—

What?

1. Soldiers who may not know the name of their constituency.

Absolutely wrong, and known by Mr. Preston to be wrong. Soldiers who knew any place—not necessarily the name of a constituency—had to vote wherever that place was.

2. Soldiers who were not domiciled, before enlisting, long enough in Canada to be entitled to vote.

Wholly, diametrically wrong. No soldier had to be domiciled in Canada long enough to have acquired the right to vote. All he had to have done was to have lived in Canada at any time, at any place, and if so he was not in the "voters at large" class at all; he had to vote wherever he had lived. I draw the attention of the House particularly to the third class:

3. The thousands of American citizens who have been given the franchise.

Not one American citizen was given the franchise. So the floating vote, that is, voters at large who were entitled to choose their constituencies were described by Mr. Preston, the official nominee of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in that election, as consisting of three divisions, not one of which divisions was correct, all of which descriptions were wrong and grossly wrong, all of which were deceitful and very deceitful. The statement never should have been made by him anyway as scrutineer, and it resulted or helped to result in the deception and disfranchisement of thousands of soldiers overseas. In every official notice that Mr. Preston got—and he had many of them before he issued that manifesto—there was described to him specifically the class of those who were entitled to choose their constituencies and none other than whom was entitled so to choose. He knew the law before he left this country; months before he left this country; it was passed in the clearest possible language; Mr. O'Connor, as general returning officer, time and again issued various official instructions for his benefit and for the benefit of all concerned in the election, and in every one of those he described in the plainest terms those who had the right to choose their constituencies and those who had not. I have before me some of those publications. This is one, which is in large type, and which is about two feet by four feet. I read from it as follows:

The vote of a voter will be applied to the place in Canada where he was last resident for four continuous months of the last year of the residence in Canada immediately preceding his enlistment. If he has not been so resident during any four months, he may apply the vote to any place in Canada where he has at any time resided, and if he has not been resident in Canada at all he may apply the vote to some Electoral District in Canada which he will select.

The very same intimation is given in another pamphlet which I hold in my hand, which pamphlet Mr. Preston must have had, and in any event he had read and knew the law. It was his business to read and to know it, and no one has the slightest doubt that he did know it and that what he published in his advertisement was incorrect and deceitful. I hold in my hand another pamphlet and still another, all published for his information, and in the face of that, he erected himself into the post of chief propagandist for the Opposition and carried on a campaign that was intended

to mislead the military voter, that did mislead him, and that contributed to lose for him the franchise to the extent of about 50,000 votes.

It was stated by the Secretary of State last session that in England and Canada alone 36,000 soldiers had endeavoured to choose their constituencies when, as a matter of fact and on their oath, they were not entitled to do so, and Mr. O'Connor is my authority for the statement that, taking France with England and Canada, there had to be rejected or destroyed at least a total of 50,000 of those votes.

Those men were led and to a degree deliberately led to believe they had the right to choose their constituencies. I do not think this was done on the part of hon. members of this House who opposed the Government at that time—with the idea that the men would lose their franchise. That was not what they set out to do; what they set out to do was to discredit the Administration by representing the Act as in effect what it was not in effect at all, an attempt to give every soldier a right to vote at large. In an attempt to discredit the Administration, hon. gentlemen themselves became responsible for the circulation of this impression, for the deepening thereof, and for the consequent disfranchisement of those men.

I said I would refer to the hon. member for Provencher (Mr. Molloy). I do not think that the hon. member would be in this House to-day if men had not been so misled. I will give my reason for that. I could not establish definitely but I believe this: that there were many, who had a right to vote in the constituency of Provencher and who had no right to vote anywhere else, who attempted to vote in constituencies nearby, notably in the constituency of Springfield, and who by such attempt lost their votes entirely. They were soldiers; they might, of course, have voted for the hon. member for Provencher. I do not think a large proportion of them would, because I understand that 90 to 95 per cent of the soldiers' vote went against the Opposition. But there was in the constituency of Springfield no less a number than 532 soldiers' votes rejected for the reason that I have described. In the constituency of Provencher the hon. member's majority was only 185. Now I do not attribute the slightest wrongdoing—

Mr. MOLLOY: One hundred and eighty-five after the soldier vote was counted.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I know that, but the hon. member did not have very much soldier vote either for or against him. The soldier vote in his county was only 364, whereas in Springfield it was 1,064. I do not think it is fair to assume there were 1,064 soldiers from Springfield, and only 364 from the constituency of the hon. member.

Mr. PROULX: The minister must remember that he asked for an allotment for Springfield.

Mr. MEIGHEN: And also for Provencher. But I do not seem to get much thanks from the hon. member for Provencher (Mr. Molloy). So here were these men to the number of 532 who lost their votes in Springfield alone, and who in my judgment had they voted rightly, had they not been misled by this propaganda, would have voted in Provencher against the hon. member and we would not now have the enjoyment of his presence in this House.

Now, to conclude. I do not know what the finger marks are to which the hon. gentleman (Mr. McKenzie) refers. I do not know anything about the finger marks, the earmarks, or anything else. I know what the intent of that telegram would be. I know that no wrong whatever was thought of or perpetrated that had the remotest connection with the Government, nor I believe with any officer of the Government, at all events so far as I have observed or so far as it has been reported to me. Mr. O'Connor was the general returning officer, and if there was wrong-doing it was on the part of him or some one responsible to him. Mr. O'Connor's character was certified to in this House three months after the election by the late right hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who, referring to his conduct, said that in his opinion he was an able, fair and public-spirited servant of the country and was incapable of doing what he knew to be wrong. I am informed—I say it while the hon. gentleman is opposite me now—that the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) after the election himself complimented Mr. O'Connor on the absolute fairness with which it had been conducted throughout. I am also informed that Mr. Mackenzie King, who in the clash of competing ambitions has lately been shifted or tossed or elevated, whatever you may call it, to the post of leadership—of outside leader of the outside party in this country—Mr. McKenzie King also bore like testimony to the fairness with which Mr. O'Connor conducted the election. I am informed further, that the Liberal or-

ganizer for the province of Quebec has cheerfully paid the general returning officer the same compliment. Even the hon. member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon) expressed in the circumstances his amazement that an election could be so honestly and so fairly conducted, and declared that in his belief he must have been living in dreamland and that the world of reality had passed away. There is no question as to the impartiality, the strict impartiality throughout, with which the work of the general returning officer—and that was the vital work—was conducted by Mr. O'Connor. My information is, and hon. gentlemen will contradict me if I am wrong, that there has not been laid to his door one single charge or even a grievance or complaint on the part of any hon. gentleman in this House. Not one hon. gentleman opposite has laid at his door even a complaint or a grievance. Every day Mr. O'Connor was in receipt of telegrams for advice and decisions, which he promptly gave, and gave with the greatest care and freedom from bias from beginning to end. As to the officers under him, selected half by the one side and half by the other, I have not heard—and I ask hon. gentlemen to contradict me if I am wrong—a charge or accusation of impropriety levelled at a single one of those special returning officers since this Parliament opened two years ago. There have been charges that soldiers perjured themselves, and that officers suborned the perjury. They were made with a great degree of recklessness in the session before last, but even then there was no charge of impropriety against any one acting as an officer under the Crown in the election, and the charges of perjury and subornation of perjury made by the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères (Mr. Archambault) were investigated by a judge of a high court of this country and were declared unfounded from beginning to end. Has the hon. leader of the Opposition to-day brought forward any new evidence of wrong-doing? Has he even alleged that an officer under the Department of the Secretary of State, or any other department having to do with the conduct of the election, committed an act of impropriety or of dishonour? He has not.

Mr. McKENZIE: I have.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Who is the man?

Mr. McKENZIE: I read his statement.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Who is he?

[Mr. Meighen.]

Mr. McKENZIE: You will find out.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Was he a Special Returning Officer?

Mr. McKENZIE: He was. He was a Returning Officer receiving the votes of soldiers and putting them in the ballot boxes.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Named by the Governor in Council?

Mr. McKENZIE: Appointed by your Government.

Mr. MEIGHEN: And he says himself he did wrong?

Mr. McKENZIE: He says so.

Mr. MEIGHEN: He ought to be ashamed of it. Let him send the letter to us and show us he did wrong and he will be punished. I thought he was alleging that somebody else did wrong. I did not know he was proclaiming his own dishonour, and then handing his letter to the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. McKENZIE: He was an officer of this Government and doing their work, as he alleged.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Was he recommended by the leader of the Opposition?

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not think so.

Mr. MEIGHEN: It will be very interesting after this information in these answers to get finally the name of this man—the only man, whom they refuse to disclose, but who they suggest was an officer of the Crown; a Special Returning Officer, or at all events, a Returning Officer, who did wrong and who is his own accuser.

Such was the statutory organization by which the election actually was carried on. Such is the absence of complaint or charge at this time. And in the face of all that, the hon. leader of the Opposition, while he does not in my judgment believe it, still wants to get newspaper circulation for the idea that there was some terrible deep-dyed plot to switch the vote of the soldiers in this country. I do not know who was to switch them. Was the Prime Minister to switch them? Was Mr. O'Connor to switch them? Were the Special Returning Officers to switch them, watched as they were by their opponents at every point? And this telegram—this telegram that he has not here—he says is the evidence of the switching.

Mr. Speaker, I do not wonder that the hon. gentleman does not take the courageous course and stand up and make a charge.

But whatever his course lacks in courage it makes up in discretion. There is in this whole thing no charge, no accusation. There is nothing but an attenuated, an oblique, safety-first insinuation. There is nothing in this whole resolution but a fragile, circuitous, yellow-tinted innuendo that mocks and discredits the very name of parliamentary controversy.

It is idle for me to suggest what should be done with this motion. I think it has already served the only purpose which the hon. gentleman intended, namely, to appeal to whatever class in our country there may be of such bitter partisanship or profound ignorance that their prejudice or suspicion can be easily aroused and their animosity easily inflamed. That purpose, I suppose, it has served, and I am quite sure it can serve no other.

At 6.25 p.m. the House adjourned.

Thursday, September 25, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk).

LEVIS RAILWAY STATION REPAIRS.

Mr. BOURASSA:

1. What amount has the Government decided to expend for repairs and improvements in connection with the Railway Station at Levis?
2. When will such repairs and improvements be completed, and what amount has already been expended therefor?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. $125,000.
2. It is anticipated building will be completed by December 15, if no further delays occur on account of lack of material. Expended to date, $10,000.

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS OPERATION.

Mr. TOBIN:

1. Is the Government aware that Canadian National Railway trains on the Ottawa-Montreal subdivision of that railway are obliged to run backwards in and out of the Central station at Ottawa for a distance of almost two miles?
2. If so, is this considered a dangerous practice?
3. When will arrangements be made to render this practice unnecessary?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. The Canadian Pacific Railway, as well as the Canadian National Railways, run some of their trains into the Central Station at Ottawa backwards.
2. This practice is in vogue on railways in the United States as well as in Canada. Usual precautions taken by railways under similar circumstances are followed in these cases.
3. It is impossible to state definitely when changes will be undertaken.

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF ORIENTALS.

Mr. VERVILLE:

Inasmuch as in British Columbia there are hundreds of Orientals who have never by provincial law been accorded the franchise, and to whom it is not in that province considered advisable to concede the franchise,

1. Is it the intention of the Government to register and to concede the franchise to Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus, in that province provided they are naturalized, and in defiance of considerable opinion in that province?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: The answer will be found in the Bill to amend the Dominion By-Elections Act, introduced by the Solicitor General, and now standing for second reading on the Order Paper.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.

Mr. ROBB:

1. What was the gross debt of Canada on August 1, 1919?
2. What was the net debt of Canada on the same date?
3. What was the amount of annual interest payable on the debt of Canada on August 1, 1919?

Hon. Mr. MACLEAN:

1. $2,907,667,041.50.
2. $1,670,263,691.52.
3. Estimates 1919-20 provide for payment of interest on public debt at $102,767,625.94.

INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. DESLAURIERS:

1. Does the Government intend to have printed in French the report of the proceedings of the Industrial Conference, held last week in the Senate Chamber?
2. If so, will the members of the House of Commons be able to soon obtain copies thereof?

Hon. Mr. MACLEAN:

1. Yes.
2. Yes.

FIRE IN NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDING BASEMENT.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. CHARLES MURPHY (Russell): The papers have announced a fire in the basement of the new Parliament Building a few days ago. May I inquire if the cause of the fire has been ascertained, and whether the damage done will likely delay the com-

pletion of the building, or retard its occupancy by members of this House and the Senate next session?

Hon. A. L. SIFTON (Minister of Public Works): I do not think occupancy will be retarded by the fire, but it may be retarded because of other reasons. Inquiry is being made in regard to the cause of the fire.

DOUBLE INCOME TAX.

On the Orders of the Day:

Sir SAM HUGHES (Victoria): I observed in this morning's Citizen the following item:

> Call No Witnesses Double Income Tax.
>
> London, Sept. 24 (Reuter despatch).—Sir James Meston, representing India, G. H. Knibbs, Australia; W. L. Griffith, Canada, and Jas. Burns, South Africa, attended a meeting of the royal sub-committee on income tax which is considering the question of a double income tax within the Empire.

I would ask what this means. I have never heard of it before.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): The meaning is quite clear, I think, in view of the controversy which has been going on for some time as to the collection of a double tax on incomes from people living in London, for instance, and having interests in Australia or some of the other Overseas Dominions. At present, they are taxed in both countries, and for some time the matter has been the subject of controversy and of representation. An attempt is now being made by a conference between the Imperial authorities and representatives from the Overseas Dominions to devise some plan by which the hardships which certainly exist in the double income tax may, if possible, be modified, mitigated, or avoided.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Why not include the United States and foreign countries?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: We have a good deal of difficulty looking after our own family.

THE PEACE TREATY.

INQUIRY AS TO CORRESPONDENCE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queens): The Minister of Justice was kind enough yesterday, in response to an inquiry of mine, to bring down some correspondence between the Canadian and Imperial Governments touching the Peace Conference and the Peace Treaty. May I ask if he is in a position to assure me that all the correspondence is included in the documents brought down?

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): I am confident that it is. The intention was to include it all, but I will make inquiry whether there possibly is anything else.

BOARD OF COMMERCE—THE PRICE OF MILK.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. DONALD SUTHERLAND (South Oxford): I notice the following item in the press this morning, with reference to a meeting in Toronto of the Fair Price Committee, on which there is a representative of the Board of Commerce, to decide upon the price of milk.

> The producers were set on a minimum of $3.10 per eight gallon can and the consumers $2.75. It is thought that probably $3 per eight gallon can is the final price suggestion forwarded to Ottawa.

Can the Government inform the House whether this matter has been settled?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): As far as I know the Government has no special information with reference to this matter. The Board of Commerce is carrying on its investigations under its statutory powers, and when it comes to conclusions I suppose there will be a report giving information as to what they have done. The Government has no special information with reference to this particular matter.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: In view of the fact that this is a question seriously affecting the county from which I come and an industry which aggregates $5,000,000 per annum, and as the time has arrived for fixing the price of milk for the next month, I beg leave to move the adjournment of the House with a view to discussing this matter, which I consider of very great and urgent importance.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I do not want to interfere with the rights of my hon. friend, or with his desire to bring this matter up for discussion. I would suggest, however, that he might, if he thinks it advisable, defer his motion for a day or so. Communication is being had by the Government with the Board of Commerce, and with the facts before us we shall be in a better position to discuss the matter,

if my hon. friend should then think it necessary to pursue it further.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: In view of the minister's statement I shall withdraw the motion. The minister will remember that I brought the matter up on Tuesday, but I have received no reply to my inquiry.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I had no intention of being discourteous to my hon. friend in not giving him a reply, but the matter slipped my memory.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not to be understood that this undertaking that the matter may be brought up in a day or so is to the effect that it may be brought up under Rule 39, because, while the hon. gentleman has not handed to me his motion in writing I have very grave doubts whether the subject is of such a nature that it would come within the letter or the spirit of that rule.

THANKSGIVING DAY.

BILL TO MAKE THE SECOND MONDAY IN NOVEMBER PERMANENT THANKSGIVING DAY.

Mr. I. E. PEDLOW (South Renfrew) moved the third reading of Bill No. 2, respecting Thanksgiving Day.

Mr. A. R. McMASTER (Brome): I beg to move in amendment:

That the said Bill be not now read a third time, but that it be referred back to the Committee of the Whole House with instruction to amend clause 1 of the said Bill by striking out the words "eleventh day" in the third line of the said clause, and substituting therefor the words "second Monday."

The House divided on the proposed amendment of Mr. McMaster.

YEAS.

Messieurs

Archambault,	Lavigueur,
Argue,	Leger,
Baldwin,	Maclean (Halifax),
Blair,	McGibbon (Argenteuil),
Boivin,	McIntosh,
Bourassa,	McKenzie,
Bureau,	McMaster,
Burnham,	Marcile (Bagot),
Cahill,	Mayrand,
Calder,	Mewburn,
Cardin,	Michaud,
Casgrain,	Molloy,
Chisholm,	Morphy,
Clark (Red Deer),	Mowat,
Copp,	Murphy,
Cronyn,	Myers,
d'Anjou,	Pacaud,
Delisle,	Papineau,
Denis,	Parent,
Desaulniers,	Peck,
Duff,	Pedlow,
Ethier,	Pelletier,
Euler,	Proulx,
Fafard,	Reid (Mackenzie),
Fielding,	Robb,
Fournier,	Ross,
Gauthier,	Rowell,
Gauvreau,	Savard,
Gervais,	Seguin,
Green,	Sifton,
Griesbach,	Sinclair (Queens, P.E.I.),
Halladay,	Tobin,
Hocken,	Trahan,
Hughes (Sir Sam),	Truax,
Hunt,	Turgeon,
Johnston,	Tweedie,
Kay,	White (Victoria).—76.
Lafortune,	
Lanctôt,	

NAYS.

Messieurs

Anderson,	Loggie,
Andrews,	Long,
Armstrong (Lambton),	Mackie (Edmonton),
Arthurs,	MacNutt,
Ball,	McCoig,
Béland,	McCrea,
Best,	McGregor,
Bolton,	McIsaac,
Bowman,	Marshall,
Boyce,	Martin,
Boys,	Meighen,
Brien,	Middlebro,
Cannon,	Nicholson (Queens, P.E.I.),
Casselman,	Nicholson (Algoma),
Charters,	Paul,
Clark (Bruce),	Reid (Grenville),
Cockshutt,	Richardson,
Cooper,	Sexsmith,
Cowan,	Shaw,
Crothers,	Sheard,
Crowe,	Simpson,
Cruise,	Spinney,
Currie,	Stacey,
Davidson,	Steele,
Demers,	Stevens,
Edwards,	Stewart (Hamilton),
Foster (Sir George),	Sutherland,
Foster (York),	Thompson (Hastings),
Glass,	Wigmore,
Guthrie,	Wilson (Wentworth),
Harrison,	Wilson (Saskatoon).
Henders,	—64.
Lapointe (Kamouraska),	

Amendment agreed to, and the House went into Committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—Thanksgiving Day to be held on the 11th day of November in each year:

Mr. McMaster moved that the section be amended by inserting the words "second Monday" in place of the words "the eleventh day."

Motion agreed to.

Bill reported.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Chairman, Mr. Boivin, from the Committee of the Whole reports Bill No. 2 without amendment.

An hon. MEMBER: With amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: Without amendment. I must take the report I receive from the

chairman of the committee that this Bill was reported without amendment.

On the question: Shall the Bill be read the third time?

Mr. STEELE moved:

That Bill No. 2 be not now read the third time but that it be read this day six months.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Before this motion is put, I ask you, Mr. Speaker, to give the House a statement of exactly the question that we are to vote upon. The report made to the Speaker is that the Bill came back without amendment. If it came back without amendment there must be fixed the 11th day of November, if I understand it. Are we voting now to give the six months hoist to a Bill which provides that Thanksgiving Day shall be on the 11th November, or on the second Monday in November?

Mr. SPEAKER: The Chair must accept the report which comes to it from the chairman of the committee which was to the effect that the Bill was reported from committee without amendment.

Mr. BUREAU: How does the Bill read now?

Mr. SPEAKER: The Bill reads now that Thanksgiving Day be held on the second Monday in November. The question which is immediately now before the House is as to whether the Bill shall be read the third time to-day or this day six months. The question is on the amendment of the hon. member for South Perth (Mr. Steele).

The House divided on the amendment (Mr. Steele) which was carried on the following division:

YEAS.

Messieurs

Anderson,	Loggie,
Andrews,	Long,
Armstrong (Lambton),	Maclean (Halifax),
Arthurs,	MacNutt,
Ball,	McGregor,
Best,	McIsaac,
Blair,	McLeod,
Bolton,	Manion,
Bonnell,	Marshall,
Bowman,	Martin,
Boyce,	Meighen,
Boys,	Mewburn,
Brien,	Middlebro,
Buchanan,	Morphy,
Calder,	Munson,
Casselman,	Myers,
Chabot,	Nicholson (Algoma),
Charters,	Paul,
Clark (Bruce),	Redman,
Clark (Red Deer),	Reid (Grenville),
Cockshutt,	Richardson,
Cooper,	Rowell,
Cowan,	Sexsmith,
Cronyn,	Shaw,
Crothers,	Sheard,
Crowe,	Sifton,
Davidson,	Simpson,
Edwards,	Spinney,
Elkin,	Stacey,
Foster (York),	Steele,
Glass,	Stevens,
Green,	Stewart (Hamilton),
Griesbach,	Sutherland,
Guthrie,	Thompson (Hastings),
Harrison,	Thompson (Yukon),
Henders,	Thomson (Qu'Appelle),
Hocken,	Wigmore,
Hughes (Sir Sam),	Wilson (Wentworth),
Lang,	Wilson (Saskatoon).

—78.

NAYS.

Messieurs

Archambault,	Lanctôt,
Argue,	Lapointe (Kamouraska),
Baldwin,	Lavigueur,
Béland,	Leger,
Boivin,	Mackie (Edmonton),
Bourassa,	McCoig,
Bureau,	McGibbon (Argenteuil),
Burnham,	McIntosh,
Cahill,	McKenzie,
Cannon,	McMaster,
Cardin,	Marcile (Bagot),
Casgrain,	Mayrand,
Chisholm,	Michaud,
Crerar,	Molloy,
Cruise,	Mowat,
Currie,	Murphy,
d'Anjou,	Nicholson (Queens, P.E.I.),
Déchêne,	Pacaud,
Delisle,	Papineau,
Demers,	Peck,
Denis,	Pedlow,
Desaulniers,	Pelletier,
Duff,	Proulx,
Ethier,	Reid (Mackenzie),
Euler,	Robb,
Fafard,	Ross,
Fielding,	Savard,
Fontaine,	Seguin,
Foster (Sir George),	Sinclair (Queens, P.E.I.),
Fournier,	Tobin,
Gauthier,	Trahan,
Gauvreau,	Truax,
Gervais,	Turgeon,
Halladay,	Tweedie,
Hunt,	White (Victoria).—73.
Johnston,	
Kay,	
Lafortune,	

Amendment of Mr. Steele carried.

ALLEGED MANIPULATION OF SOLDIER VOTES.

DEBATE RESUMED ON MOTION FOR PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE.

Mr. A. R. McMASTER (Brome) resumed the debate on the motion of Mr. McKenzie for the appointment of a parliamentary committee to investigate the alleged manipulation of soldier votes in the General Election of 1917. He said: Mr. Speaker, in rising to resume the debate on the resolution presented to this House by the hon. member for Cape Breton, my first observation would be that the paternity of this

telegram is hardly denied. The Minister of the Interior states that he does not remember if he sent such a telegram, a telegram which when decoded reads as follows:

Winnipeg, November 30, 1917.

I wish, Mr. Speaker, that yourself and the House should take special note of the date, the 30th of November, 1917. The soldiers had begun voting on or about the 19th November, 1917, but on the 30th of November the Minister of the Interior sends a telegram. I say he sends a telegram; I believe it can be amply proved that he sent that telegram; he does not deny it, he merely says that he does not remember. The soldiers had been voting for some eleven days but, nevertheless, Sir Robert Borden, the Premier of this country, has directed to him this telegram:

Would like one thousand soldier votes at large for Manitoba, of which 300 for Selkirk, balance divided between Provencher, Macdonald, and Springfield, or same proportion of division no matter what our allotment may be.

I wish the House to pay attention—I hope the country will pay attention—to those words " no matter what our allotment may be."

Charge Union Government Committee.
Arthur Meighen.

Not only does the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Speaker, not deny the paternity of the telegram, but he says that it is a perfectly proper and honourable telegram.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. McMASTER: Not only does he not deny that it is his child, but he says that it is a very fine child indeed.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. McMASTER: As a matter of fact, as the Minister of the Interior waxed more eloquent to the accompaniment of the plaudits of his partisans, I began to think that had he been a military man he should have had the M.C. or the D.S.O. for this telegram, and I am surprised that he has not been recommended for the O.B.E. for having written such a priceless piece of literature. Perhaps he would have obtained the O.B.E. for this telegram only the work done by the late member for Kingston (Mr. Nickle), and others, in this House, prevented the honour being conferred upon him.

Mr. BUREAU: It may come yet.

Mr. McMASTER: Now I will go this far with the Minister of the Interior—that under the Act certain non-resident soldiers of Canada, soldiers who were in the Canadian army but who had no residence in Canada, could elect in what constituencies their votes should apply. I admit that the law so states; but I would bring to the attention of the House this fact: Subsection 4 of section 3 of the Military Voters' Act, 1917, reads:

If he—

that is the soldier—

—cannot because of non-residence or otherwise, so state or specify, he shall be deemed an elector of, and his vote shall be applied to, such electoral district as he may indicate.

What does the word "he" there stand for? It stands for the military voter non-resident in Canada. It stands neither for the Minister of the Interior nor the Prime Minister of this country. But the minister said the Government had a legal right to make such efforts as were necessary to see that these votes were applied by these soldiers in certain constituencies—"where," I believe his expression was, "their vote would do the most good." The minister sees nothing dishonourable in that. I do.

Mr. BUREAU: I should say so.

Mr. McMASTER: I do. I thank Heaven—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McMASTER: I thank Heaven that the ethical training which I have received regards that as dishonourable.

Mr. BUREAU: There is the difference of standard between the two.

Mr. McMASTER: There may be a different standard; it certainly is not my standard. I state—and I do so knowing with what responsibility a member of this House says such a thing as I propose to say—that the telegram and the admissions of the minister yesterday show there was a very widespread system of manipulation of votes for the purpose of defeating the will of the Canadian people. The votes would do good to whom? To the Unionist party. In whose control, Mr. Speaker, was the whole electoral machinery? In the control of the Government. I say that it involves not only a manipulation of votes, but it involves the honour of the minister; and if the Minister of the Interior, and if the Prime Minister of this country, whose sickness unfortunately keeps him from this Chamber, have got the appreciation of their high position—the due and proper appreciation of their high position—they will invite a full, complete and searching investigation in order that they may either be

shown innocent or shown guilty. I say, Mr. Speaker, that a prima facie case is made out; I say that it affects the constitutional rights of the people.

Now, does the telegram in itself indicate a widespread manipulation of votes? What do the words " no matter what our allotment may be " imply? Do they not imply that by an arrangement to which the Minister of the Interior and the Prime Minister were parties, there had been an allocation to certain constituencies where the votes would do most good of the ten thousand or twelve thousand votes of soldiers who had no residence in Canada? I say that there can be no other interpretation given to the document. I say that such action was illegal and improper, and that it touches the honour of our public men.

It involves a plan, Mr. Speaker, does it not? What could be this plan? Was it that when any one of these ten thousand soldiers —British subjects but not Canadian citizens —came to the poll a man was there representing the Government—a returning officer or some other person—who suggested to each soldier that he should place his vote in the county of Brome, for instance. Some of them did. I understand 600 to 700 votes were attempted to be cast in Brome, and about 160 of those soldiers did actually cast their votes in that county, not one of whom was a resident there. Now, was that the plan?

Sir SAM HUGHES: Would the hon. member permit me a question? I hope he does not mean to imply that there were no soldiers at the front from Brome?

Mr. McMASTER: I do not. There were a great number of Brome boys who went to the front and some of them died for their country. But theirs were not the votes that were cast against the Liberal candidate in Brome; the votes so cast were those of men who never saw the county of Brome. That is what I object to. I charged the Unionist speakers on nomination day that they had made a law for the purpose of stealing the election.

Mr. BUREAU: And they stole it.

Mr. McMASTER: They did not in Brome.

Mr. BUREAU: But they did elsewhere in the country.

Mr. McMASTER: What was the plan? At each of these polling places which were spread all over the camps in France, in England and in Canada, men were placed to indicate to this special class of soldiers just where their votes should be allotted.

Mr. BURNHAM: If those soldiers wished to vote for the Government, and made inquiry, was it improper to say to them, "Well, vote in Nova Scotia or in Hastings county, Ontario."

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Or in Peterboro.

Mr. BURNHAM: Is there anything morally wrong in that?

Mr. McMASTER: I think it is absolutely wrong. I think for men in the employ of the Government, looking to this Government for military promotion, to have it in their power to say to a soldier, " I want you to vote for Shefford, for Brome, for Peterboro," or whatever constituency votes might be required for, was an absolute abuse of the law.

Mr. BUREAU: Hear, hear.

Mr. McMASTER: I remember, Mr. Speaker, years ago travelling from Edinburgh to London and meeting a man who had been election agent for a wealthy manufacturer in the north of England who had been running as a Liberal candidate. He told me that his client before the election made a tour through his works and asked his men to vote for him, but at the same time he told them their votes were their own, that they were free men, and that if they thought it right to vote against him it would make no difference to them so far as their promotion was concerned. That is the spirit the Government should have shown; and if an investigation is granted I will be able to prove there was an entire absence of that spirit, and that men were dragooned by regiments to vote for one candidate or another.

But there was another way in which this plan would work out—one which I do not like to suggest, but I have got to suggest it, because I think the other plan was too complicated. I think this is the way it was done: Men were told not to answer questions 6, 7, and 8, and then, after they had left the polling booth, the place where the vote was to be assigned was inserted by some person other than the voter. If that be true—and I believe on investigation that can be shown to be true—then that constituted one of the grossest electoral crimes and frauds ever perpetrated in any civilized country. I say it degraded this country to the level of Mexico. How did Diaz keep himself in power? By disfranchising those portions of the population on which he could not rely for support and securing the votes of those with whom he had left the franchise.

Now, how was this plan made out? Was it by the Cabinet as a whole? Did His Majesty's Cabinet in Canada sit around a table and make an agreement as to how these unattached votes were to be distributed in their different counties?

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Votes at large.

Mr. McMASTER: These votes at large have grown. In 1917 the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) said they were not more than 5,000 or 10,000; yesterday the Minister of the Interior said there were from 10,000 to 12,000; they have grown a little. Did they sit around the table, Mr. Speaker, and parcel out these unattached votes, so much for one county and so much for another county; or did they have a committee of the Cabinet? This Cabinet, large as it is, is fond of committees. We have a Reconstruction Committee and other committees of the Cabinet. Did they have a war-time elections committee? Let me suggest, Mr. Speaker, that if they had a war-time elections committee the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) was not a member of that committee, but the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) was.

Mr. BUREAU: Hear, hear; he was the chairman.

Mr. McMASTER: How could this scheme be worked out? It could only be worked out in two ways: By pressure upon the individual soldier, or by an organized tampering with the ballots after the envelopes had been signed by the soldiers. Those were the only two ways by which the result which we have seen could have been obtained when the votes came to be counted; because, Mr. Speaker, the proof is before our eyes. We have found that, for instance, a member of the Senate now who was then running in two constituencies had soldiers' votes placed to his credit by hundreds in each constituency. These things were not done à l'improviste; they were done following a preconcerted and preconceived plan. What would pressure on the individual soldier mean? It might not have been any great pressure, it would not need to be to secure these unattached votes. For instance, what difference would it make to a man from the West Indies what Government was in power? What would he know about Canadian affairs? If his sergeant, or lieutenant, or captain suggested to him that it was wise for him to vote for the Government and to have his vote placed in a certain county, no doubt he would act on the suggestion. But what flows from this?

It was obvious that this scheme, properly worked, would make it possible for the Government to win the election—which they did. Indeed, it would be impossible for them to lose the election. If you apply 12,000 votes in the counties to which you wish to apply them, you can put 120 votes in each of a hundred doubtful counties where the voting is nearly equal. Why, the carrying out of this scheme made the election a perfect farce.

Mr. BUREAU: And a fraud.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: A crime.

Mr. McMASTER: These fears were expressed by the Liberals when the Bill was under consideration. I wish to read to the House some of the statements which were made at that time and the reply to those statements made by the Minister of Justice. On page 4691 of Hansard of the year 1917 you will find these words, which I quote from the speech of Hon. Frank Oliver:

> But there are other principles involved in a franchise Act besides the principle of providing for the casting of the vote. There are principles connected with ensuring that the vote shall be counted as it has been cast. There is the principle of the right of the several parties who are concerned in the voting to be sure that, first, the vote is cast secretly.

Now, let me pause for a moment. How could this scheme of bringing pressure to bear on individual soldiers be operated and, at the same time, the sanctity of the ballot and the secrecy of the ballot be recognized? If soldiers were asked by commanding officers and others in authority over them to vote for certain candidates in certain counties, or to vote for the Government and apply their votes in certain counties, is it possible to imagine for an instant that the men making those demands did not see to it that the soldiers marked their ballots as they were desired to mark them? I continue the quotation:

> Second, that it is cast without pressure of fear or favour; and, third, that, having been so cast, it shall be counted as it was cast. I am unable to say whether these principles are provided for in the Bill, and I would say to the minister that I do not consider them details at all; I consider each one an essential principle. If they are not provided for in the Bill, there is a possibility that, instead of the privilege of the franchise being exercised as a right and a duty, the intention of the voter may be diverted from its proper purpose, and, instead of being of assistance in expressing the mind of the people of Canada, it may be a means of misdirecting the minds of the people I can only hope that the minister, in the preparation of the Bill, has had these points in mind. I am not able to say whether they are properly safeguarded or not, as I have not had the opportunity to discuss the Bill and in any case

would not be able to form an opinion on these points without having the minister's explanation.

There is, however, one feature that I find in section 3 in which, following the suggestion of the hon. member for Moosejaw (Mr. Knowles), I must say I cannot see an evidence of good faith on the part of the minister or the Government in the preparation of the Bill, and if this provision of which I speak is a fair sample of the Bill's provisions throughout, I would be compelled to take very strong exception to it and to say that it may have been that the fact that the Government did not have a majority in the Senate was a protection to the public interest in the passing of the other Bill; but that now that the Government has a majority in the Senate, it feels free to introduce such a measure as it pleases and as it thinks may best serve its purpose, whatever that purpose may be. The liberties and rights of the people of Canada are involved in this measure, and I can only take the provision of subsection 3 of section 3 as a deliberate and intentional and very serious and far-reaching attack upon the rights and privileges of the people of Canada in the expression of their vote. The provision of the section of which I speak is:

Then he proceeds to read the section, concluding with subsection 3, as follows:

(3) If he cannot, because of non-residence or otherwise, so state or specify, he shall be deemed an elector of, and his vote shall be applied to, such electorate district as he may indicate.

Now, let us see what the Minister of Justice said in regard to the fear expressed by Mr. Oliver on that occasion. The Minister of Justice, Mr. Speaker, said this:

In regard to the statement by the hon. gentleman from Edmonton (Mr. Oliver), in which he was pleased to refer to certain motives on the part of those who are promoting this Bill, I do not hesitate to say that the hon. gentleman is entirely mistaken in his imputatin. There is no desire to do anything, except, so far as may be found possible, to meet the very principles which he himself has laid down. If I did not think it necessary to elaborate those principles, it was because, upon the principles that ought to underlie this measure, there should be substantial agreement. On those principles I am not in disagreement with my hon. friend. The provisions meet what is required, viz.: that questions which arise are whether those the soldier,—I am speaking generally—should record his vote, and that proper safeguards should surround the taking of the vote.

That the soldier should be given an opportunity to record his vote no one will deny, but the gravamen of the charge against the Government is that the safeguards which should have surrounded the taking of the vote were absent, and that the very things which the Liberals feared would arise out of this law did arise out of it. The Minister of Justice repudiated at that time the idea that there would be any unfair or unsportsmanlike dealing with votes of the soldiers, and I give him credit for it. He was for years a member of the Bench at the Bar at which I practised; I know his reputation as an honourable and straightforward man, and when he made these assertions that the Liberals need have no fear of improper conduct on the part of their political adversaries, I believe he was stating what he thought was true. He said to the Liberals who were objecting at that time: "Have confidence in the Government; we will do the square and right thing; no pressure will be brought to bear upon these men that one side could not use as well as the other." But what a contrast is that with the attitude of the Minister of the Interior (Hon. Mr. Meighen). He says: We used this section for all it was worth; we thought we had a perfect right to use it, under the four corners of the Act, and we did use it to put the votes in the places where they would do the most good. Would the Minister of Justice have told the House of Commons in August, 1917, when he was promoting this Bill, that the Bill was framed with the idea of creating a very large number of unattached votes and putting them in the constituencies where they would do the most good to the Government? No, he would not have said such a thing; he would have been ashamed to say such a thing. And had the Minister of the Interior got up in his seat in the House then—I did not have the pleasure and the honour of being a member of the House at that time—and told what the real object of this Bill was—about creating 12,000 unattached votes that could be put where they would do the most good—the moral sense of the Canadian people would have revolted and the Bill would not have passed. The honour of ministers is involved when they put up an honest and sincere man to say that the Bill is all right, that its provisions will not be abused, and when two short years afterwards, another minister comes forward and says: "Oh, we had the right to influence these men who were in our employ; we had the right to influence these soldiers; we had the right to bring to bear upon them all the pressure and the power which military life gives one man over another. We had the right to do that and the right to manipulate the vote." Mr. Speaker, it is nothing more or less than manipulation of votes. It is a manipulation of voters, for it is a system of putting them, as it were, in Provencher, Springfield and other counties of that sort.

The Minister of the Interior next blamed the Liberals because many soldiers voted

in constituencies in which they had no right to vote.

He said the Liberals spread the statement abroad that the men had the right to choose their constituencies, and that it permeated the military forces of this country. Could anything be more fantastical and fantastic? Think of it! Here are soldiers under the command of their commanding officer; the commanding officers report to the General; the General reports to the Minister of Militia; the men are paraded, I presume, once or twice a day very often; at all events, the machinery for communicating information from the top to the bottom of the army is in working order. Were the soldiers who filled the hearts of their compatriots who remained at home with pride at their glorious exploits so unintelligent that they could not understand the plain provisions of this Bill? Were their officers so lacking in intelligence that they could not explain to the men that they should only vote in a constituency in which they resided? After all, that is the natural place for a man to record his vote, or to have his vote recorded. It is ridiculous. What is the real explanation of the fact that 50,000 men had their ballot papers thrown out? Because they did not answer questions 6, 7, and 8, and I believe an investigation will show why these men did not answer questions 6, 7 and 8.

There was the usual charge by the Minister of the Interior of disloyalty against those who do not happen to agree with him. After all, you know, no real Liberal should object to being charged as unpatriotic by his opponents. The history of this country is a long, long tale of the abuse of the Reformers by the Tory party. Alexander Mackenzie was called a bad man, and Edward Blake was called a bad man; I think he was described as an annexationist, a separationist, or something of that sort. Sir Wilfrid Laurier—there were no words too bad for him in the last election. So let us not be discouraged, we who are Liberals. Gladstone and Bright were abused. Aye, the people have always stoned the prophets, but in days to come they have to follow what the prophets told them. After all, abuse of a political opponent, by calling him unpatriotic and disloyal, only shows a certain poverty of intellect or a certain bad quality of heart. Why is treason so severely punished? The punishments provided under the old law for treason were very severe. Why? Because, when the King who at that time not only reigned, but governed, was attacked there was a chance of disorder in the State. Who is the King now? Who are the governors of this country now. The governors of this country are the people themselves with the ballot papers in their hands, and the real traitors are the men who lays impious hands upon the freedom of their exercise of the franchise.

Now I have little more to say. I take it that no one will be surprised when I assert what is within the common knowledge of every member of this House, that in the last election men's votes that should have gone to one county were applied to others. I make that charge in the hearing of every member of this House who knows it to be true, and I can prove that charge if a committee is given us for the purpose.

Now what is the House going to do? The Government has a large majority if all those who nominally support it vote for it. Many who sit on the Government benches to-day have in the past borne the proud name of Liberal, and to them, Mr. Speaker, through you, I make this special appeal. It is always hard to attack and condemn a system of which one is a beneficiary. In days gone by, at the beginning of the last century the House of Commons and the House of Lords in Great Britain were composed almost entirely of land-owners, and they maintained Corn Laws which imposed by law starvation on the British people. They did so because they were the beneficiaries of the system; it increased their rents. Later on, when the great question of slavery was an issue before the American people, ministers of the Gospel in the Southern States were heard in their pulpits to maintain the righteousness of the wicked and iniquitous system of slavery. To-day there are men in this House who had soldiers' votes applied to their counties and counted for them which they know should have been applied to other counties. But what do I ask of you? I ask of the members of this House that they give a conscientious vote on this subject. If you believe that it is a righteous thing for a Government to pass a law creating 12,000 votes at large, and to take such means as may be necessary to apply those votes in the counties where they will do the most good, then vote against the resolution. If, on the other hand, you believe that the franchise is a sacred trust, that the greatest crime a man can commit against this country is to interfere with the free exercise of the franchise, if you believe that the honour of ministers is involved, then I say to you, vote in favour of the resolution.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK (Red Deer): My hon. friend (Mr. McMaster) resumed his

seat with the appeal on his lips to certain members of this House to give a conscientious vote. I rather felt touched by the appeal as the hon. member was looking at myself at the moment. I venture, if I may without offence, to assure him that I purpose giving a conscientious vote and, in as few words as I may, the reasons for it. I fear that my hon. friend is so much under the influence of what I desire to avoid in this debate—very strong feelings—that he may be neither pleased at my assurance nor with my reasons.

Mr. Speaker, I want to look at what I conceive to be the broader aspects of the question with which we are dealing, and may I say that I think it unfortunate for Parliament, unfortunate for the party who sit to your left, and unfortunate for the country, that hon. gentlemen to your left have deemed it wise to bring forward this resolution of so purely party a kind in a session which was called for the specific purpose, and almost the only purpose, of ushering in the League of Nations by giving our seal to the Covenant and doing our part in the ratification of the Treaty of Peace.

I should like to be permitted, in the presence of two of those ministers who went to Paris, to say that if they lived twice as long as they have lived they would never in this world accomplish anything upon which the history of Canada will look back with such pride as the fact that it had ministers participating in an epochal event in the advancement of mankind to a higher civilization. I should be out of order if I uttered more than a sentence upon that subject. But what is it that we are doing at this session, and why do I regret that honourable gentlemen have brought the smallest of party politics into this House?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: If I had any doubt about the wisdom of that statement I would need only to refer to the scene of intense heat which arose yesterday, and which, in eleven years' experience in this House, I have never witnessed except when men's passions were aroused on opposite sides on matters of purely party politics. Why do I regret that this motion has been introduced? I regret it, Sir, because I think it would have been well to allow this session to devote its time and attention to its main work, the great object for which it was convened. We have witnessed in the past, (and those of us who have read history are conversant with the fact,) that men have gradually passed from the tribal

to the national stage of development, and in the conference that took place at Versailles we saw humanity take a definite step towards the international stage of human development, marking an absolutely epochal event in the history of the world.

For that reason I regret extremely, and I am sincere in the assertion, that this question should have been raised at this time. I should like to think that I was uncharitable in charging party politics on this question. I should like to think that the object of every hon. gentleman to your left, Mr. Speaker, was prompted by a high national desire to establish political purity in this country. I know it is a most dangerous thing to touch on the question of motives; it is a very dangerous venture, as my hon. friend from Brome (Mr. McMaster) remarked yesterday. But I repeat, I should like to think that the objects of hon. gentlemen on this matter were the attainment of a better condition of electoral purity in Canada. In regard to any form of electoral impurity, I have observed that it makes an awful difference in a man's attitude whose ox is gored.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: I say it makes a vast difference to the average Canadian politician's attitude, yes, and I will say to the Canadian statesman's attitude, whose ox is gored. I fear, Sir, that I am historically correct when I say that the condition of mind of Canadian statesmen has not been as advanced as one would have liked to see it on the question of electoral purity. On this subject, I might offer evidence, which I think would not be controverted by any hon. gentleman on the benches to your left. There was an extremely corrupt by-election in the city of London, Ontario, not so many years ago, and I think men were sent to jail as a consequence. In any case, the impurity of the election was proved up to the hilt. Every one knew it, and of course the ordinary party charges were brought in the debate on the Address in the succeeding session by the Conservative party who happened to be in Opposition at that time. Now, no less a person than the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier offered a contribution in reply to the charges that were made by the Opposition of that day, and he said: "Well, no great mistake could be made if the Grits should undertake to fight the enemy with the devil's fire." I was comparatively a stranger in this country when I read that statement, but I must say it horrified me considerably. I think I understood Sir Wilfrid as well as most other

men; and I understood his attitude of mind when he said, on another occasion: "Thank God, I am no purist." I am not now introducing these things to reflect on that hon. gentleman. We quote past statesmen not by way of reference to themselves or their personalities but in order to establish our positions in Parliament, and I claim that right. What do I try to prove by these quotations and the statement I made a moment ago? It is this: I fear it is true that neither of the old parties in this country has been over particular about the question of electoral purity, and I prove the fact by that quotation which will be found in Hansard of 1906 in regard to what was a most corrupt election. I was not in Parliament at the time but I read the debates and the matter has been in my memory ever since. I took the exact words from Hansard to-day. I think I have proved very conclusively and on the highest authority that, to say the least, there have been faults on both sides in regard to this question of ballot switching and other forms of electoral impurity. I am bound to say, however, that Sir Wilfrid qualified his statement by another. He said: "Bribery is bad, but ballot switching is ten times worse," and of course that would throw the august support of his memory and his views on the side of the Opposition in this debate, though I do not know exactly how he arrived at the precise moral or immoral pre-eminence of these two forms of electoral impurity. From some points of view, especially from the intellectual point of view, bribery or the buying of votes is worse than ballot switching. Morally they are both bad, because men steal what does not belong to them and what ought to be sacred to those who have a right to it; and I trust that no one in this House thinks for a moment that I have any sympathy with electoral impurity in any form. But from an intellectual standpoint I differ from Sir Wilfrid's classification of the relative immorality of the men who are guilty of either of these forms of corruption. Both are blackguards, but the man who buys a vote is a fool, for very often he pays for what he does not receive; and therefore, intellectually at least, he is worse than the man who switches ballots. These are the statements which I think are sufficient to prove that I am on good ground when I say that there is considerable reason for suspecting that the motive of this debate is not one of public interest and public good, but that it is a party motive. That, therefore, is the first ground on which I shall vote against the motion.

Mr. McKENZIE: Would the hon. gentleman mind giving me the page of Hansard and the subject in connection with which Sir Wilfrid Laurier said he was no purist?

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: It was in the debate on the Address in the year 1906. I have not the page, unfortunately, but it was in the debate on the Address in that year, and it was in regard to a by-election which had taken place in London. The debate, I am perfectly sure, is remembered by many hon. members who were in the House at that time.

Now, having stated some of the general grounds upon which I shall give my vote, I desire to come a little nearer to this specific case. Let me say, in the first place, that I shall very heartily vote with the Government upon this question because I think the Opposition has been unfortunate in the personality of the minister whom they have chosen for attack.

I came into this House with my hon. friend from Portage la Prairie (Mr. Meighen). I have differed a good deal from him on many public questions. At a private dinner not many months ago I expressed my extreme regret in his presence that he had been cast in a somewhat narrow Tory mould and he took my joke and reproof both in very good spirit. I remember his first speech in this House, I have heard most of the speeches he has delivered since and I remember that on the occasion of his first speech, Sir Wilfrid Laurier followed him and, with his long experience, picked him out at once as a man of the highest ability. I have heard most of the speeches that the Minister of the Interior has delivered in this House and I will tell hon. gentlemen something about him. I never knew him in debate to stoop to hit below the belt; I never knew him in debate to make use of a personal remark; I never knew him in debate to argue his case except upon its merits, and these three statements being true, in so far as my recollection goes, I would be very chary at least about bringing any charge of dishonour against him. I do not need to say more along that line. No hon. gentleman in this House can successfully point to a case where he (Mr. Meighen) did not live up to that reputation. His private character, and his past actions in private and in public, are such as would make me extremely slow in singling him out as the particular minister against whom a charge of personal

dishonour should be brought or in regard to which a committee should be asked to investigate certain public matters with a view of impugning his honour.

I regret, in this specific case to think that the Opposition have been unfortunate on general principles. They will not think much of my advice on party grounds but I think that on party grounds they have been unfortunate. I feel perfectly sure that on national grounds they have been unfortunate in taking a course which could only have one effect and that is of keeping up the war animosities. There is scarcely an hon. gentleman on the Opposition side of the House but who believes in his heart that these animosities should die, but they say: "We cannot allow them to die in regard to the Military Voters' Act; that is too valuable a piece of electioneering material." It must be hauled into a convention where a platform is being constructed which should be of a constructive kind surely in this reconstruction period; it must be hauled into a brief session when we are dealing with the closing up of this great war tragedy and in addition it must be paraded and printed all over Canada as a part of the unscheduled portion of the platform which was laid down

If I am doing my hon. friends wrong, if their motive is not a party one, if electoral purity is their motive I can tell them truly how they would have convinced me. In the August convention they borrowed, in framing their tariff plank, for instance, as much as they thought it wise, having regard to certain eastern interests, to borrow of the tariff platform of the Dominion Council of Agriculture. If when they did this they had also taken the plank of the Dominion Council of Agriculture as to the publication of the names of contributories to campaign expenses and in favour of more drastic measures against corrupt election practices, they would have stood where they could have called upon the farmers who work under the flag, the banner, and the auspices of the Dominion Council of Agriculture to join them. They could have given evidence that they were out for reconstruction, that they were out for a better world after this war had ended. But they did not do that. Now they bring a charge against the Minister of the Interior in regard to a telegram, got in a very peculiar way apparently, in regard to the Military Voters' Act. I do not want to be uncharitable or unfair but I think I have gone far enough to show that I am right in saying that this is a party move. That is another of the grounds upon which I cannot support these hon. gentlemen in their demand for a committee to examine into this question.

We have heard a great deal of the sacredness of the right of the franchise. My hon. friend (Mr. McMaster) has talked about it in the most impassioned terms. I wonder if he ever reflects that if Mr. Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, and the Government of this country had been animated by the policy which guided hon. gentlemen on your left, Mr. Speaker, in the Military Voters' Act, if these statesmen had all said: "Germany may win but we will not have conscription", we would not have been celebrating peace in this country to-day. There is nothing so sure in this world as that if we had not gone in for conscription when they did, the Germans would have taken the channel ports. It is extremely probable that if neither President Wilson nor Lloyd George had gone in for conscription Germany would by this time have won the war and we should not have been talking about the sacred right of the franchise with the Germans for our masters; we should be crawling before the Hun whose boots we would have to polish. For my part, if I were on the Opposition benches and thought of the gravity of the times when the war time election was held, and of the gravity of the question of getting the last support for our boys at the front, instead of making party capital out of any aspect of the war time election I should be extending the thanksgiving day of my hon. friend (Mr. Pedlow) to thank God there was a Union Government in this country two years ago.

What is the matter with these hon. gentlemen in regard to the war time election? As a mere electoral occasion, it is past and gone. Were they not satisfied with the results of it? What were the results?

Not that Canada won the war, not that the Allies won the war; but the results of it to Canada were the breaking of the Hindenburg line by the Canadian troops, and that these battalions were manned to the last man because the Union Government won the war-time elections.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, no.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: What would have happened if my hon. friends had won the election?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: What would have happened? At least we should not have had conscription. It may be argued we should have got the troops by other means.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: We should previously have sent the German Emperor a message that we were not very anxious to get them by the only way he knew how to get them. I think it is a very supposititious case. What actually did happen, anyhow, is a matter of history. My hon. friends talk about the soldiers' votes, as if it were conceivable that any large number of soldiers under any other circumstances would wish to vote, when they were at the front, against their being sent the proper support. How would they have voted but the way they did? I wish hon. gentlemen to ask themselves that question.

Mr. McMASTER: Might I ask the hon. member a question? Is it not true that the Australian army, when they came to vote on the question of conscription, only voted in favour of it by a relatively small majority?

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK: I have not the particulars as to how the Australian soldiers voted, but I have no doubt whatsoever how the Canadian soldiers voted. I know how they did vote. I am charitable enough to believe that in the large majority of cases they voted honestly, and they voted as only sane men could vote who were up against the hell they were up against and knew that they needed the last atom of Canadian strength, as well as the strength of the whole of the Allies, to win the war. Again I ask: How would they have voted? It is an endeavour on my part to put this thing in its proper place in history; it is not with the slightest desire to rake up these matters that I speak. I have been perfectly sincere in this House in advising amnesty; I have been perfectly sincere in this House, and elsewhere, in protesting against keeping up war-time animosities; and I propose to claim for myself, Mr. Speaker, that this furnishes a good ground for my voting against this amendment, which can have no other result than the keeping up of these war-time animosities and spreading them through our people's minds and lives to the great hurt of their efforts for what is the one paramount consideration which should be present to every one of us, and that is the building up and the reconstruction of our country.

Now I think the Opposition have been unfortunate on at least another ground, and that is in their argument. What was the argument of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition? I listened to his speech with the utmost care, as I did to my hon. friend (Mr. McMaster), who has just sat down, and I did not gather that either of these eminent lawyers charged that the action imputed in this telegram, or imputed by their resolution, was illegal. I did not gather that that was their charge. I did not gather that either of these legal luminaries charged that the action was illegal. Then their argument surely falls to the ground. What was the argument in the speech of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition? He contended very vigorously, as he always does contend vigorously, for all the time that he needed in the debate, and how did he use his time? By reading a long extract from a speech of my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. A. K. Maclean) delivered in this House two years ago, and almost an equally long extract from a speech delivered at that time—Heaven save the mark—by the Hon. Dr. Pugsley. What does that prove? It proves that so far as the case of the two gentlemen who have already spoken in support of this Committee is concerned, they have no case upon which to charge illegality. Whatever was done was done in accordance with the law. What they did was really to attack an Act which was passed by this Parliament two years ago. That is what has happened in the debate up to now.

Well, surely there never was a more futile course taken by any hon. member in this House, and surely there never was a course taken that was less likely to prove a charge of dishonour against a minister of the Crown. The minister who supported the War-time Elections Act two years ago may be right or wrong, but the majority of the House of Commons at that time passed the measure into law; and I for one, while I have no apologies to make for political crookedness, no apologies for ballot switching, would say God speed the time when we have purer politics in Canada —purer electoral politics. I for one nevertheless would say, that if in any degree the Military Voters' Act helped us to the point at which Canada stood shoulder to shoulder with the other Allies in bringing about the result which we see in the world to-day—if the Military Voters Act contributed in any

5 p.m. degree to give any one of the sixty thousand men who fell for Canada the consoling thought as he fell and died that his country was behind him to the last man and the last dollar,—while I would not palliate electoral crookedness I maintain that that at least is strong ground for saying that the future historian will probably write down the War-time Elections

Act as a somewhat crude method, perhaps, but largely in accordance with past practices of both political parties in this country in bringing about the result that Canada should be there and there to the finish. That is the ground that I take upon this particular subject at this angle.

Mr. Speaker, I have never found that in this world a man can rise very high by pulling another man down. The only ground upon which I have ever tried,—and I say so I hope with a fair amount of modesty—to approach the consideration of any question in this House, has been the ground of what I conceive to be the public good. If I did know that there was something in the political conduct of an opponent of mine which I could take advantage of at an election—I do not want to come too near to saying what my hon. friend (Mr. McMaster) said a few minutes ago—"I thank Heaven that my school of ethics was different from anybody else's"—but I thank Heaven on most abstract grounds that my school of morality is such that I hope I should have strength of character and self-control enough not to take that advantage, because I believe from the bottom of my heart that no man ever rises very high by pulling another man down. Mr. Speaker, it is equally true of political parties. I do not believe scandal debates ever do anybody much good.

The first election I fought in my own riding, if I may be biographical for a moment, was fought very largely on the charge of stealing timber limits—I may as well be candid about this matter—and of course the charge was at that time preferred against the Liberal party with which I was associated. Well, I went out and educated my people, or tried to, in economic principles; I cannot remember that I ever spent two minutes about the timber limits. I was elected by a somewhat narrow majority; but I had a very large majority in the reciprocity election, and I thanked goodness that I forgot the timber limits and trained my people in economics.

I believe the noblest motive is the public good; and it ought to be our only motive. I do not think that either a person or a party will rise very high by pulling others down. I am certain that this country has nothing to gain by remembering the animosities of the war or recalling its side lights. This country has everything to gain from the politicians who will bring large constructive principles to bear upon the minds of our people in and out of Parliament and that is the course, in the few years God may give me life, that I purpose to follow, as I modestly claim I always have followed it.

I do not believe the public good would be served by this inquiry for the reasons that I have stated; and, reverting to my hon. friends appeal to me, let me say that I shall vote with a clear conscience and with absolute sincerity against the granting of this committee.

Mr. JOS. ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Verchères): Mr. Speaker, if I may be permitted to use an expression which was employed on Wednesday last by my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), I should say that I had not intended to speak in this debate, but a few observations made by a previous speaker have led me to reconsider my decision. The observations to which I refer are those made by my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) which will be found at page 573 of yesterday's Hansard. He said:

> There have been charges that soldiers perjured themselves, and that officers suborned the perjury. They were made with a great degree of recklessness in the session before last, but even then there was no charge of impropriety against any one acting as an officer under the Crown in the election, and the charges of perjury and subornation of perjury made by the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères (Mr. Archambault) were investigated by a judge of a high court of this country and were declared unfounded from beginning to end.

Mr. Speaker, even regardless of those observations, the remarks I now intend to make are, in my opinion, quite proper and pertinent to this debate, because the manipulation of the votes at St. Johns barracks during the last election formed part of the system mentioned in the motion now before the House. That is the reason why I wish strongly to urge for the appointment of a parliamentary committee instead of a Royal Commission, as I feel sure that I shall be able to prove to the House and to the country that the people of Canada can, unfortunately, have no more confidence in and no hope of redress from Royal Commissions appointed by the present Government.

I also have another reason, Sir, for bringing up this matter. In my speech of May 22, 1918, I made a certain number of charges. I charged that there had been a conspiracy to defeat the will of the electors of Chambly-Verchères; I charged that the officers of the Engineering Training Depot at St. Johns had conspired with my opponent to give him enough votes to elect him despite the will of the electors; I charged that a regular organization was started in the barracks, that

propaganda was initiated, which included speeches, a banquet, and the publication of a newspaper, not only urging the soldiers to vote in a certain manner in violation of the law, the King's Regulations, and the Dominion Elections Act, but also inciting them to commit perjury, with the result that 600 or 700 soldiers committed perjury and cast their votes in the county of Chambly-Verchères without having any right to do so.

Evidently I made a fair case, because the Government granted me an inquiry. I was satisfied, not because—and I wish to say it again—I had any resentment against the officers or the soldiers, but because I thought that the great amount of work I had done for this investigation would not be a pure loss, but would serve to show the public at large a state of moral turpitude which, according to my comprehension as a member of Parliament, it was my duty to bring before the House. But, Mr. Speaker, I had then all the ingenuous confidence of a new member, and probably I did not at the time appreciate the finesse of certain expressions. I did not notice when the hon. Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) answered me that in promising an inquiry he used the language which will be found at page 2463 of Hansard of 1918. He said:

With regard to the case of Chambly and Verchères which has been put before the House this evening, let us have no misunderstanding; we will see that it is properly and judiciously investigated.

Mr. Speaker, please notice the word "judiciously." It is defined in an English dictionary as:

Adapted to obtain a good end by the best means.

I can assure you, Sir, that the case was "judiciously" investigated.

It was an attempt to attain the best end for the friends of the Government by the best means which were at the disposal of the Government. My first suspicion was aroused when I noticed that the Order in Council and commission authorizing the inquiry did not seem to cover all the accusations which I had made; they covered only the accusations of perjury and subornation of perjury. I immediately wrote a letter to the Minister of Justice with regard to the matter, which I translate as follows:

Montreal, 12th July, 1918.

My Dear Mr. Doherty:

Honourable Judge Maclennan has handed me a copy of the Order in Council naming a Royal Commissioner to inquire into the military vote in St. Johns Parish and his commission. I desire to register my protest regarding the commission. In my speech of the 22nd of May in the House of Commons I made a great number of accusations. My accusations were not limited to perjury but the Order in Council and the commission seemed to limit the scope of the Commission to an inquiry into the accusation of perjury. If, as I hope, Judge Maclennan gives a broad interpretation to the power of the Commission and allows me to prove all the accusations I have made in the House, I shall have nothing to say. But I desire to inform you now, very respectfully, that if the inquiry is limited and if I am not allowed to prove all my accusations, I will not consider this inquiry as closing the matter. I am writing you this letter in order that my silence shall not be construed as full acquiescence in the inquiry granted.

Believe me, Sir,

Yours very truly.

On the 17th of July I received a letter from the Minister of Justice in which, amongst other things, he said:

As regards the scope of the commission and Order in Council, I do not place the limited interpretation on them that you seem to do.

The inquiry began on Thursday the 12th of September, and the next morning—as reported in the evidence, which I will read—examination into all allegations other than those respecting perjury and subornation of perjury were barred, the commissioner stating that he had no power to inquire into these accusations.

May I say a word about the evidence? It is always hard for me to have any papers tabled in the House when I ask for them. I have had quite a lot of trouble in getting the papers with regard to the high cost of living. Last session I moved for copies of the correspondence, the evidence and the judgment or report of the commission appointed to inquire into the matter with which I am now dealing. My motion was adopted, and a few days afterwards some papers were tabled—the correspondence and the report of the judge, but the evidence was not there. Before the end of the session I drew attention to this matter on the Orders of the Day being called, and the Secretary of State (Hon. Mr. Burrell) informed me that he would table the evidence for me the next day or a few days afterwards. Unfortunately, it was not forthcoming, so in order to make my case I myself secured the evidence from the official reporter, Mr. Kenehan. If you will permit me, Mr. Speaker, I will read a few extracts from this evidence.

As I have said, right at the beginning of the inquiry the commissioner would not allow proof to be made of any accusation other than that of perjury and subornation of perjury. I read at page 147:

Mr. Archambault suggests that in view of your Lordship's previous statements, he cannot bring evidence in regard to that dinner—

Speaking of the banquet.

—excepting in so far as concerns canvassing, and of course I limited my examination to that.

This was said by the Crown Prosecutor, Mr. Geoffrion. I quote further:

Mr. Archambault tells me that there is evidence which I can produce, and I suggest that by admitting those explanations as regards matters which have not been entrusted to your lordship, your lordship is either bound to only hear one side or to hear the evidence on both sides.

The Commissioner: There is quite enough in the commission to occupy me without going into that.

Mr. Geoffrion: The only practical objection I can see is that I am prevented from making the evidence and your lordship will hear the statement of only one party.

The Commissioner: I think you asked the witness if Mr. Rainville was not present?

Mr. Geoffrion: I asked him if Mr. Rainville was there. Mr. Archambault instructs me that he can prove the other element.

The Commissioner: As far as the commission is concerned, it does not matter whether the charge is founded or unfounded, but I am not here to investigate the whole of Mr. Archambault's speech in the House of Commons. The Bill of charges may go farther than the commission.

Mr. MacNaughton, who was acting for the defence, said:

Do I understand that the commission only includes perjury and subornation of perjury?

The Commissioner: That is correct.

Mr. Geoffrion: And other conduct by which these men were induced to commit perjury?

The Commissioner: I do not think you need go any further into the question of that dinner. I do not suppose any one could be induced to commit perjury by the mere fact of being invited to a dinner.

And so on. In his report, which I will read later, the Commissioner states that under the powers given to him by the Order in Council, the only accusations which he could investigate were those of perjury and subornation to perjury.

This, then, is what caused me to become firmly convinced that my first suspicion was well founded, and I proceeded to ascertain the meaning of the word "judiciously." I was precluded from bringing forward any proof or submitting any evidence with regard to the violation of the Military Voters' Act and the Dominion Elections Act or with regard to conspiracy. The inquiry being limited as I have stated, what could I do? Withdraw from the inquiry? Had I done that, my action would have been interpreted as an admission on my part that I was not in a position to prove the accusations that I had made. So, following the old adage that "half a loaf is better than no bread," I attended the inquiry.

I wish to say that I proved every accusation I made on the floor of this House regarding perjury and subornation of perjury, to which I was limited in the inquiry, against all the officers and men who were still in the country. It was impossible for me to adduce any evidence against those who were not in Canada, because section 9 of the Act precluded me from proceeding against any man to whom it was impossible to give notice and a copy of the accusation. I said I proved my accusation against every one. I wish to make one reservation and to offer an apology. Through a clerical error the name of Captain Campbell of Kingston was included instead of that of Captain Hazard in the list of officers against whom I made charges in the House of Commons. I noticed the error when I was supervising the charges for the inquiry, and I did not include Captain Campbell's name in the charge. However, attention was drawn to this fact during the inquiry, and I stated that the mistake had occurred through a clerical error, and right there I made an apology to Captain Campbell, and promised him I would make an apology on the floor of the House. No one regrets more than I that through no fault of mine such an error was made, and I wish unreservedly to withdraw any accusation I made against Captain Campbell. I do it as a gentleman should and so as to render full justice to Captain Campbell.

Coming back to the inquiry, the first accusation which I was allowed to prove was that certain officers and men had perjured themselves by falsely swearing that they could not say where they had resided before their enlistment, in order that they might cast their vote in Chambly and Verchères. When I sent my bill of charges to the Commissioner, which I had to do under section 9 of the Act, I made other accusations, which, as I said before, I was not allowed to prove, but which it may be interesting to give to the House and to put on Hansard. The accusations I made were these:

First, a general accusation is made against all the persons mentioned below of conspiring to violate The Dominion Elections Act, 1917, and the Military Voters Act, 1917, in order to cast their votes illegally and have their subordinates cast their votes illegally in favour of J. H. Rainville, Unionist Candidate in the last federal election in the county of Chambly-Verchères, on the 17th of December, 1917, and classified accusations are made as below.

Lt. Col. W. W. Melville: Perjury, subornation to perjury, violation of King's Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Militia in a general way, and especially sections 408, 409, 410, 418, 430, 438; violation of the Dominion Elections Act, 1917, and Military Voters Act, 1917, in a

general way and especially sections 252, 258, 269; authorizing under its authority the publication of a certain newspaper colled Knots and Lashings containing articles in violation of King's Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Militia.

I may add that similar accusations were made against most officers of the barracks, and all these accusations were given to the Commissioner within the time required by law.

Now the first thing I had to prove in order to maintain my contention that the officers had committed perjury was that they had sworn to a statement which was false, and in order to get the best evidence I had to have the envelopes on which these statements were made. The inquiry started on the 12th of September, and although we had Mr. Chadwick, the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, notified many days before the inquiry, when he came to St. Johns he testified that he could not find the ballots. After the inquiry had proceeded a few days the Commissioner decided that we would adjourn to Ottawa, in the office of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery. We came to Ottawa. We looked in practically all the boxes that were before our eyes but we could not find the ballots, until finally Mr. Geoffrion, the Crown Prosecutor and myself had to climb a ladder in the office, and in the last box in the last row of the highest shelf we found the mysterious box containing the envelopes for St. Johns barracks.

These ballots were peacefully resting there, protected from curious eyes and prying minds. After finding the envelopes we had a serious protest by the attorney for the defence, Mr. Surveyer, who spoke at great length and contended that it was illegal for us to look at the envelopes. His objection was ruled out and the envelopes were filed at the inquiry as exhibits 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15. What did we find on the envelopes? On every envelope containing, as required by law, the sworn statement of the officer or man still in Canada who was named in my accusation, there appeared confirmation of every word of every accusation I made in the House of Commons. Every one of these officers swore that they could not say where they had resided in Canada before their enrolment, or at any time before they enlisted. It is very easy for any hon. member to see these envelopes, as I presume they are still in the possession of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, having been filed as exhibits.

Furthermore, on page 20 of Sessional Paper 247 the Commissioner, in his report, referring to the accused admits the fact that all these officers and men had chosen Chambly and Verchères. There is not the slightest doubt as to the first part of the accusation of perjury, that is, that these men falsely swore they could not say where they had resided before enlistment and they chose Chambly and Verchères to vote in.

Was this statement true or not, and did these men ever reside in Canada before enlistment? I have already given to the House the places where these officers resided at the time of their enlistment, and the information may be found in sessional paper No. 70 of the session of 1918. Now, to any tribunal desirous to render full justice this would have been sufficient to warrant a conviction for perjury. If an officer who has resided in Canada for a number of years—and in many cases these officers were born in Canada—cannot name any specific place where he has had a permanent residence at any time prior to his enlistment, he does, ipso facto, commit the grave crime of perjury. But there is an abundance of further proof. Major Norman Loring, an officer of the Department of Militia, custodian of the documentary evidence showing the declarations of the men, over their signatures, as to where they had resided and had enlisted, was examined, and his evidence is contained on pages 63-81 of the evidence taken on the inquiry. Let us briefly examine what he says. First of all he deals with one whom I may call the arch culprit, Colonel Melville, and at page 64 he says that Colonel Melville gave Florenceville, N. B., as his residence in January, 1906. In 1906 Colonel Melville joined the army while he was residing at Florenceville. He remained in the army until the war broke out, and I believe he is still a member of the forces and in the receipt of pay from the Government. We may now consider the others.

Mr. McKENZIE: What about Colonel Melville? Did he vote?

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Yes, he voted and he swore that he could not say where he had resided. He could not specify any place in Canada where he had lived before enlistment. I will quote some of the evidence of Colonel Melville at a later stage, and in the meantime I shall proceed with Major Loring who had the signed documents of the officers and men, which documents he compared with sessional paper No. 70 of 1918:

Q. What about Major Keefer, Rockcliffe Park, Ottawa?—A. That is correct.

Q. Captain Powell, Ottawa?—A. Correct.
Q. Captain Wright, Westboro', Ont. He gives his address as Ottawa, there. The address you have is Westboro, Ontario.—A. Yes, on both documents it is the same.
Q. Pettigrew, Lindsay, Ontario?—A. Correct.
Q. Lieut. Hazard, Charlottetown, P.E.I.?—A. Correct.
Q. R. R. Knight, Fort William, Ontario?—A. St. Johns, P.Q.
Q. D. B. Armstrong, Montreal?—A. That is correct.
Q. Corbett?—A. I don't think I have any document for him.
Q. Adney, Upper Woodstock, Canada?—A. That's correct.
Q. Trow, Toronto?—A. Correct.
Q. Young, Farran's point, Ontario?—A. Correct.
Q. Phillips, Toronto?—A. Correct.
Q. Culbert, London, Ontario?—A. it is Timmins.
Q. Blackader, North Vancouver, B.C.?—A. Correct.
Q. Bourget, Ottawa?—A. Correct.
Q. Armer, Toronto?—A. Correct.
Q. Duthie, Toronto?—A. Correct.
Q. Pinch, Ottawa?—A. Correct.

There, Mr. Speaker, we have the proof that all these officers resided in Canada before enlistment and had signed papers indicating their residences. But this proof was superfluous. It was, if I may use the expression, "preuve de luxe," because sessional paper No. 70 was adequate. But we went further and proved the sworn statements as to residence by the officers themselves. Colonel Melville refused to answer. The attorney for the defence, Mr. Surveyer, objected in strong terms to his evidence, and his objection is reported on pages 84, 85, 86 and 88; and another attorney, Mr. MacNaughton, raised the same objection as appears on pages 89, 90 and 91. Even after he was directed by the Commissioner to answer such questions as were put to him he gave no straightforward replies. His evidence begins at page 99, and it will be both interesting and instructive to read some of it.

By Mr. Geoffrion, Crown Prosecutor:
Q. Colonel Melville, you voted at that election?—A. Yes.
Q. And you voted at the poll at which Mr. Corbett was deputy presiding officer?—A. I don't remember.
Q. Please look at the envelope I now show you and tell me whether that does not refresh your memory or convince you of the fact.—A. I don't know anything about that envelope.
Q. You don't remember?—A. No.
The Commissioner:
Q. Mr. Corbett was one of the officers at the barracks at the time?—A. Yes, he was returning officer. I was not returning officer.
Q. For what county—understand, I am not asking you for whom you voted,—did you make your choice?—A. I object to the question.
Q. Do you remember voting?—A. Yes, sir, I believe I did vote.

[Mr. Archambault.]

By Mr. Geoffrion:
Q. Are you sure?—A. Well, as I understood voting went I believe I did. I believe I went through the procedure that gets a vote but I don't think it went very far.
The Commissioner:
Q. You voted at one of the polls at St. Johns barracks?—A. Yes, but of course it may be a technical point that I did not vote at all.
Mr. Geoffrion:
Q. Do you mean to say you don't know whether you voted or not?—A. I thought I voted.
Q. What made you think that?—A. I thought I went through what was the legal way to vote.
Q. You were questioned by the returning officer?—A. Yes.
Q. You gave answers to the returning officer?—A. I believe I did.
Q. Then you went and marked your ballots?—A. I believe I did.

Mr. Geoffrion then proceeds:

Q. I must persist in my question. If Colonel Melville has any doubts he will say so.—A. I received a ballot and returned it to a deputy presiding officer.
Q. With some mark on it?—A. I believe there was.
Q. "Believe" will not do for me. Did you mark it?—A. I think I did, I am not sure.
Q. Did you as a matter of fact?—A. I am pretty sure I did.
Q. Are you absolutely sure?—(No answer.)
By the Commissioner:
You intended to vote?—A. Certainly I did. I went through what I considered the method of voting. I consider a man to vote without marking his ballot. For instance, I can take a ballot, walk into the booth and bring it out without any mark and it is none of your business or anybody else's.

These are the questions and answers regarding the vote of Colonel Melville. At page 105 Colonel Melville states that he was not sworn.

Q. Do you mean to say your deputy returning officer did not swear you?—A. I do.
Q. You swear that?—A. I said so already; there is no use going farther with it.
Q. Can you remember the name of that deputy returning officer?—A. I believe it was Corbett or Young.
Q. Therefore if Mr. Corbett has certified under his signature when he was under oath to fulfil his duty that he swore W. W. Melville, Lt.-Colonel of the Canadian Engineers C.E.F. that he committed forgery?—A. I have nothing to say about that at all. I am not accusing people of forgery. You can draw your own conclusion about that.

We will come back later on to this question as to whether Colonel Melville was sworn or not. What about his residence? I find that he gave evidence as to his residence at pages 111 and 112.

By Mr. Geoffrion:
Q. Then we have it, Colonel, that you said in answer to the question as to your residence in Canada "I cannot say" and that you chose Chambly-Verchères as the county in which you wished your vote to apply. Is that correct?—A. Yes.

Q. Can you tell me now where your residence was when you joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force?—A. I cannot tell you. I do not know what constitutes residence.

By the Commissioner:

Q. Where did you live before the war? You were born in Canada I believe?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Geoffrion (Continuing).

Q. And lived in Canada all your life?—A. I have been out of Canada some.

Q. I mean you lived in Canada?—A. Yes.

Q. In what province?—A. Most of the time in New-Brunswick,—not all the time.

Q. That was your residence, as a matter of fact?—A. I could not tell you; I do know what residence means.

Q. It was your home?—A. I could not tell you now where my home is.

Q. Where was your home when you joined the expeditionary force?—A. No answer.

Q. Were you married?—A. Yes.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: He does know that.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: He happened to know that.

Q. Where did you live with your family before the war?—A. My family lived in Peel, New Brunswick.

Q. Were you living there when you joined the expeditionary force?—A. My family was.

Q. Is your family still there?—A. No.

By Mr. Geoffrion (Continuing).

Q. During the four months immediately preceding your appointment on active service or calling out on active service where did you live?—Where was your home?—A. I was all over the province of New Brunswick. My work took me all over the province.

Q. Military work?—A. No, civilian occupation.

By the Commissioner:

Q. What was your occupation?—A. I had charge of the outside service of the crown lands department of the province of New Brunswick.

By Mr. Geoffrion:

Q. And your family lived in New Brunswick?—A. Yes.

Q. Therefore these answers to questions 6 and 7 were not truthful?—A. Yes they are truthful.

Q. You were in a particular state of mind in which you could not say?—A. I do not even know now what "residence" is. I would hardly venture to tell where my residence is now.

By the Commissioner:

Q. Where did your family live before the war?—A. Peel, New Brunswick.

Q. You joined the Canadian army immediately after the outbreak of war in September 1914?—A. Yes, they lived in Peel, New Brunswick, then.

Q. And that had been your home for how long—three years?—A. I could not say exactly—some years previously.

Q. Three, four or five years?—A. No, ten and not five.

By Mr. Geoffrion:

Q. More than four?—A. I cannot give you the exact date.

By the Commissioner:

Q. Did you ever have a home anywhere else?—A. Since I was married?

Q. Yes.—A. My family has always lived in New Brunswick.

So much for Colonel Melville. Let us come to another officer, the second in command—Major Keefer. First of all, he asked for the protection of the court before giving any answers. At page 162 of the evidence he said this:

In giving my evidence I think perhaps it is just that I should make a statement asking that I might have the protection of the court as I am mentioned in the charges.

The Commissioner: You will be fully protected in regard to any answer you may give according to the provisions of the statute.

I am now referring to the evidence of Major T. C. Keefer, at page 163. He not only received the protection of the court, but this special officer, Major Keefer, was appointed judge of the court martial in Montreal, evidently by the Government. So that he got not only protection but promotion.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT (resuming): Before recess I had been discussing the inquiry held in St. Johns, Quebec, in reference to the military vote and the ballots cast there, a subject which was introduced into this debate by certain remarks to which the Minister of Interior gave utterance, and I had already placed before the House the documentary evidence to establish the fact that perjury had been committed. I then proceeded to quote evidence which was given at the inquiry. I had quoted from the evidence of Colonel Melville and when six o'clock arrived I was reading from the evidence of Major Keefer. I now beg permission to continue the reading of that evidence:

Q. (By Mr. Geoffrion, Crown Prosecutor): You voted at the poll at which Mr. Corbett was deputy presiding officer?—A. Yes.

Q. Will you look at the envelope I now show you and tell us if you are the T. C. Keefer whose ballot was enclosed in this envelope?—A. I do not want to quibble over the language but I cannot say whether that is so or not. That is my name and I have no reason to doubt that it is my envelope.

Q. You did give your vote to him?—A. I did.

Q. The answers on this envelope are: "I cannot say" and "Chambly-Verchères." Do you remember giving these answers?—A. In the first place I would like to point out that I am not familiar with civil law. My conception of "residence" is a layman's conception of it, and in the question where you asked: "Did you continuously reside four months of the twelve months?" I concluded in my own mind that I could reside for six months or for two months not in any one particular place, in other words, my idea of residence, whether I am right or whether I am wrong, is that residence could

be shifted from place to place during a year; especially when it is asked "continuously."

Q. Did the deputy presiding officer swear you before he took those answers?—A. I was sworn, yes.

The crown prosecutor continuing:

Q. You will notice that you answered "I cannot say" to three questions, two of which referred to residence during the last four of the twelve months immediately preceding your appointment, enlistment, enrolling, or calling on active service. Question No. 8 asked you: "In what electoral district or place in Canada you have resided at any other time." Those questions combined asked you to mention residence whatever in Canada at any time since you were born?—A. My understanding of the question is this:—the first question I answered conscientiously, as I could not say where I had resided for four months. The 8th question is to my mind the corollary of question No. 7. It would read to me that I am required to go back to my twenty-first birthday, and state the places or electoral districts I have lived in. I cannot mention electoral districts in Canada.

Q. But you are asked to mention any electoral district or place?—A. What place could I select?

Q. Any one you liked, if there is more than one?—A. I simply could not select a place out of the mass of the places I have lived in.

Q. You have not lived outside of Canada?—A. Oh yes, I have lived in a great many places beyond Canada.

Q. And you could not give any of the places you have lived in in Canada?—A. I could not recollect any particular one.

By the Commissioner:

Q. Were you born in Canada?—A. I was born in Canada but I joined the British Army when I was quite young and I had about nine years service travelling in various parts of the world.

Q. When did you come back to Canada?—A. 1910.

By Mr. Geoffrion:

Q. From 1910 to 1914 you were continuously in Canada?—A. No, I was in the States for some time. I have lived a good part of the time in Canada.

Q. When did you join?—A. 1915. In that five years I had no home, I was unmarried. I had railway contracts for a certain time and had an office in this place and an office in that place. I used to go away in the winter and spend my time in some part of the States or Bermuda.

Q. Your original place was Ottawa?—A. Ottawa.

Q. Your family live there?—A. Yes.

Q. You were unmarried in 1915?—A. I was married in 1915.

Q. And your explanation for your answers, for the court to appreciate is that you had lived in more than one place in Canada since you were born and were exempt from answering those questions in any other way than you answered them?—A. I honestly concluded that I should go through practically every place in Canada in which I lived. I did not know which place it was required of me to answer I had stayed in.

Q. Just before you enlisted were you four months in Canada?—A. Yes, I was four months in Canada.

Q. In what place?—A. No one place.

Q. Did you spend four months in one place during 1915?—A. No, no one place.

[Mr. Archambault.]

Q. Where did you live, where did your wife live?—A. My wife was in Ottawa some part of the time and in Toronto some part of the time.

Q. Were you with your father, or did you have a house of your own?—A. I had a house of my own.

And this man had no residence:

I also had a house in the province of Quebec, in the country district.

Q. Where?—A. Blue Sea. I also have a house at Iberville.

Q. Since you are on service here?—A. Yes.

Q. Then we have it that the year previous to your enlistment you were married and had a house in Ottawa?—A. No, I will correct that; I did not have a house in Ottawa.

He was indignant. He said: "I had a house at Rockcliffe."

Q. Near Ottawa?—A. Yes, I was not very familiar at the time with the electoral districts as I am not much of a politician and I could not say whether my house is now in the electoral district of Ottawa.

Q. Then you had a city house at Rockcliffe?—A. I suppose you would call it a country house.

Q. It was the nearest approach to a city house for you?—A. Yes.

Q. Then you had another house at Blue Sea?—A. Yes.

Q. That is in the Gatineau valley?—A. Yes, north of Ottawa.

Q. And your wife and children lived in this house and occasionally visited her mother in Toronto?—A. Yes.

Now at page 170 the following evidence appears:

Am I right in saying that for one year previous to your enlistment you were married and had children and had a house near Rockcliffe and another house at Blue Sea?—A. Yes.

Q. And your family always resided at Ottawa?—A. Yes.

Well, this major, as I have proved and as the exhibits filed in the inquiry show, could not say or could not name any place in Canada where he had resided. The third witness, whose evidence I wish to quote, is Lieutenant D. B. Armstrong and his testimony is to be found at page 185.

Q. You voted?—A. I voted.

Q. Will you look at the envelope I now show you and tell us whether this is your vote?—A. I cannot say. I never saw the envelope.

Q. You voted at the poll at which Mr. Corbett was Deputy Presiding Officer?—A. I did.

Q. You answered questions 6, 7, and 8, "I cannot say"?—A. Yes.

Q. And chose to apply your vote to Chambly-Verchères?—A. Yes.

By the Commissioner:

Q. Were those answers given under oath?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Geoffrion:

Q. When did you enlist or join?—A. June, 1915.

Q. Then within the year previous to June, 1915, did you live in Canada?—A. I did.

Q. Had you a home there?—A. No, I had no home of my own.

Q. You lived with your father?—A. I lived in several places, at the home of my father for one.

Q. Where else?—A. In Canada I have lived in Ontario and in New Brunswick.

Q. And you were travelling for business?—A. No.

Q. What was the reason for your changing your residence?—A. I was attending college previous to the enlistment.

Q. Give it as approximately as you can. You were unmarried and your home, so far as you had a home, was at your father's?—A. My father's home was in Westmount, Que.

Q. When you were not at college you lived there?—A. Well, while I was attending college I lived there excepting for the time I visited other places or resided at other places.

Q. What college were you attending?—A. McGill University.

Q. When did you finish your course at McGill?—A. I finished the third year at the end of April.

Q. The course began in October?—A. Yes.

Q. The beginning of October?—A. Yes.

Q. Therefore, except for brief absences, you were continuously attending McGill and living in Westmount?—A. I was not continuously residing there.

Q. Did you drop your course for some time?—A. During those eight months I visited various places for some time, four or five days, and resided at other places.

Q. With friends or relatives or what?—A. I resided in the Laurentian Mountains for a few days at a time at various week ends.

Q. But your residence there, as you call it, for a few days, did not, I am sure, prevent you following your course at McGill University?—A. No.

Q. Therefore I take it that with the exception of a few week ends and the Christmas holidays, you must have continuously been in Westmount and Montreal, living in Westmount and attending lectures at McGill College, Montreal, for the eight months?—A. I believe I was most of the time, yes. I could not remember.

By the Commissioner:

Q. You always lived in Westmount?—A. Yes, but I have not always had a continuous residence there.

Q. The way the question is put on the envelope is as to continuous residence?—A. Now, in connection with question No. 8 I may say that I resided in Chambly-Verchères County as well as other places in Canada, so that by answering "I cannot say" there, I simply did so because I could not specify any other places. I might have specified Chambly-Verchères just as well.

By Mr. Geoffrion:

Q. What was the nature of your residence there?—A. I resided at the residence of Mr. Joseph Ward.

Q. As a guest?—A. Yes.

Q. Over week ends?—A. Yes.

Q. You call that residing?—A. That is residing. I was not domiciled there, but I resided there.

And this gentleman again swore that he could not name one place in Canada where he had resided a single day before his enlistment.

Now I come to Lieutenant H. L. Phillips. We find his evidence at page 193:

Q. You voted at the poll presided over by Mr. Corbett?—A. Yes.

Q. You answered questions Nos 6, 7 and 8 by saying "I cannot say"?—A. Yes.

Q. And question No. 9 you answered "Chambly-Verchères"?—A. Yes.

Q. You were sworn?—A. I do not remember the swearing.

Q. You do not know?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you remember that these answer were required under the law to be given under oath?—A. I did not know very much about that. I only voted once before in my life.

Q. Giving the word "residence" its natural meaning and not any artificial meaning, such as a man going for a week end as the guest of a friend, but confining it to its ordinary sense, you have always been a resident in Canada?—A. Since 1911.

By the Commissioner:

Q. I suppose you knew some places in which you had lived in Canada between 1911 and the time you enlisted?—A. Oh, yes, practically all in Toronto.

Q. Why did you not say Toronto in answer to the question instead of saying "I cannot say"?—A. (No answer).

Q. You had a house there and knew the number of it?—A. Of course that changed a little.

Q. But you lived in Toronto?—A. Yes, it was continuous.

Here is another question the Commissioner put to the witness:

Q. Seeing that you have just admitted that you lived for twelve months in Toronto before enlistment, how do you pretend now that you were justified in saying "I cannot say" in answer to question No. 6?—A. That is the one which has the word in electoral district?

Q. Electoral district or place.

By the Commissionner:

Q. There is nothing about electoral district in question No. 6. It is place or places in Canada where you last continously resided during the last four months of the twelve months immediately preceding your appointment enlistment or calling out on active service. It seems to me you could have been a little more specific. At the same time there may have been some reason why you answered as you did. If there is any reason, you had better make a statement in regard to it now. A. The only thing I can say is that I wanted to place my vote in Chambly-Verchères for Mr. Rainville.

The next witness I wish to refer to is Lieut. R. N. Pettigrew. His evidence will be found at page 205:

Q. You answered "I cannot say" to questions 6, 7 and 8 and "Chambly-Verchères" to question 9?—A. Yes.

Q. You gave those answers?—A. Yes

Q. And you were sworn?—A. I remember being sworn, yes.

Q. You think the word "residence" in its ordinary sense, and not speaking of week end visits to friends your residence is in Canada?—A. Yes, I have lived in Canada all my life.

Q. Were you born in Canada?—A. Yes.

Q. Where?—A. Glen Morris, Ontario.

At page 210 he repeats the same answer. There is another man—one of the eleven men who were still in Canada when the inquiry was taken—who swore that he could not name one place where he had lived in

Canada, although he was born in this country and had lived here all his life.

The next witness I wish to refer to is that of Major R. W. Powell, at pages 21 and 219:

Q. You voted at that election?—A. I believe so, yes.

Q. You answered questions 6, 7 and 8 "I cannot say" and question 9 "Chambly-Verchères"?—A. Yes.

Q. As a matter of fact you have always been a resident of Canada prior to the war?—

Q. Until you enlisted? A. Yes. .

Q. You were born in Canada? A. Yes.

Q. Where? A. I was born in Ottawa.

Q. Was your home in Ottawa up to the time of the outbreak of the war? A. My parents lived there.

Lieut. Edwin T. Adney, page 233:

Q. I see by the envelope prepared by Deputy Presiding Officer Corbett that you answered "I cannot say" to question No. 6, "I cannot say" to question No. 7, and apparently gave no answer to question No. 8, and answered question No. 9 "Chambly-Verchères"?—Is that correct? A. I stated I desired to have my vote placed at Chambly-Verchères and I intended to say that I could not answer question No. 6. I am not sure of the manner in which I did so, that is, whether I said "I cannot say" or "I do not know" or what the exact wording was.

I am going over this evidence as rapidly as I can, and in doing so I crave the indulgence of the House, because I desire to put on Hansard all the important answers given by these men, in order to show that the Minister of the Interior was not on good ground when he stated that the charges made by me in the House were unfounded, and that it had been so declared.

I quote from the evidence of Lieut. Trow, at page 256:

Q. You answered questions 6 and 7, apparently "I cannot say" and question No. 9 "Chambly-Vercheres?" A. Yes.

Q. You remember having given those answers as to your residence and you remember that you chose Chambly-Verchères to vote in? A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember having been sworn? A. Yes.

Q. You are a Canadian? A. Yes.

Q. Where were you born? A. Stratford, Ontario.

Q. How long did you live there? A. Until I was about seventeen.

Q. How old are you now? A. 28.

Capt. Raymond R. Knight, page 293:

Q. You voted at that election? A. Yes.

Q. I see that you answered questions Nos. 6, 7 and 8, "I cannot say," and you answered question No. 9, "Chambly-Verchères"? A. Yes.

Q. And I see a certificate—

There is a certain difference between this officer and the others.

Q. And I see a certificate under your signature to the effect that "the above-named elector did make to me under oath the aforesaid answers." Did you swear yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why did you certify that you did? A. Just a matter of form.

Q. Do you think that certifying that an oath has been taken is just a matter of form? Is that your view of the requirements of the law? A. I took it as a matter of form in that case.

Q. Although you certified that you had sworn yourself, as a matter of fact you did not swear yourself? A. No.

Q. When did you leave England definitely for Canada? A. 1911.

Q. Where did you go to live when you arrived in Canada? A. Toronto.

Q. How long did you stay there? A. Two and a half years. In 1913 I left Toronto.

Q. For what place? A. Fort William.

Q. And you stayed there until when? A. Until I enlisted.

Q. How long were you in Fort William? A. about four years.

Q. When did you enlist? A. I came down here on December 15, 1916.

On page 297, while the Crown Prosecutor was examining the witness, he said:

Q. Then let us take the last question: "If you cannot specify as required by question No. 6, or state as required by question No. 7, then state in what electoral district or place within Canada, you have resided at any other time than is referred to in question No. 6.

Here is the answer of Lieut. Knight:

A. Of course, it was my wish to vote for Chambly-Verchères to start with.

Mr. Geoffrion: That is probably the whole thing in a nutshell?—A. And I submit that just as clever a lawyer on the other side could show that I was perfectly right in saying "I cannot say" to all these things, especially in view of my wishes.

And on page 298, I find the following—and I particularly direct your attention, Mr. Speaker, to this part of the evidence:

Q. And especially as you were allowed to choose Chambly-Verchères? A. I might have wasted my vote if I had put it in Fort William. A Liberal went in there by acclamation because he was the Union candidate.

Q. To be perfectly candid—(Mr. Knight interrupting): I am perfectly candid, without any view as to whether I committed perjury or not.

Q. Your dominant idea was to give a vote for the Government candidate where it would be useful? A. Yes, and I thought it was perfectly right.

The Crown Prosecutor puts in this question:

Q. You took the precaution not to swear yourself? A. I did not take any such precaution. That does not come into the case at all.

Q. You would have answered in the same way under oath? A. Yes.

And here is where the Commissioner comes in with help:

Q. And you thought you were justified in the answers you gave? A. Yes.

Q. You were a deputy presiding officer? A. Yes.

Q. Therefore you had studied your duties carefully? A. Yes.

Q. You had read the Act? A. I knew it was irregular not to swear myself, but I did not think it cut any figure anyway.

Then there is the evidence of Lieut. James C. Armer, which is found on page 504:

Q. Certain questions were put to you which you answered under oath? A. Yes.

Q. I gather from the envelope containing your vote that you answered the questions as to your residence Nos. 6 and 7, "I cannot say," and that you chose as the county in which you placed your vote, "Chambly-Verchères"; is that right? A. Yes.

Q. Were you married when you enlisted?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you any children?—A. No.

Q. You lived in Canada?—A. Yes.

Q. How many years have you been living in Toronto?—A. I could not say definitely, but eight or ten I guess.

At page 507 this gentleman who had sworn that he had had no residence in Canada before his enlistment, gives us the interesting fact that he is a director of a company doing business in Toronto.

Lieutenant A. C. Wright was examined (p. 520):

Q. I see that in answer to questions 6, 7 and 8 you put down under your signature "I cannot say" as to residence?—A. Yes.

Q. And Chambly-Verchères as to the county you chose?—A. Yes.

Q. Will you please tell us where your home was when you enlisted. (No answer.)

Q. Had you a home? Are you a married man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was your occupation before you enlisted?—A. Civil engineer.

Q. How long were you married?—A. Eleven or twelve years.

Q. Have you any children?—A. Yes, sir, three.

Q. Do you own a house or do you rent a house?—A. I do not own a house.

Q. Do you rent a house?—A. Yes.

Q. I mean, of course, before you enlisted?—A. When I enlisted my family was in Ottawa, or rather in Westboro, a suburb of Ottawa.

Q. Living in a rented house?—A. Yes.

Q. How long were they there?—A. For nine months.

Q. They were there nine months previous to your enlistment?—A. Yes.

This, Mr. Speaker, concludes the evidence of the officers, and the proof. It is my duty to give you some of the evidence of the soldiers. Out of 491 ballots of soldiers showing that they had answered, "I cannot say" to questions 6, 7 and 8, and had voted in Chambly and Verchères, 300 gave Canadian addresses, according to the evidence of an official of the department, Mr. Adam. The remainder, 147, did not give Canadian addresses. Of course, it was impossible for me to prove that they had resided in Canada because they were away at the time, and the only way I could have proved it was by examining the men themselves. Only 10 of the 491 who had voted in Chambly and Verchères remained at the barracks at St. Johns when the inquiry was going on. We examined those 10, and I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, judging by the answers they gave, that they were well trained.

Mr. EDWARDS: Did I understand my hon. friend to say that out of 491 who voted only 10 remained?

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Out of 491 who had answered "I cannot say," to questions 6, 7 and 8 and had voted in Chambly and Verchères only 10 remained at the barracks during the inquiry. There were, of course, some other soldiers there, but they had not voted at the election or had not voted in the same way. Private Donald J. Jamieson gives his evidence at page 409.

Q. You voted at the last general election?—A. Yes.

Q. You were called upon to answer certain questions when you voted?—A. Yes.

Q. You answered the various questions as to residence?—A. I cannot say.

Q. And when you came to choose a county in which to apply your vote you chose Chambly-Verchères?—A. Yes

Q. As a matter of fact when you enlisted you gave as your residence Notre Dame de Grace, Montreal?—A. I gave as my mother's residence.

Q. You were asked where your residence was?—A. My residence was in Montreal while I was in Montreal, but when I was on the road I was any place.

Q. How long had you been living with your mother when you enlisted?—A. I have never been away from home for any appreciable length of time.

Sapper Patterson is examined at page 419:

Q. You answered questions 6, 7 and 8?—A. I cannot say, I do not know what those questions are.

Q. Questions in regard to your residence in Canada. I now show you your envelope. In any event you were put certain questions?—A. Yes.

Q. And they were put to you in English?—A. Yes, they were put in English.

Q. You understood them?—A. I understood them.

Q. Do you remember whether certain questions were put to you respecting your residence?—A. Yes.

Q. You answered those questions?—A. I cannot say. Probably I did. I cannot say now that I did answer them, but probably I did.

Q. You then chose your place to vote in Chambly-Verchères?—A. Yes.

Q. As a matter of fact your residence was in Canada? (No answer.)

Q. Where and when did you join?—A. I joined in Hamilton.

Q. When?—A. November, 1916.

Q. Where were you living before?—A. I had no residence at all.

Q. You are an Englishman?—A. Yes.

Q. When did you come to Canada?—A. I came to Canada in 1908.

Q. You have been living in Canada since 1908?—A. Yes.

Then he goes on to say that he has lived in Smiths Falls, Perth, and all over Ontario.

At page 428 the question is put to him:

Q. Had you resided anywhere continuously for four months during those twelve months previous to November, 1916? A. I was working in Smiths Falls.

An hon. MEMBER: Where did he vote?

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: He applied his vote to Chambly-Verchères.

An hon. MEMBER: Was that a vote at large?

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: It looks like it. It was a very large vote, anyhow; it was six or seven hundred. Now, at page 430, Sapper Gotro gives this evidence:

Q. You voted at the election? A. Yes.

Q. I see you enlisted in December, 1916? A. Yes.

Q. And you gave your address as St. Pauls, N.B.? A. Yes.

Q. You stated that you had been born there? A. Yes.

Q. And you lived there all your life? A. No, I was born there.

Q. How long had you been living there when you enlisted? A. I never lived there much.

Q. You gave St. Pauls, N.B., as your address? A. My address is Sydney, Cape Breton.

Q. When you enlisted you lived in Sydney, Cape Breton? A. Yes.

Q. How long had you been there?—A. I don't know, five or six months.

Q. You were put certain questions by the Returning Officer when you voted? A. Yes.

Q. You were sworn and these questions were put to you? A. Yes.

Q. I gather—and you will correct me if I am wrong—that you answered "I don't know" to the question relating to your residence? A. Well, I don't know either.

Q. You answered, "I don't know?" A. And I do not know.

Q. Then you chose as the county in which you wanted to vote, Chambly-Verchères? A. Yes.

Q. How did you come to decide on Chambly-Verchères? A. Because I knew he was the right man to vote for.

Q. How did you know that? A. Oh, because I knew it.

Sapper Stevenson gives this evidence at page 436:

Q. You voted at the last election? A. I voted at the last election.

Q. You were sworn? A. Yes.

Q. And certain questions were put to you? A. I just answered the questions that were put on the paper.

[Mr. Archambault.]

Q. As I understand it, you answered the three questions as to your residence, "I don't know"?—A. Yes.

Q. You chose Chambly-Verchères as the county in which you wanted to vote? A. Yes.

Q. Where were you living when you enlisted? A. When I enlisted I was not staying in any place.

Q. But everybody has to be in some place? A. I was not in any place for any length of time.

Q. I don't care about the length of time. I want to know where you were staying be the time long or short. No answer.

Q. On your enlistment paper you gave as your address at the time of enlistment, 28 Martineau st., Ottawa? Is that right? A. Yes.

Q. When did you come to this country? A. 1913.

Q. Where did you come from? A. England.

Q. You had been three years in Canada when you enlisted? A. Yes.

Q. And during these three years you did not stay one month in the same place? A. No.

Q. What was your occupation? A. I was a bar-tender. I was around the hotels pretty nearly all the time working around, I was waiting and doing different kinds of jobs around the hotels.

Sapper H. A. Evans, at page 443, states:

Q. You voted at that election? A. Yes.

Q. You were then living in Canada in April, 1915? A. Yes.

Q. How long had you been living in Canada? A. I had been in Canada since July 27, 1910.

Q. That was about five years? A. I came here in 1910.

Q. Where was your last home or staying place?

Witness: Do you mean where I slept?

Counsel: Yes.

A. At the time of enlistment I was living on Christopher Columbus st., Montreal.

Q. How long were you there? A. I was boarding there.

Q. How long? A. Three months about.

Q. Where were you before that? A. Valleyfield.

Q. How long?—A. Seven months.

Q. And previous to that?—A. I came to Valleyfield.

Q. You were seven months in Valleyfield and three months in Montreal. Those were your sleeping places immediately before you enlisted. How long before enlistment did you move your home to Montreal?—A. Approximately three years.

Q. Three years previous to your enlistment you had moved your home to Montreal?—A. Yes.

Q And it had been continuously your home until you enlisted?—A. Yes.

This man swore he had no residence in Canada, but he applied his vote to Chambly and Verchères. Now, there is Sapper George Henson, who says at page 450:

Q. You voted at that election?—A. Yes.

Then he says that he had no place where he lived, but travelled from Winnipeg to Calgary and from Calgary to Winnipeg, finally coming to Montreal. Continuing, he says:

Q. When you enlisted where were you as a matter of fact?—A. I can't say where I was.

Q. When you enlisted?—A. I enlisted in Winnipeg.
Q. How long had you been in Winnipeg?—A. Three years and eight months.

He swore that he could not name one place in Canada where he had lived at any time.

An hon. MEMBER: Some people do not know whether they send telegrams or not.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: He goes on to say elsewhere:

A. When I first came to this country twelve years ago I worked with the Dominion Bridge Co., and I was travelling for them.
Q. That was twelve years ago?—A. Yes.
Q. You came to Canada twelve years ago?—A. Yes.

Sapper H. Armitage, at page 462, gives this evidence:

Q. You enlisted in October 1917?—A. Yes.
Q. You were born in England?—A. Yes.
Q. When did you come to this country?—A. I came in 1913.
Q. And you remained in this country from 1913 to 1917?—A. Yes.
Q. How long had you been staying in Hamilton when you enlisted?—A. I think I can safely say I was there seven or eight weeks.
Q. Where were you this fall?—A. Working on the farm.
Q. You were sworn before you gave your answer?—A. Yes.
Q. You answered to six, seven and eight, by stating that you could not say or state as regards your residence. That is correct?—A. Yes.
Q. And in answer to the question asking you to choose a county you choose Chambly-Verchères?—A. Yes.

Sapper James Sims gives this evidence, as appears at page 470:

Q. You were sworn?—A. Yes.
Q. And you were put certain questions respecting your residence. Is that right?—A. Yes.
Q. You answered these questions, "cannot say", is that right?—. Yes.
Q. Your chose Chambly-Verchères as the county in which you wanted to vote?—A. Yes.
Q. You were born in England?—A. Yes.
Q. When did you come over?—A. About four years ago.
Q. During the two years you were in Canada when your work did not call you to any other place; you stayed with your sister?—A. Yes.
Q. I see your mother also lived at Pickering street, Toronto?—A. She used to.
Q. Is she dead now?—A. No.
Q. She lives with your sister on Pickering street, Toronto?—A. Yes.

Sapper Wagg, page 477:

Q. You were put under oath?—A. Yes.
Q. And you were asked certain questions about your residence; do you remember that?—A. Yes.
Q. You answered "I cannot say"?—A. Yes, that is correct.
Q. You chose Chambly-Verchères as the county in which you wished to vote?—A. Yes.
Q. When did you come to this country?—A. I came here about nine years ago but I have been trading with this country eighteen or twenty years.
Q. Where did you settle?—A. Brantford, Ont.
Q. How long had you been there?—A. Off and on perhaps three years.
Q. Between the time you came here nine years ago—which would be about 1909 and 1914 your wife lived in Canada?—A. Yes.
Q. Where?—A. In Brantford.
Q. All the time?—A. Yes.
Q. Have you any children?—A. Yes, two.
Q. They were there too?—A. Yes.
Q. You had a home there?—A. Yes.

Sapper William Haynes, page 488:

Q. You voted at the last election?—A. Yes.
Q. I see you voted before Captain A. R. Wright?—A. Yes.
Q. You were sworn on that occasion?—A. Yes.
Q. And certain questions were put to you?—A. Yes.
Q. Three of these questions related to your residence and it would appear that your answer was "cannot say"?—A. Yes.
Q. You chose Chambly-Verchères as the county in which you wished to vote?—A. Yes.
Q. When did you come to Canada?—A. I think I have been over here about 13 years as far as I can remember.
Q. You were born in England?—A. Yes.
Q. You have been in Canada about 13 years?—A. Yes.
Q. You are a married man?—A. Yes.
Q. And you were married when you enlisted?—A. Yes.
Q. Where was your wife living when you enlisted?—A. Vancouver.
Q. You cannot mention a place where you were for five or six months?—A. No, sir; I was just roaming around.

It was very interesting to know why this man voted for the Union candidate in Chambly-Verchères. In asking the reason the Crown Prosecutor said this:

Q. Can you tell me how you came to choose Chambly-Verchères as the county in which you wished to vote? Did any one suggest it to you?—A. No, sir, no one suggested it to me. I used my own judgment.
Q. Where did you find the elements upon which to base your judgment?—A. I thought Mr. Rainville was the best man to vote for.
Q. Where did you find that—in the newspapers?—A. No, sir, it was my own choice.
Q. Then you must have heard something of him?—A. I thought I was old enough to think for myself.
Q. Purely and simply thinking for yourself?—A. Yes.
Q. Had you ever met Mr. Rainville?—A. No.
Q. Then how did you arrive at that judgment?

At that point the Crown Prosecutor sat down waiting for an answer. The witness would not answer. So, finally, I said:

Did you vote by instinct?

The answer came as quick as a flash. "I have never met him; just my own instinct made me vote."

At the end of the inquiry the question was asked this man if he had ever voted before. This man, I must remind you, had stated that he had no residence—no home—in Canada. The question was asked:

Q. Was this the first election you had ever voted in?—A. No. I voted in Vancouver once.
Q. Had you ever seen the member for Chambly-Verchères?—A. No.
Q. When did you vote in Vancouver?—A. Not at a Dominion election; it was just on a by-law, about a year and a half ago.
Q. About a year and a half ago you voted in Vancouver on a by-law?—A. Yes.
Q. You are not a proprietor; you have no land there?—A. No.
Q. Therefore you voted as a resident?—A. Yes.

It is not necessary for me to add anything in regard to the proof or evidence of false statements. Not only have I documentary evidence, but also verbal evidence. It is a clear case of perjury in each case, and the Commissioner admits the facts, as I will show in reading his judgment or report. But he does not draw the same conclusion as I do. We will examine this report later.

There was another accusation, and that was an accusation of conspiracy and subornation of perjury. In order to refresh our memories, let us read again a few sentences from Knots and Lashings, a paper which I read from last session or the previous session, and which was filed as exhibits 19 and 20 at the inquiry. The distribution of this paper was not denied. On the contrary, some of the officers were proud to have contributed to it. The Commissioner admits himself the publication, admits that it was proved that the paper had been distributed, but he finds that it was an ordinary political paper and that there was nothing wrong about it. In the edition of December, 1915, here is what we find in this paper which the Commissioner decides contains the ordinary political literature that we see in every paper during an election:

We go to print on the eve of the election with our watchword "Vote for Union."

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

An hon. MEMBER: Carried.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: (reading)

In another column—

I wonder if my hon. friends will say "hear, hear" at the end of this sentence—

—you will find instructions as to voting. Every soldier of the C.E.F. has a vote in this

election, and that vote is a powerful instrument which, used in a proper manner, can be made to operate effectually. You can size up the situation for yourselves. Ask yourselves these questions: will your vote be needed in the constituency from which you come? Will your vote marked for the Government be a means of putting in a candidate in a constituency where your vote is needed?

Where now is the hon. member who said "Hear, hear"?

Do not waste your vote. Have your mind made up before you enter the polling booth. Do not hesitate to place your vote for the Government in a constituency where it will count.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I am not surprised at all at these "Hear, hears," because I know, Mr. Speaker, that many hon. members opposite were elected by this special vote.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Shame.

An hon. MEMBER: Perjury.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: You will notice, Mr. Speaker, that in this edition of the paper it was stated that instructions for voting were to be found in another column. The instructions for voting were these: in an edition of December 17 of the same paper appears a printed specimen of a ballot with this explanation:

The only mark you need to make to convert it into a win-the-war bullet.
I vote for (No mark).
I vote for the Government (a cross).
What is your name? Thomas Atkins.
What is you rank? Sapper.
What is your number? 21144.
What service are you in?
Are you a British subject? Yes.
Have you previously voted at this election? —No.
Were you in Canada when you were appointed, enlisted, enrolled, or called out for active service? Yes.
Specify the name of the place or places in Canada, giving street and number where possible, where you continuously resided for at least four months of the twelve months immediately preceding your appointment, enlistment, enrolment or calling out for active service—

And here in printed form appears the answer:

I cannot say.
State if you can the electoral district where any such place or places you so resided are situated? Electoral district—I cannot say.
If you cannot specify as required by question No. 6, or state as required by question No. 7, then state in what electoral district or place within Canada you resided at any other time that is referred to in question No. 6?

Then printed again:

I cannot say.

If none of your answers to questions No. 6, 7 and 8 specify or state as required thereby to what electoral district do you desire your vote to be applied?

Then appear the words:

Electoral District.

and the printed answer:

"Chambly-Verchères'
Province—Quebec.

I understood the Minister of the Interior to state yesterday that this was not done, that this fact mentioned by one of the officials connected with the taking of the ballots in England was an absolute falsehood. Yet here it is set forth. I will be able to show later on that the Government was aware of the publication of this paper. Now who was responsible for the publication of the paper in question at St. Johns; and this forms part, Mr. Speaker, of the conspiracy and of the subornation for perjury. Let us see the evidence of Lieutenant Knight, to be found at page 300.

By Mr. Geoffrion:

Q. We will now file, as Exhibit No. 20, a copy of the issue of Knots and Lashings of December 15, 1917. You have been editor of that paper practically since its inception?—A. Yes.

Q. So, therefore, you are responsible for what appears in the number of December 15, and for what appears in the number of December 17?—A. Absolutely responsible.

Q. You will not shift your responsibility as to anything that appears in either of these issues?—A. No, I will not shift it.

Q. Therefore, whether you call it the physical act of writing or the intellectual act of conceiving the idea and whether you actually did it yourself or whether somebody else did it, you did approve of the publication in the extra of this specimen envelope instructing the answer "I cannot say" to questions 6, 7, and 8, and instructing the choice of Chambly-Verchères" to question 9?—A. I do not think it is an instruction.

Q. Well a suggestion, if you prefer?—A. Suggestion is better.

Q. Your answer to that my question is correct with that modification?—A. Yes, I am perfectly willing to take the responsibility for it.

Q. You knew of it before it was printed and you take the responsibility for it?—A. Yes.

Q. I suppose you know, as a matter of fact, that the result of this was that hundreds of answers were given as "I cannot say" to questions 6, 7, and 8, and "Chambly-Verchères" to question No. 9?—A. Yes.

Now Colonel Melville also took the responsibility for the publication of that paper and the evidence is to be found at pages 124 and 125.

Q. That newspaper—

—referring to Knots and Lashings—

—was circulated widely among the men in the barracks. It was sold publicly in town and sent all over the country. It was sold as an ordinary newspaper. It was generally purchased?—A. Sold as a general newspaper.

Q. Generally circulated in the barracks?—A. The same as other papers were being sold, certainly. It was sent overseas; the Minister of Militia gets a copy of that paper.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: This is a sworn statement, Mr. Speaker, made by Colonel Melville that the Minister of Militia got this paper.

Sergeant Patterson also states, at page 427 of the evidence, that he took part in editing the paper and was one of the contributors. Therefore, there is no doubt that the paper was authorized, published and distributed in the barracks. I will ask any hon. member to let his conscience and intelligence answer if there was ever a more deliberate subornation of perjury than the articles I have just read? Was there ever clearer documentary proof of a huge conspiracy and system to violate the law and traffic with the sanctity of the franchise?

But this is not all, Mr. Speaker; I have also verbal proof to add. In order to make that proof I have the answers of all the military men who voted in this illegal manner and who were still in Canada when the election took place. I might say that the Crown Prosecutor put the same question to practically every witness, as to what was the reason he chose Chambly-Verchères, and why he answered "I cannot say" to questions 6, 7, and 8. The majority of the witnesses said it was a pure coincidence, that there was no pre-arrangement, no talk with the officers, but that they simply answered "I cannot say" and "Chambly-Verchères" according to their own judgment without any help from their officers or anybody else. Now, at page 119 of the evidence Colonel Melville was asked this question:

Q. You did not suggest to or ask any man under you, officer or soldier, to answer the residence question by the words "I cannot say" and to choose "Chambly-Verchères"?—A. If you take the suggestion and the definite question apart I will answer you.

Q. Answer any part of it yourself. I don't care how you answer.—A. I did not ask any man to vote Chambly-Verchères.

Q. Did you suggest it to any man?

The answer was:

One might unconsciously suggest to a man I may have made the remark that that was what my answers were going to be. I think that was as far as I did go.

And at page 130 he is asked:

Q. How did you come to take a fancy to Chambly-Verchères?—A. That is a condition a

fellow gets himself into and can hardly explain why.

Q. Now, what is the use?—Five hundred odd persons choose Chambly-Verchères saying they cannot say their residence. You are one of them. Do you frankly ask the court to accept the statement that you chose and presumably that the other also chose Chambly-Verchères by mere accident without pre-organization from somewhere?—A. A man has to do something. He has to think of something.

Q. Did any one suggest to you or ask or speak to you of voting in Chambly-Verchères? —A. You have too much in that question.

Q. Did any one suggest to you to vote in Chambly-Verchères?—A. No, I suggested it to myself.

Q. To whom did you suggest it?—A. A number of people I presume. I informed them I was going to vote there myself.

Q. Did any one mention to you that Chambly-Verchères needed votes or say anything to you to induce you to vote there?—A. My dear fellow, every one knows that every constituency wanted votes; they were all clamouring for votes and they were all getting votes.

Q. How was it that you among others came to vote in Chambly-Verchères?

The Witness: Does it make any difference, Your Lordship, whether I answer that question or not?

(The Commissioner did not say anything.)

Then further on Colonel Melville is asked:

Q. Then I will sum up your evidence. We have it that you were not sworn as an exception; we have it that you did not know what the word "residence" means?—A. I do not know.

Q. We also have it that you had absolutely nothing to do with any organization or work of any sort to get officers to say "I cannot say" in answer to certain of these questions and to choose Chambly-Verchères, although you admit that you have chosen Chambly-Verchères in giving those answers.—A. That might destroy some statement I have already made in connection with the newspapers. I have already made the remark in my evidence that I had nothing to do with it myself.

Q. You had no reason to hide it?—A. No.

Q. You must have mentioned it generally?—A. I do not know what generally means. I have already said I mentioned it.

The Commissioner: I suppose you mean it was known in the barracks for whom you were going to vote?—A. I told some fellow officers, yes.

Q. There was no secret about it?—A. No. I considered I had a right to do it and I do yet.

By Mr. Geoffrion:

Q. Therefore you considered you had the right to say under oath "I cannot say" when you were asked where you resided before the election?—A. I considered the question is ambiguous and I cannot give a correct answer.

The evidence of Major Keefer is contained in pages 170, 171 and 172. He was asked:

Q. Out of 800 odd voters, in those barracks 517, men the bulk of whom I am informed had residence in Canada, appear to have stated under oath from the authentic documents before us that they could not say anything about their residence and that they chose Chambly-Verchères. This is a very remarkable coincidence and, unless we believe in miracles, there must be some explanation for it. I want to be fair with you, and I am looking for somebody to give that explanation. If there is no explanation given, I will argue that an explanation is impossible and that there is no attempt to hide it.—A. The only way I can explain it is that the impression was universal that all soldiers might apply their votes where most needed. The soldiers I discussed the question with at any time were very wrought up over the fact that conscription was not being brought into force. I said first of all that we considered the vote should be applied where most needed to help the Union Government. I am not sure who told me; I did not take any part in this election except to vote.

Let us see what is the explanation of Lieut. Armstrong at page 190:

Q. We have had five hundred odd voters at St. Johns barracks who gave the same three answers.

This was the general question that the Crown prosecutor was putting to the witness.

Can you give us any information as to how this extraordinary coincidence came about?—A. No, I can not, except as a general topic of conversation before the election that the vote would be given that way.

Q. It was not instructed by any one?—A. There were no instructions, but there were conversations. There was a general conversasation.

Q. By every one?—A. I could not say.

Q. It was general conversation?—A. Yes, general conversation.

Q. In the barracks?—A. Not only in the barracks.

Lieut. Phillips, at page 196, answers in the same way, and says: "Of course, the voting was pretty much discussed before the election."

At page 197 I find the following:

Q. I suppose you knew some places in which you had lived in Canada before 1911 and the time you enlisted?—A. Yes, practically all in Toronto.

And then, at page 199:

Q. Was there some talk in the barracks or any place else where the officers are in the habit of meeting?

There was no answer to that question. Then, at page 200:

Q. Is it your suggestion that this was purely a coincidence? Did you make the statement here before the court that it was a pure coincidence, as far as you can see, and that there was no discussion on the subject beforehand?

The witness would not answer that question.

Lieut. Pettigrew, at pages 211 and 214, in answer to the same general question put by the Crown Prosecutor, stated that it was a coincidence as far as he knew. I quote:

Q. As far as you were concerned you answered as you did, and it is a pure coinci-

dence that the answer is the same as the three hundred and fifty soldiers?—A. Yes.

Q. And you prompted nobody?—A. I prompted nobody.

When the same general question was put to Major Powell, at pages 219 and 226, the witness did not give any answer. Subsequently, in answer to the question, "When did you find out about these questions?" he said:

A. I could not say any time; probably sometime within two weeks prior to the election.

Q. Was it generally known in the barracks that questions would have to be answered in the voting?—A. It was generally known as far as I am concerned.

Q. Was it known by the other officers?—A. I believe so.

Some very interesting evidence was given by Lieut. Adney. At page 236, he says:

I take the responsibility that I had a great deal to say at that election as to the right of soldiers to vote and how they should vote.

At page 237 Lieut. Adney says:

There was only one issue here, and that was not the pettifogging issue of perjury or political matters but a question of the safety of the nation.

Mr. Speaker, I have nothing to add to this remark. When a soldier states that a question of perjury is a pettifogging question, he shows that he has no conscience.

Lieut. Adney's evidence on these points is found at pages 237, 247, 248, 249, 251 and 252. At page 251, he says:

It would be ridiculous for me to say that there had been no talk. You cannot stultify me for one moment to say that there was not, and Mr. Archambault cannot do it either. Knots and Lashings had certain influence among the men and may have caused the impression—or it might have been through a conversation generally going on not only here but all through the army. Will you please tell me which horn of the dilemma you are going to take? You want to fix the responsibility upon a few officers.

At pages 301 and 302 Lieut. Knight stated that he took the responsibility for the publication of Knots and Lashings, and that it was through Knots and Lashings that these questions were answered in that way. I quote from the evidence of Lieut. Knight, at pages 531-2.

Q. It was known that you had to answer that way in order to be able to choose Chambly-Verchères; if you had answered the questions differently, of course you could not have chosen Chambly-Verchères?—A. Of course, we had those questions. . . . . There were of course. discussions. The thing had been discussed for days before the election.

Q. And the conclusion was that those questions could be answered in that way?—A. I think so.

Q. Are you sure of it?—A. Yes.

Q. You had to answer that you could not say as to residence in order to choose Chambly-Verchères?—A. Yes, that came up during the discussions or arguments.... I did not take a great deal of interest in the election any more that arguing pro and con at the Engineers' Club. Chambly-Verchères was the name of a district that was much discussed there.

Mr. Speaker, I could go on reading the evidence of all the other soldiers who answered in practically the same way, that it was a mere coincidence, that there was no collusion, and that they were not influenced by their officers. But we had also proof by some scrutineers who were appointed for the election. The scrutineers, Poulin, Rameau, Cartier, Belanger and Fredette, absolutely corroborated the evidence which was cited in this House when I brought the charges and filed the affidavits. A certain part of the evidence of Poulin in particular is very interesting. He corroborated the incidents I related in the House about the soldiers not knowing where to put their ballots, not knowing the name of the constituency of Chambly-Verchères, and asking to go to the door and inquire from somebody there the name of the constituency. I will cite the evidence of one of these men, which is to be found at pages 324 and 395. I will translate it, because the evidence was given in French:

Q. Then the returning officer gives permission to the men to go to the door?—A. They went to the door and came back answering Chambly-Verchères.

Q. Did they have to go very far behind the door?—A. No, it was not very far, there was somebody at the door who was giving instructions.

Q. Were they coming back immediately?—A. Yes.

Q. They had found the name?—. Yes.

Q. Is there any one who made a mistake in the pronunciation and who gave another county than the county Chambly-Verchères?—A. Yes, there was one. He wanted to say Chambly-Verchères, and he said Champlain.

At page 320 Poulin gave very interesting evidence regarding the trips of Colonel Melville to the polls. He gives evidence that Colonel Melville went around the polls asking how many votes were going straight. When Mr. Poulin said to the Colonel "What do you mean by straight votes?" he said "I mean votes for Chambly-Verchères."

Q. Did you tell him that he was taking the responsibility, or something to that effect?—A. I asked him to warn the voters to be more careful in their answer, that they should state their answer, that they should state their own residence.

Q. Why?—A. I considered that it was an untrue statement under oath. I thought it was a more serious question to answer them than they seemed to think. I could not swear to-day whether it was the Colonel or the Deputy

Presiding Officer who answered me "We are in the election."

Q. And you did not get any satisfactory answer from either of them, and this particular answer "We are in the election," you cannot say who gave it to you?—A. No I cannot swear as to that, but I know that I received this answer from one of the two, who was laughing at the same time, "Oh, we are in the election."

Mr. Speaker, do we not find there all the elements of a conspiracy? We have 491 men and 17 officers giving to questions 6, 7 and 8 the answer "I cannot say," the only answer which would enable them to cast their votes in Chambly-Verchères, or in any other constituency than the one where they had resided. This cannot be the result of a mere coincidence. The same thing applies to the answer "Chambly-Verchères." It would be insulting your intelligence and that of hon. members if I were to argue that the witness, in order to support the theory of a mere coincidence, perjured themselves a second time before the Commissioner. No, Sir. The organization was excellent. It was a conspiracy, as I related in the House last year, and included propaganda, posters, undue influence, placards, and suggestions to the soldiers, with an utter disregard for the sanctity of the oath, simply acting on the principle "Necessity knows no law; might is stronger than right," against which the whole world has been fighting in this terrible war which we have just won.

I should like to cite the evidence of Lieutenant Adney, at page 248:

I think we all realized that there was only one issue and in a case like this where the country is at war, normal rules do not apply. We are reluctant on account of the preservation of our liberties to set aside entirely the whole body of civil law. We preserve the civil law as far as possible until we find it wont work itself. When we find it will not work itself then we must take a military standpoint and get the one thing done which the preservation of the safety of the country requires.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: That is what the invaders of Belgium said.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: To continue:

Q. Your fundamental reason was that anything whatever could be done to win the election? A. In that respect I might be permitted to quote Sir Charles Fitzpatrick's judgment on that point. He says that the safety of the country is the supreme law against which no other law can prevail.

Lieut. Adney is purporting to quote Sir Charles Fitzpatrick's judgment. Now, Sir, you will undoubtedly be perplexed, and I am sure you will wonder, how the Commissioner could say in his report, as was reiterated with pride yesterday by the Minister of the Interior (Hon. Mr. Meighen) in his no-answer speech, that my charges were unfounded. Let us examine the logic of the report of this most favoured commissioner. He begins by relating the incidents which brought about the granting of the commission—the speech I made in the House, the accusation, and so forth—and proceeds to state the number of sittings. He then recites sections 6, 7 and 8 of the Military Voters' Act, 1917, and gives a dissertation on the word "residence." I may read what he says:

The officers whose conduct is impugned were almost all civil engineers and in civil life before their enlistment in the Engineers' Training Depot or their enrolment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Their work did not permit them to be in any one place permanently or for any fixed time and they had to move from place to place as duty called them. Such of them as were married men were frequently away from home. Those who were not engineers were also on the move at brief intervals, as their occupations required them to travel more or less About half of the officers of the Engineers' Training Depot who voted at the general election had left for service overseas before Mr. Archambault had made his charges of perjury in the House of Commons, and are still absent from Canada. All the remaining officers were brought before me and subjected to exhaustive cross-examination by able and skilful counsel selected by Mr. Archambault. Several of the officers who appeared had never voted before, and none of them knew much about electoral districts. They were not politicians or political workers. They answered, "I cannot say," or words equivalent thereto, to questions Nos. 6 and 7, and several of them gave similar answers to question No. 8. Question No. 6 is not simply an inquiry as to where the military voter resided at a fixed and definite date, but it is complicated by the word "continuously," which must mean constantly and uninterruptedly and by reference to the period of "four months of the twelve months immediately preceding appointment, enlistment or enrolment or calling out on active service." The question is rather indefinite, as an officer's appointment, enlistment, enrolment and calling out on active service in some cases were on different dates.

I may point out at this juncture, the fact that the statute does not use the words "and calling out on active service." The statute says, "enlistment, enrolment or calling out on active service." It is alternative or optional, which makes it a much easier matter. But the Commissioner in his report does not use the word which appears in the statute; he uses the word "and."

It was so in the case of Colonel Melville.

Then the Commissioner gives the definition of the word "residence." He says:

The place of a man's residence, or where he resides, is not always easy to determine. Laymen, lawyers and even judges are liable to confound it with "domicile;" but residence and domicile are two distinct things. A man's home, or the home of his parents if he is unmarried, may be his "residence" but it often

is not; it is usually his "domicile." It is not the residence of an engineer who is following his profession, or a salesman on the road at a place from which he is unable to return to his home in order to sleep there. An oft-quoted definition of the word "residence" is the place where a person abides, eats and sleeps. A person's residence to-day may not be his residence next week or next month, and within a given period of time he may have no continuous or uninterrupted residence. Some of the officers swore they did not know the meaning of "residence," or what was meant in these questions by the place where they resided. Question No. 7 contains an inquiry as to the electoral district in which the voter resided. As the time referred to in question No. 6 is not definite, the time in No. 8 is necessarily so, and reference to the electoral district or place within Canada where he had "resided" is of a character liable to lead to confusion and uncertainty. The right of soldiers as such to vote was new in Canada.

Observe, Mr. Speaker, all these preliminary explanations.

The right of soldiers as such to vote was new in Canada.

Mr. BUREAU: It was new everywhere.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: My hon. friend says it was new everywhere, and I believe he is right; for I do not think that England gave any vote to the Canadian soldiers who were in the English army, nor do I think the French Government gave any vote to Canadian soldiers who were in the French army during the French election. The report continues:

And it was abundantly proved in the inquiry that there was a widespread conviction amongst not only military voters but civilians that every military voter had a right to apply his or her vote wherever he or she saw fit. And all the officers who were examined swore that they believe they answered truthfully to the best of their knowledge and belief and that they had the right to specify Chambly-Verchères as the electoral district where they wished to have their vote applied. These officers are charged with having committed perjury in their answers to the foregoing questions.

You can see, Mr. Speaker, that the Commissioner admits that the officers gave the answer, "I cannot say," and that he admits the fact that their residence was in Canada. He says:

These officers are charged with having committed perjury in their answers to the foregoing questions. Perjury by a witness as part of his evidence in a judicial proceeding is defined by section 170.

And then the Commissioner gives a definition of the word perjury. Further on he says:

The officers here each and all testify to their belief in the truth of their answers as they understood the questions.

And evidently they understood the questions, Mr. Speaker.

That is to say, every one of the officers was asked by the Commissioner at the end of his evidence: Do you believe you spoke the truth in this evidence; do you believe that you acted right? Naturally they answered, "yes." What accused before a criminal court, if asked by the judge if he was guilty or not guilty, but would answer: "I am not guilty?" What court would acquit an accused person for the simple reason that the accused himself said that he was not guilty, and in face of the proof that he was guilty? The Commissioner goes on to say:

Few words have been the subject of judicial consideration more frequently than the word "resides" and its derivative "residence", which has many different meanings varying according to circumstances between a transient presence for purposes purely temporary and a fixity and permanence of abode equivalent to domicile.

Then there are some authorities cited to show that "residence," "domicile" and "home" are the hardest things for a man to define when he is called to the box as a witness. The Commissioner says:

The officers who were examined before me gave their evidence in a straightforward manner and their conduct and demeanour while under examination, and the reasons which they gave for their answers established their good faith and they honestly believed that they had a right to answer questions 6, 7, and 8 as they did. The envelopes show that Colonel Melville, Lieutenant Trow, Lieutenant Adney and Lieutenant Armer did not answer question No. 8.

Here is the conclusion of the Commissioner regarding these officers:

That disposes of the charges of perjury against these officers.

These officers were bound to answer the first question, No. 6, whether they had resided in Canada for four months before their enlistment and the fact that they did not answer question No. 8, if they were wrong in answering question No. 6 the way they did, does not absolve them from the accusation of perjury. Nevertheless, the Commissioner says:

That disposes of the charge of perjury against these officers. In my opinion these charges are unfounded. It was proved to my satisfaction—

I wish you to notice these words "my satisfaction."

It was proved to my satisfaction that Colonel Melville was not sworn by the deputy presiding officer when he polled his vote.

The Commissioner declares that it was proved to his satisfaction that Colonel Melville was not sworn. But, this proves that Colonel Melville violated the law—violated the Military Voters' Act—because according to the Military Voters' Act, every sol-

dier who wants to vote must be sworn. Because, Colonel Melville was not sworn the Commissioner is satisfied and happy. He goes on to say:

In view of the answers given to questions 6, 7, and 8 the officers had the right to apply their votes to Chambly and Verchères.

Nobody denies that. By answering questions 6, 7, and 8 the way they did, by not answering truthfully to these questions, by stating that they could not name a place in Canada where they had resided before their enlistment, surely they were entitled to answer question 8 by saying "Chambly-Verchères" or any other county. But what we are arraigning them for is that they did not answer questions 6, 7, and 8 truthfully. They had all resided in Canada, they had all had a previous residence in Canada and in answering this question by "I cannot say" they perjured themselves. The Commissioner goes on:

Mr. Rainville the Government candidate in the electoral district was known to some of the officers, but not to all of them from having taken one meal the date of which is not proved, at the officers' mess. There were no speeches and no votes asked for on that occasion and the suggestion that something improper occurred between the officers and Mr. Rainville is absolutely unfounded.

I was precluded from bringing in evidence regarding this banquet and regarding the speeches made at it. I was precluded from bringing in any evidence other than evidence relating to the charge of perjury and subornation of perjury. When Colonel Melville made the statement that there were no speeches and no banquet, the Crown Prosecutor proposed to produce evidence to show that there was a banquet, to show that there were suggestions made by officers as to voting and to show that there were incitements to perjury, the Commissioner ruled that, according to the Order in Council and the instructions of the Minister of Justice that the investigation should be judicially conducted, he could not go beyond the question of perjury or subornation of perjury and that he could not accept proof of the banquet or of the suggestions made by officers. Nevertheless the Commissioner states that there were no speeches, no votes asked on that occasion and that the suggestion that something improper occurred between the officers and Mr. Rainville is absolutely unfounded. The Commissioner allowed proof on one side but he prevented me from bringing evidence on the other side. Then he goes on to state that these charges are absolutely unfounded. He proceeds:

The officers and soldiers at St. Johns were strong supporters of the Union Government. From patriotic motives they wished to see the Government returned.

Is it proper for a Commissioner to mention such facts or to mention them in that way?

Mr. Rainville's public record as a supporter of the Government and his stand in favour of conscription and of adequate reinforcements for the Canadian army strongly appealed to the military voters and a considerable number of them, but not all who answered "I cannot say" questions 6, 7 and 8 desired to have their votes applied to Chambly and Verchères as they honestly believed they had a right to do.

Then the Commissioner goes on to deal with the accusation of subornation of perjury.

Mr. BUREAU: Are those the Commissioner's words "from patriotic motives"?

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: This Commissioner's judgment was that "from patriotic motives they wished to see the Government returned".

These officers were also accused of subornation of perjury by having induced certain military voters, being non-commissioned officers and men of the engineers' training depot to commit perjury by falsely representing themselves upon oath to be unable to specify or state in what place or places, or electoral district in Canada, they had resided at any time preceding their appointment, enlistment, or enrolment or calling out on active service for the purpose of having their votes applied to the electoral district of Chambly-Verchères.

And he goes on:

The evidence clearly establishes that there was no canvassing for votes on the part of any officers. The men published a regimental newspaper called Knots and Lashings. Lieutenant Knight was the editor. It is a weekly newspaper published every Saturday, and in the edition of the 15th December, 1917, there were several articles of a partisan character—

I should say so—

—but in no way different from the usual political information to be found in party newspapers during an election campaign.

I have read these special articles, Mr. Speaker. I have read an extract from the paper in which the soldiers were told not to vote in constituencies where they came from, but to apply their vote in the constituency where they were needed, and the Commissioner not only admits this but he approves of this paper Knots and Lashings inducing the men to perjure themselves, and says it was nothing else but an ordinary political campaign.

An hon. MEMBER: Patriotic motives.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT (Reading):

On 17th December, 1917, election day, an extra of Knots and Lashings was issued in which appeared among other matter a "specimen envelope showing how questions may be answered." The answer to questions 6, 7, and 8, is "I cannot say" and to question 9, Chambly and Verchères."

The fact that the paper was published for the men in the barracks, the Commissioner himself has admitted in his judgment. Now he goes on and says:

Any military voter who was a British subject and had not resided in Canada would have a right to give the answers suggested in the printed specimen envelope.

Certainly, we have no objection to that. This is why the Military Voters' Act was passed in order to give British subjects who had no residence in Canada the right to vote at a Canadian election.

The applications for enlistment of 491 non-commissioned officers and men in the Engineers Training Depot were examined with the result that 299 gave Canadian addresses and 192 gave their residence as being outside of Canada. If the latter never resided in Canada, and there is no presumption that they had—

There is no proof either that they had not—

their right to answer "I cannot say" to questions 6, 7 and 8 and to select "Chambly-Verchères" for their vote, is undoubted.

That is true that over 147 men that voted never resided in Canada. Now here is one peculiar interpretation:

Every voter who did not understand the import of questions 6, 7 and 8, or who was honestly unable to give the information asked for, would also be entitled to answer them in the manner suggested in the specimen envelope. There is the further circumstance that the prevailing impression in military circles was that the questions could be answered in the manner suggested.

Who circulated that impression, Mr. Speaker? It was circulated by the newspaper that was published in the barracks. That newspaper was sent to the Minister of Militia, as stated in this evidence; and the fact that 17,000 men, as I will show later on, voted the same way in other places and answered the same question in the same manner, " I cannot say," shows there was a big organization and system created to use the votes of the soldiers for political purposes.

The men read the Montreal papers and were greatly interested in the result of the election. Mr. Rainville's public career and his stand on the important question before the country met with their approval. Ten of the men and non-commissioned officers were brought before the Commission and subjected to a thorough examination as to where they had resided, and why they answered "I cannot say" to questions 6, 7, and 8, and chose Chambly-Verchères as the place they wished to have their vote applied. These ten men were practically all that remained at St. Johns of the rank and file that were there at the time of the election and who had voted. Their evidence does not show that they were influenced by anything that appeared in Knots and Lashings.

Mr. Speaker, practically every one of them swore that it was Knots and Lashings that influenced their vote.

They gave what appeared to me to be good, valid and sufficient reasons for the answers which they gave to the questions and of their choice of Chambly-Verchères. . . . There were no improper inducements, representations, suggestions or other misconduct by the officers, or any of them, to influence any non-commissioned officer or man to commit perjury by giving false answers to the questions on the envelope, and the non-commissioned officers and men who appeared and were examined did not, in my opinion, commit perjury in connection with their questions. The charges of perjury and subornation of perjury are unfounded.

Now I wish to make a few further observations, but I will not add an iota or remark to this most extraordinary document of partisanship for fear I might spoil the lesson which it conveys and destroy one of the most vivid, typical and historical monuments of the administration of justice under the Unionist Government. But, Sir,——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I do not think the hon. gentleman is in order in making the reflection which he has just made upon the conduct of a judge of the Superior Court. The rule is quite clear that all references to judges, courts of justice of all kinds, and personages of high official station in the nature of personal attacks or censure have always been considered unparliamentary and the Speakers of the English Commons have treated them as breaches of order. They have always insisted that " such expressions should be withdrawn," and that, " when it is proposed to call in question the conduct of a judge, the member desiring to do so should pursue the constitutional course of moving an address to the Crown." I took no objection to the reading of the judgment. The judgment is an official document which, under the rules, could certainly be read in the House; but I do not think that the hon. gentleman should comment upon that judgment in a manner unfavourable to the judge. Before giving my ruling, however, I will be pleased to hear any hon. gentleman upon the point of order.

Mr. FIELDING: I humbly submit we are not dealing with a judge at all. We are dealing with a commissioner who may or may not be a judge, and I humbly submit that the rule that would apply to a judge would not necessarily apply to a commissioner.

Mr. DOHERTY: It may be quite true that Mr. Justice Maclennan was acting as a commissioner, but I call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to the fact that the hon. gentleman in his criticism has chosen to treat him as a judge.

He has commented upon the administration of justice under the Unionist Government. If that can imply anything else than that he means to condemn Mr. Justice Maclennan in his quality of judge—

An hon. MEMBER: Commissioner.

Mr. DOHERTY: —then I am at a loss to understand what the words of the English language mean.

Mr. FIELDING: It might mean the administration of justice by the Government themselves.

Mr. DOHERTY: But it means that he deals with this as a matter forming part of the administration of justice under this Government.

Mr. FIELDING: Yes.

Mr. DOHERTY: Justice is administered by judges, not by this Government.

Mr. FIELDING: Justice is administered by the Department of Justice.

Mr. DOHERTY: That is news to me. It is a new function to attribute to the Minister of Justice that he is charged with the administration of justice. The administration of justice, so far as it is a matter to be dealt with by governments, is absolutely in the hands of the provincial governments. But when taking as his basis the action of a man who is a judge, although he may have been a commissioner, the hon. gentleman chooses to condemn the administration of justice. He may seek by one means or another to avoid the conclusion, but I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that the conclusion is unavoidable. There is no connection between what this commissioner did and the administration of justice, except it be in the fact that this commissioner was a Judge of the Superior Court of the Province of Quebec; and that being so, I submit that the commentary of the hon. gentleman is a reflection upon Mr. Justice Maclennan in his office as an administrator of justice—

[Mr. Deputy Speaker.]

Mr. FIELDING: No.

Mr. DOHERTY: —and only in so far as he is a judge of the Superior Court.

Mr. FIELDING: Mr. Speaker, if the Government has nothing to do with the administration of justice, why is my hon. friend called the Minister of Justice?

Mr. DOHERTY: I am not in a position to determine why those who chose the title to be attached to the minister holding the position which I do adopted that title. But the hon. gentleman must know that there is a statute defining what are the duties of the Minister of Justice, and he may go through that and he will not find that the Parliament which enacted that statute undertook to take over to itself the function which the British North America Act assigned to the provinces, and to assign to a minister in a Government of the Dominion any share in the administration of justice. The hon. gentleman will not take me as an authority, but I may say that I heard my predecessor, whom he will accept as an authority, the Minister of Justice in the Government in which my hon. friend was the distinguished Minister of Finance—I heard him, standing in his place in this House, say in substance precisely what I have said, and not waiting for the question which the hon. gentleman put, he himself undertook to say that he was at a loss to understand why the designation of "Minister of Justice" had been attached to the office, and that it was misleading. I am in receipt of numerous letters—as he said himself he was—written to me on the strength of that title and on the assumption that I administer justice. I have to explain to the writers of those letters, as I have tried to explain to the hon. gentleman to-night, that it is quite an unjustified conclusion to draw from the title itself—which, I admit may be a misleading title—that the Minister of Justice is charged with the administration of justice. As I have said, the statute is there for all hon. gentlemen to read, and they will see that in substance the Minister of Justice is the legal member of this Government, and, as such, the legal adviser of this Government and of the different departments of the Government; but his nearest approach to taking part in the administration of justice is that in his hands is the nomination to be submitted to Council of the judges to be appointed. And the

function of this Government goes no further than the appointment of the judges. To the provinces belongs the administration of justice; to this Government belongs the function of the appointment of those men who shall sit in the Provincial Courts.

Mr. FIELDING: The only remark I desired to make, Mr. Speaker, was that the expression, "the administration of justice under this Government" does not necessarily apply to a judge, but it may apply to what happens in the department of the hon. minister, who is called upon to deal with the administration of justice even in such matters as life and death.

Mr. DOHERTY: I am sorry that the hon. gentleman does not understand—

Mr. FIELDING: That is my misfortune.

Mr. DOHERTY: —the difference between justice and clemency. The function of the Minister of Justice, in so far as it affects life and death, is to advise the representative of the Sovereign in the exercise of the Sovereign's prerogative of extending clemency.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): Mr. Speaker, I happened to be a member of this House a few years ago when the then Minister of Public Works (Mr. Rogers) criticised the report of Mr. Justice Galt of Winnipeg, who acted as a commissioner to investigate certain matters relating to the provincial administration of Manitoba while Mr. Rogers was a minister of the Roblin Government. Mr. Rogers used very violent language with regard to Mr. Justice Galt, and I remember that my leader, the late Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, rose to a point of order. It was decided that as Mr. Justice Galt had acted as a commissioner and not as a judge the member was at liberty to criticise as he wished the report of Commissioner Galt, but not Mr. Justice Galt.

Mr. BUREAU: May I ask a question of the Minister of Justice? Was there an Order in Council appointing Mr. Justice Maclennan to act as commissioner in this matter; and, if so, under whose recommendation was the Order in Council passed?

Mr. DOHERTY: There certainly was an Order in Council recommending the appointment of Mr. Justice Maclennan to act as commissioner, and that Order in Council was passed upon my recommendation. And notwithstanding the fact that the hon. gentleman has passed some three hours now swearing at his judge, a year and a half after the decision of that judge acting as a commissioner was rendered, I have no apologies to offer for the recommendation I made. The hon. gentlemen both come from the province that I come from and both are members of the profession of which I am also a member; and they know that down in Quebec we recognize that every unsuccessful litigant and every unsuccessful counsel has the privilege of twenty-four hours "pour maudire son juge". The hon. member from Chambly-Verchères has waited for a year and a half, in the meantime "nursing his wrath to keep it warm", and here he is keeping this House for three hours or more swearing at his judge because he lost his case.

Mr. BUREAU: My hon. friend wants to find a precedent for waiting to answer or criticise? Let him turn to his friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) who—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. BUREAU: I am coming to the question. My answer to the Speaker is this, that the member for Chambly-Verchères is not criticising a judge of the Superior Court any more than I am criticising a judge of the Superior Court or an ex-judge of the Superior Court if I criticise the Minister of Justice. Mr. Maclennan, for the purposes of this inquiry, virtually ceased to be a judge of the Superior Court. For the time he was acting as commissioner under a commission giving him the powers therein recited, which he might exercise within the province of Quebec as a judge of the Supreme Court. Mr. Maclennan was outside of his jurisdiction and without the scope of his duties; he was acting as a commissioner by virtue of a commission issued for a specific purpose. His finding is not a judgment; it is a report. If it were a judgment, it would be subject to appeal, but from his finding there is no appeal. Anyway, we know what it means to appeal to a majority of Unionists, whether the cause be right or wrong, because we have had experience in that line.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. BUREAU: There is no "order" about it. The better our cause, the less chance we have of success.

Mr. EDWARDS: I rise to a point of order.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: One at a time.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: We are already discussing a point of order.

Mr. EDWARDS: I rise to a point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order. We are at present discussing a point of order, but I do think that the member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) has reason for intervening, to call the attention of the Speaker to the fact that the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) is wandering from the point under discussion. I would ask him to bring his remarks to bear upon the point of order now before the Chair.

Mr. BUREAU: I want to know whether I am not in order when I am trying to establish the difference between Mr. Maclennan as a judge of the Superior Court and Mr. Maclennan as a commissioner to conduct an investigation in connection with a political matter? If you rule, Mr. Speaker, that under these circumstances I am out of order, I desire to appeal from your ruling to the House.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I did not so rule. I merely said that I would like the hon. member to keep his remarks within bounds and not wander away from the point under discussion.

Mr. BUREAU: I did not wander away from it, except when I desired to give the Minister of Justice a precedent in the matter of incubating over things and waiting for seventeen months before making an answer——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That was absolutely not in order.

Mr. BUREAU: I know it was not, and I accept your ruling—I was saying that on this particular point I was out of order. As for the Minister of Justice, he cannot be out of order; he belongs to the Union Government. I submit that it is the right of any member to criticise any act of the Government and any act of Parliament. This commission, the appointment of which was first refused by the Secretary of State (Hon. Mr. Burrell) but afterwards granted because of a little remorse in the heart of the Minister of Justice, is an act of the Government. The commissioner was appointed by this Government; he made a report, and his report, as well as the commissioner himself, can be discussed, criticised, analysed, and—

Mr. BELAND: Condemned.

[Mr. Edwards.]

Mr. BUREAU: "Condemned" would not be strong enough. It can be left to the judgment of the country.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I should like to speak to the point of order. On September 19th last the Board of Commerce was being discussed by this House in committee, and I believe that you, Mr. Speaker, were in the Chair at the time. The discussion was with regard to Mr. Justice Robson and Mr. O'Connor.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: As the hon. member is rising to speak to the point of order, the Chair desires to correct a misapprehension which he is labouring under. The discussion at that time was not with reference to Mr. Justice Robson; it was with reference to Mr. O'Connor, a member of the Board of Commerce.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I read from Hansard as follows:

> Mr. Jacobs: I am a little surprised that the Minister of Justice should have permitted the attacks which have been made here this afternoon upon members of the judiciary. I think it was his duty as Minister of Justice to rise and protest against the attacks made by his followers on the members of the bench. He has just told us that the gentlemen who constitute the Board of Commerce are judges. That is true, and I should like to cite the following rule in Bourinot (page 358):
>
> "All references to judges and courts of justice and to personages of high official station, of the nature of personal attacks and censure have always been considered unparliamentary and the speakers of the British and Canadian Houses have always treated them as breaches of order."
>
> It goes on:
>
> "Members have even been interrupted in Committee of the Whole by the chairman when they have cast an imputation upon a judicial proceeding."
>
> It seems to me that the Minister of Justice, who is the guardian angel of the judiciary of this country, should at least protect these new judges from the improper attacks which are being made on them this afternoon.

Now, Mr. Speaker, your decision was the following:

> The Chairman: I should like to ask the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) is he now raising a point of order.
>
> Mr. Jacobs: I am raising a point of order.
>
> The Chairman: In view of what has been said, I consider that the point is well taken.

That was your first decision. Later in the afternoon, with regard to the same question, you made the following decision:

> The Chairman: Before the debate goes further I must refer to the point of order raised a moment ago by the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs), who at the time drew my attention to the fact that we were discussing in Committee in the House of Com-

mons the personal conduct of a judge, and read the following from Bourinot:

Then you made the citation from Bourinot which has already been given. You proceeded to say:

I should, perhaps, have asked hon. members present for their opinion upon the point of order before giving my ruling upon it. It is never pleasant for a chairman to reverse a ruling he has given, but I think it is preferable that he should take that course if good ground exists for doing so, than to allow a bad precedent to be established.

Some hon. members: Hear, hear.

The Chairman: Since the ruling was given I have sent for the statute creating the Board of Commerce. If the members of that Board had been absolutely in the same position as judges of the Superior Court my ruling would have been absolutely correct, but I find that clause three of the statute, constituting the Board of Commerce, reads as follows:

"Subsection 3 of clause 3.

"Each commissioner shall hold office during good behaviour for a period of ten years from the date of his appointment but may be removed at any time by the Governor in Council for cause."

Thus the position of members of the board is altogether different from that of a judge of the Superior Court, who can only be removed by the Governor in Council upon an address of the Senate and House of Commons, and I therefore declare that the discussion was in order.

Your decision, Mr. Speaker, if I understood you correctly, was based upon the argument that as the Governor in Council was in a position to remove that commissioner at any time, he was not to be considered as a judge, and that the rule given by Bourinot did not have application. The Order in Council creating the commission in the case which we have been discussing to-day and naming Judge Maclennan as commissioner did not make him a commissioner for life—although the Government seems to have been employing Judge Maclennan as commissioner on nearly every inquiry that has been held. But for the same reason that you decided that Judge Robson and the commissioners of the Board of Commerce could not, as such, be considered as judges of the Superior Court, it is within the right of hon. members to make an attack upon a commissioner who is not acting as a judge.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: With reference to the remarks just made by the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères (Mr. Archambault) concerning the ruling given by the Chairman in this House the other day, I must put him right to this extent: The ruling was given concerning Mr. O'Connor, a member of the Board of Commerce, appointed by this Government and removable by the Governor in Council for cause. He was not and is not a judge of the Superior Court, and the ruling had nothing to do with Mr. Justice Robson, who is the Chairman of the Board of Commerce. Hon. members will find if they look up the statute creating the Board of Commerce that when a judge is appointed Chief Commissioner of the Board he shall not be removed at any time by the Governor in Council except upon address of the Senate and House of Commons. The ruling does not apply here. I have paid great attention to the remarks made by hon. members on both sides of the House, but I have not found anything which to my mind sets aside the rulings which I find in May's Parliamentary Practice. At page 224, I read:

A question reflecting on the action in Court of the Judicial Commissioner of the Irish Land Commission, was by the Speaker's direction not allowed.

At page 296, I read:

Reflections against judges generally are equally out of order.

And on the same page:

The Speaker has ruled out of order language disrespectful to persons administering justice.

It is very difficult to separate in a Commissioner the personality of the judge from that of the Commissioner. The conduct and character of a judge certainly cannot be attacked by a member of the House of Commons, except by pursuing the constitutional course of moving an address to the Crown. As I pointed out before, I allowed the hon. member to read the findings of Mr. Justice Maclennan, sitting as Commissioner upon the inquiry. His remarks have been placed upon Hansard and are before the House and the country for the judgment of the people of Canada, but when the hon. member reflects upon the conduct, character and motives of Mr. Justice Maclennan, and comments unfavourably upon the administration of justice in this country, be it under this or any other Government, he is exceeding his rights under the rules of the House.

The hon. member for Kamouraska (Mr. E. Lapointe) referred to a ruling given in this House in 1917 when the right hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, for whose knowledge of the rules of the House I have much respect, rose to a point of order. On that occasion Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Rogers) is speaking to a question of privilege. I submit to you, Sir, that it is not in order for him to impugn the character of the Commissioner. He can dispute the Commissioner's conclusions, if he wants to, but he has no right to impugn the character of the Commissioner.

The ruling given at that time is as follows, Mr. Speaker being in the Chair:

Speaking without having had opportunity to consult the rules. I am inclined to think the point of order is well taken.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): Will you read on to the following page? As a matter of fact, Mr. Rogers continued his remarks against Mr. Commissioner Galt with the approval of the Speaker.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have quoted the ruling given at that time by Mr. Speaker. The further remarks of the hon minister were directed against the Ottawa Citizen and not the Commissioner. That is also my ruling at the present time.

Mr. BUREAU: Does the decision mean that every time a judge shall be appointed an investigator or commissioner in anything, his findings cannot be criticised?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is certainly not the ruling of the Chair. The hon. member (Mr. Archambault) read the findings of the Commissioner and commented upon them without interference from the Chair. The ruling of the Chair is that the personal conduct, character and motives of a judge cannot be criticised by a member of the House in debate, unless upon an address to the Crown.

Mr. BUREAU: Am I to understand this, that if a judge of a Superior Court of any province is appointed to any position, we cannot criticise him on account of his personality? Is the ruling this, that the person of a judge, in whatever capacity he may act as agent or officer of the Government, his acts cannot be criticised?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I thought I had made myself quite clear. I will repeat the ruling. The findings of a commissioner may be read, commented upon and discussed, but the personal conduct, the character, and motives of a judge cannot be impugned.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I bow to your ruling, Mr. Speaker. If I am not allowed to discuss the motives of the judge or Commissioner I shall certainly be allowed, I think, to read some of his remarks in the evidence. I had not intended to proceed in that way, but I shall do so now, as under your ruling I have no right to discuss his motives. I should like to direct the attention of the House to the change of attitude of the judge, shown by his remarks, at a certain point during the inquiry. The inquiry started on the 12th of September, and from the 12th to the 18th of that month the Commissioner seems to have been very severe towards the men coming up before him. On the 18th there was a change of attitude, and in order to explain this change I must refer you, Mr. Speaker, to Hansard of last year, where it is stated that on the 18th of September the Commissoner was made permanent Chairman of the Labour Disputes Board.

At page 183 of the evidence, after Major Keefer had stated the different residences he had in Canada, the Crown Prosecutor was about to examine him in further detail when the commissioner said: "I think we have gone sufficiently into that, Mr. Geoffrion." He was satisfied with the residence at that time. At page 198 the commissioner said in connection with the answer of Lieut. Philips:

On page 200 in the examination of Lieut. Philips the attorney for the defence objected to a question, saying: "As to residence, I think the witness has already answered," and the Commissioner intervened: "Then let him answer again." He seemed at that time to be very anxious to obtain the truth in order to make his report. At page 202 the Commissioner said again to Lieut. Philips:

Seeing that you have just admitted that you lived for twelve months in Toronto before enlistment, how do you pretend now that you were justified in saying "I cannot say" in answer to question No. 6?" At page 203 the Commissioner said to Lieutenant Philips: "It seems to me you could have been a little more specific." At page 208 he again stopped the Crown Prosecutor from further examination of the witness in regard to residence, saying: "I think that is sufficient for the question of residence, Mr. Geoffrion."

An hon. MEMBER: Was that before the 18th?

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Yes. On page 225, examining Major Powell, the Commissioner said: "Why, you could have answered question No. 8 very easily by saying Ottawa." This, Mr. Speaker, is all in reference to the time before the 18th. On page 274 the Commissioner said to Lieut. D—— "Why didn't you answer that question by stating where you were when you were a boy before you went to college?" On page 275, one of the attorneys for the defence having argued that the question of residence should be answered only as it had reference to the time after the witness had reached 21 years of age, the Commissioner said this:

Is it your contention that from the time you were 21 years of age you did not reside any-

where continuously for four months?—A. Yes, that is correct.

The Commissioner: Of course none of those questions have any reference to 21 years of age.

After the 18th of September there was a change in the attitude of the Commissioner and at page 415 he begins to inquire of every man who comes before him whether he had been telling the truth during the inquiry, and asking him if he had ever had any intention of committing perjury. We have been discussing the question whether the Commissioner was acting as a judge or not; but surely, Mr. Speaker, you cannot call to mind any judge sitting in a criminal court in Canada and asking the accused whether he was guilty or not, after he had pleaded not guilty? Well, from the 18th of September to the end of the inquiry the Commissioner put this leading question to witnesses.

I have nothing else to add regarding this change of attitude on the part of the Commissioner, but I may cite a Latin dictum which is very appropriate to the occasion: "Sine conscientia, gubernatores, cibis, vestimentis, auro et honoribus, suos implent abjectos servos."

An hon. MEMBER: Give them the translation.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: My hon. friends will translate the passage for themselves. There is another point I should like to discuss. I am convinced, Mr. Speaker, that the Government organization was at the bottom of the conspiracy in St. Johns. My opponent, Mr. Rainville, was allotted all the votes of St. Johns barracks, of course by the administration at Ottawa. Votes were allotted to each candidate where they were needed, as shown by the telegram; and the allotment given to my opponent was the vote at St. Johns Barracks. Of course, no one with common sense would suppose that without a thorough inquiry it would be possible to secure the direct proof of these things. But bear in mind, Sir, that many criminals have been found guilty on circumstantial evidence not by any means as cogent as the evidence which was adduced in this matter. The evidence at page 128, which I do not intend to repeat as I have already cited it, links the Government with the organization at St. Johns; and the principal suggestion of wrong-doing was made in that publication, Knots and Lashings. Two witnesses, Colonel Melville, and, I believe, Lieut. Adney, stated on their oath that this publication was sent to the Minister of Militia, who must have known, if he received that paper, that improper voting was taking place at St. Johns barracks when the soldiers were coerced, or at least when the suggestion was forcibly put to them, to say that they could not name any residence or place where they had lived in Canada prior to that date, thus enabling their votes to be applied to Chambly-Verchères. Now, at page 174 Major Keefer admits that it was not only at Chambly-Verchères that votes were given in this way, but that over 17,000 soldiers had voted the same way by answering the questions in the same way. As this is most important I will cite what Major Keefer says:

There is a remarkable coincidence that practically every soldier I have seen anywhere voted in exactly the same way. They either said "I cannot say" or said they did not know. I know that there were over 17,000 who did the same thing. I have not met all the soldiers but I think every soldier I have met has done the same thing.

Lieutenant Adney, page 243, in his evidence—and this evidence is very interesting also—tells about the organization at St. Johns, the voting and how it was done, to an ex-minister of the administration, Hon. Frank Carvell. This is what Lieutenant Adney says:

I considered it first of all beyond all other questions that the point was the supporting of the Government as against the Huns and the slackers. The next thing was that having determined that I had a right to do that, I applied first of all to support a Government candidate in what I am willing to call in my own district, of Carleton and Victoria, New Brunswick.

Q. Why did you not vote there?—A. Because I was told it was not wanted—that it could be better applied in to York county for Colonel McLeod, or in Northumberland, on account of the Catholic vote there against him, if you want me to say that.

Q. You were told your vote was not wanted in Carleton county?—A. Yes.

Q. And to vote for Colonel McLeod in York county?—A. He said....

Referring to the Hon. Mr. Carvell.

....he would not need it because expecting acclamation but to put my vote for Colonel Harry McLeod.

I want to be fair. I know that Mr. Carvell has made a denial of this statement in a newspaper. I am not disposed to believe this man, Adney, more than the Hon. Mr. Carvell, but in order to settle this fact and to ascertain the truth, let the Government grant an inquiry and we will know whether Mr. Carvell wrote such a letter or not. If he did not write such a letter the only conclusion would be that this man Adney not only perjured himself when he voted but that he perjured himself again

when he appeared before the Commissioner.

In his evidence Lieutenant Knight also stated that the law was framed by the Government in order to win the election and to get that kind of a vote. I am sorry to detain the House so long but I believe that I have a duty to perform to the country. The examination of Lieutenant Knight proceeds at page 303:

Q. Do you know whence the desire to vote in Chambly-Verchères arose?—A. I do not.

Q. How did Chambly-Verchères come to be chosen?—A. I could not say.

Q. Why did you choose it yourself?—A. Well I met Mr. Rainville. As a matter of fact, I think most of us wished to have one Union representative at least in Quebec. That was our main desire.

Q. And you thought of Mr. Rainville as the chosen one?—A. Yes, he had a chance.

Q. You met him?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you think he had more chance than others?—A. Looking at the question of numbers—yes. It would have been useless for instance to put any votes in St. Johns—As a mathematical proposition, he had a fairly good chance.

Q. Surely you cannot say that your soldiers all went through that process of reasoning? You would not pretend they are sufficiently well versed in politics to do that?—A. They were not versed in politics at all. They got some information from somewhere and the number of Knots and Lashings helped a little. They did what they wished to do—plumped their votes in one district so as to do some good.

Q. Were they not advised or was it not suggested to them in the barracks by you, or through your knowledge, that they should answer in that way?—A. I emphatically deny that there was any canvassing at all done by the officers or by any men amongst the men. The men were not met at all by anybody to my knowledge. I think in Knots and Lashings is probably the only indication that there was any suggestion made as to where they should put their votes.

The only indication is given in Knots and Lashings which was not only produced but distribution of which was proved and which proof I have placed before the House to-day.

By the Commissioner:

Q. Did you honestly think you were entitled to publish that specimen envelope?—A. I understood the Act was drawn up—and I have a very good authority for saying this—I will not quote the authority—I understood that the Act was drawn up..

By Mr. Geoffrion (interrupting):

Q. You will have to give us the authority if you quote it.—A. Pardon me, let me have a go. I understood that the Act was so drawn up that you could easily drive a carriage and pair through it, and those questions were more or less modelled so that you could skip them conscientiously.

That is what Lieutenant Knight says. That is what the Government will not admit now but that is what everybody in the country believed. Everybody believed that this Act was so framed as to give the soldiers' vote to certain constituencies where it was needed for certain members as is shown in the telegram which is the subject of this resolution.

Now, Sir, I believe that I have really done my share of the work. I believe also that I have brought forward facts sufficient to show that the affair at St. Johns was, as the Minister of Justice stated, "judiciously investigated," and that the charges are not, as the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) and the Commissioner said utterly unfounded. Therefore, I would like to include in this inquiry an investigation into the St. Johns vote, in order to remove from the minds of the people of Canada the strong impression that the safeguard which they have had in the courts of the country has been abolished and destroyed by the Government, and in order to restore the sanctity of the vote. Let us have a full inquiry and if heads are bound to fall, whether of friend or foe, let them fall for the rejuvenation of honesty which has been assailed in Canada.

Mr. J. W. EDWARDS (Frontenac): Mr. Speaker, I am sure the many friends of the genial member for Chambly-Verchères (Mr. Archambault) will be glad to see that his health is in the excellent state that he has shown it to be in to-night. He has held the attention of the House, more or less, for the last four hours in an endeavour to make out a case. Now I would not like to say anything uncomplimentary about my hon. friend, and I could not say that he had a good case without being uncomplimentary to him. Had he possessed a strong case, my hon. friend has sufficient ability to have presented the strength of that case in much less than four hours. The weakness of the hon. gentleman's case is shown by the length of time which he has spent in picking out shreds and patches from the evidence taken by Mr. Justice Maclennan. I have heard that it is a custom or rule amongst lawyers—not having the privilege of being a member of that learned profession I am not able to speak as to its truth—that when a lawyer gets the worst of it in a case it has always been regarded as his time-honoured privilege to go down to the nearest tavern and abuse the judge who gave the decision against him. Hon. gentlemen who belong to the legal profession will know whether or not there ever was such a custom. Of course my hon. friend could not follow that course

in the province of Ontario. He probably availed himself of that privilege in the province of Quebec after the decision was given by Mr. Justice Maclennan, but as to that I could not say. But he has certainly availed himself of the privilege of abusing the judge here in language as strong as the rules of this House will permit, because that judge saw fit to give a decision against him.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Will the hon. gentleman allow me to put a question?

Mr. EDWARDS: My hon. friend will have to possess his soul in patience.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Perhaps it was a case of following my hon. friend's example in his attacks upon Sir Charles Fitzpatrick.

Mr. EDWARDS: I am very pleased to see that my hon. friend has not exhausted all his youthful vigour in the time which he has devoted to this case.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: It is early yet.

Mr. EDWARDS: If my hon. friend finds his vigour boiling over and cannot repress it, let him avail himself of some future occasion to introduce a resolution of impeachment which will give him a further opportunity to spend another half or three-quarters of a day in airing his eloquence in this House. It is not an unknown thing of course for lawyers, when they get the worst of a case, to spend some time in abusing the opposing counsel or even casting reflections upon the judge who rendered a verdict against them. My hon. friend has succeeded in convincing every one that he made a very great mistake when he made charges in the first place, and that he rushed in where angels fear to tread, in making charges. Having rushed in rather hurriedly in the making of those charges he naturally had the decision given against him, and now he is advertising to the House and to the country that he feels very sore indeed because of that decision. My hon. friend, in the course of his remarks, has stated that some 491 soldiers voted, or presented themselves to vote, at the poll in question. The returns of the general election show that there were only 137 votes polled in that constituency all told—ten for my hon. friend and 127 for his opponent. The difference between 137 and 491 is 354 soldier votes which must have been discarded. My hon. friend laboured for hours, citing case after case, to show that men came forward who were under a misapprehension with regard to the law, thinking they had a right to vote in this constituency when the evidence went to show that they had resided in different parts of Canada. My hon. friend furnishes figures to show that the votes were not recorded; that 354 of these votes were discarded because the voters had no residence, and he charges conspiracy. A conspiracy by whom? Might I ask, Mr. Speaker, in that regard this pertinent question: who was likely to benefit by the polling of those votes? Was it my hon. friend who only received ten as against his opponent's 127? If those 354 votes had not been discarded, who was most likely to have obtained them, my hon. friend or his opponent? His opponent unquestionably, Mr. Speaker, was the one most likely to have obtained those votes. Then who conspired to deprive his opponent, the Government candidate, of votes? Was it the Government that conspired to deprive the Government candidate of his votes, or was there misrepresentation, as was stated by the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) in discussing this matter—a distinct and definite propaganda of misrepresentation to mislead voters and to try and get them to place their votes in constituencies where the parties responsible knew those votes would be discarded and could not be counted.

In regard to the charge that there was a conspiracy to rob soldiers of their vote, what do the facts show? That because of the propaganda of this man Preston, and others who were backing him up, some fifty thousand odd of these soldier votes were discarded. That was because the soldiers were misled by a definite propaganda intended to mislead them. Now what was the reason for that? Because hon. gentlemen opposite, Laurier candidates in the Dominion of Canada in 1917, knew perfectly well that they stood a mighty poor show of getting very many of the soldier votes. There is where your conspiracy comes in, and that conspiracy worked out definitely to the advantage of hon. gentlemen opposite. May I be permitted to call attention to this fact: my hon. friend in the four hours during which he spoke was dealing with what? He was dealing with the vote here in Canada. But the telegram which is the subject of debate to-day has reference to the overseas vote. My hon. friend's share of the soldier vote in Canada was practically the same as his share of the soldier vote polled overseas. However, before I leave this matter, I wish to quote for the benefit of the House, and to place on Hansard, a few words from the judgment of Mr. Justice Maclennan, who investigated the charges made by the hon member (Mr. Archambault) who has just taken his seat.

Mr. Justice Maclennan dealing with this matter, states in his report as follows:

This investigation was in consequence of representations—

The hon. judge is very kind in using the word "representations." He might have prefixed another syllable there, I think.

—made by Mr. Joseph Archambault, member of Parliament, for the electoral district of Chambly and Vercheres, to the House of Commons on 22nd May, 1918, alleging that certain military officers at the Barracks of the Engineers' Training Depot in St. Johns in the Province of Quebec, on 17th December, 1917, and previously thereto in connection with the general election held on that date, committed perjury and were guilty of other misconduct whereby certain military voters, being members of said Engineers' Training Depot, were alleged to have been induced to commit perjury by falsely representing themselves upon oath to be unable to specify, or state in what place, or places, or electoral districts in Canada they had resided at any time, preceding their appointment, enlistment, or enrolment, or calling out on active service, for the purpose of having their votes applied to the electoral district of Chambly and Verchères pursuant to the Military Voters Act 1917.

That is what the Judge was called upon to investigate. I am not going to again place on Hansard many of the statements which have been quoted by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Archambault), but I want to quote this passage. The hon. Judge says:

About one-half of the officers of the Engineers' Training Depot who voted at the general election had left on service overseas before Mr. Archambault had made his charges of perjury in the House of Commons and are still absent from Canada. All the remaining officers were brought before me and subjected to an exhaustive cross-examination by able and skilful Counsel selected by Mr. Archambault. Several of the officers who appeared had never voted before and none of them knew much about electoral districts. They were not politicians or political workers.

The right of soldiers as such to vote was new in Canada, and it was abundantly proved in the inquiry that there was a widespread conviction among not only military voters but civilians that every military voter had a right to apply his, or her vote wherever he or she saw fit.

Why, Mr. Speaker, is there any doubt in regard to that? Is there any doubt in the mind of the hon. member for Provencher (Mr. Molloy) in regard to that? Did not that hon. gentleman write to his leader the late Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier asking him to get for him some of the soldiers' votes for his constituency? Was there anything wrong in that action of the hon. member? Not at all. But there was a misapprehension on his part as to the soldier vote—a misapprehension which was not confined to soldiers alone but was pretty general throughout the country. That misapprehension, Mr. Speaker, I maintain was deliberately added to for party purposes by hon. gentlemen opposite—or at least by the party supporting the hon. gentlemen opposite—who did everything in their power through the instrumentality of one of the greatest political crooks who ever lived in the Dominion of Canada, W. T. R. Preston, to deceive the soldier electors for the purpose of destroying their ballots so they would not be counted, as he and the party he represented knew perfectly well they would be counted, if they went as the soldiers wanted them to go. But, Sir, Mr. Justice Maclennan makes this comment on the officers who testified before him:

The officers who were examined before me gave their evidence in a straightforward manner, and their conduct and demeanour while under cross examination and the reasons they gave for their answers established their good faith and that they honestly believed they had the right to answer questions 6, 7, and 8 as they did. That disposes of the charge of perjury against the officers. In my opinion these charges are unfounded.

Let me add to that, Sir, this further statement at the conclusion of the judge's report:

There is a further circumstance that the prevailing impression in military circles was that the questions could be answered in the manner suggested. . .The men read the Montreal papers and were greatly interested in the result of the election. Mr. Rainville's public career and his stand on the important question before the country met with their approval.. . . There were no improper inducements, representations, suggestions or other misconduct by the officers or any of them to influence any non-commissioned officer or man to commit perjury by giving false answers to the questions on the envelopes, and the non-commissioned officers and men who appeared and were examined did not, in my opinion, commit perjury in connection with their answers. The charges of perjury and subornation of perjury are unfounded.

That is the judgment of Mr. Justice Maclennan, Mr. Speaker. But it is not as my hon. friend (Mr. Archambault) would like it to be. My hon. friend picks passages here and there from the evidence and asks this House to pass upon his garbled scraps and condemn a judge who came to his conclusions on all the evidence, not on those extracts quoted by my hon. friend.

Now, there is one further remark of my hon. friend to which I wish to refer, because it elicited some rounds of applause from hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. He said:

Many of the members of this House were elected by this soldier vote.

That called forth a vigorous "hear, hear" from many hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. There has been, Mr. Speaker a deliberate and persistent attempt on the part of the leader of the Opposition and his followers to get the people of this country to believe that this Government is in power and that many hon. members are sitting in this House because of the manipulation of the soldier vote. I want the attention of the House, Sir, while I refute that absolutely. I challenge any hon. gentleman opposite, from the leader of the Opposition to his most brilliant supporter, to question the figures which I am now going to give or to refute my argument based on those figures.

In the first place, referring to the province of Ontario, there are 82 seats for the Dominion House. I hold in my hand the general elections returns for 1917, which give the civil vote for each candidate and the military vote divided, showing those who voted in Canada, in the United Kingdom, and on the continent of Europe. To what extent were those 82 seats influenced by the soldier vote? All but four of the members elected from the province of Ontario were elected by the civilian vote alone by enormous majorities, and of the 4 elected with the help of soldier votes 3 were Conservative-Unionists and 1 was a Liberal-Unionist. Is it unreasonable, Mr. Speaker, for me to argue thus: That we might fairly assume that a candidate would get as large a proportion of the overseas vote as he did of the vote at home? Is it unfair to argue that a man who received 75 per cent of the vote polled here in Canada would likely receive 75 per cent of the soldier vote overseas? If that is a fair proposition, then we will allow to each of these four candidates the same proportion of the vote polled overseas as that which he received of the soldier vote polled in Canada, and we will hand to their opponents all the soldier votes polled overseas over and above that proportion. This done, each of these four candidates still has a seat in this House, and has it by handsome majority. More than that, each could afford to give to his opponent several hundred soldier votes, and still hold his seat in this House. Where, then, is there, so far as Ontario is concerned, the slightest evidence of any manipulation of the soldier vote?

I come next to the province of Quebec, which is represented in the House of Commons by sixty-five members. By the way, may I advert in this connection to a reference made by the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) to the Postmaster General (Hon. Mr. Blondin)? He said that the Postmaster General ran in two constituencies in Quebec, and insinuated that the Government, by manipulating these votes, diverted votes to that hon. gentleman in order to elect him. Well, if there was any intention of doing anything of that kind it was foolish for the Postmaster General to run in two constituencies, and thus divide up the soldier vote; he might better have run in one constituency only and had all the soldier votes coming to him go to that one place. But I may inform the hon. member for Brome that the Postmaster General, though defeated in that election in Quebec, polled nearly three times as many civilian votes as did the member for Brome. Further, of the 122 candidates in the sixty-five constituencies in the province of Quebec, only twenty candidates polled a larger civil vote than did the Postmaster General. So that although he did not get enough votes to elect him to this House, the vote which he did receive showed that he had in very large measure the confidence of the people. But if there was any conspiracy to elect the Postmaster General, why were those who were handling the thing so remiss that they did not see to it that several thousand votes were thrown to the Postmaster General to make sure of his election? Why was it not done? You have only to look through these election returns. The figures given in respect of the various constituencies carry with them a refutation of the charge or insinuation which has been made by the hon. member.

There is not a single member of this House from the province of Quebec whose seat could have been influenced in any way by the soldier vote. Every member from Quebec holds his seat in this House absolutely regardless of the soldier vote. Every member from the province of Quebec could have given his whole soldier vote to his opponent and still have held his seat in this House. In the face of these facts, how can hon. gentlemen argue that there was manipulation of the soldier vote so far as the province of Quebec is concerned?

I have dealt with Ontario and Quebec, whose representation comprises 147 out of the 235 members of the House of Commons. I now pass on to Nova Scotia. In that province there were five of the present members of the House whose seats were influenced by the soldier vote, but if we allow to those five members only that percentage of the overseas vote which they obtained of the

home vote and then give the rest of the vote to their opponents, each still has his seat in this House by a considerable majority. Where was the manipulation there?

I pass on to the province of New Brunswick, which is represented by eleven members. Each of these members has a seat in this House by virtue of a majority of the civil votes. These civil majorities reach four figures in all seats but two, and in one of these two the majority was two hundred and in the other eighty-six. Are there any signs of manipulation there?

We now come to Manitoba, the only province to which this telegram particularly refers. There are fifteen Federal seats in Manitoba. To what extent were those seats influenced by the soldier vote? All the Laurier candidates in Manitoba except three lost their deposits on the polling of the civil vote alone.

Now, how did that telegram go? Let us see; they wanted so many votes for Selkirk. The member-elect for Selkirk poled 4,712 votes to his opponent's 2,963. Apparently he did not stand very much in need of help from overseas. His opponent was a man by the name of Adamson. Adamson? Where have I heard that name before? Adamson? That sounds very much like the name of a timber wolf which ranged out through that country years ago. This may not be a timber wolf, but I venture to say he is very closely related to the timber wolf that stole timber limits right and left in this country. That is where I have heard of Adamson. Adamson makes complaint about the manipulation of soldier votes. Well, let us see. It is the soldier vote overseas that he is complaining of. Adamson got 4·3 per cent of the home soldier vote, so that if the overseas soldier vote was manipulated against him he must have got even a smaller percentage of the overseas vote. But he got 6.9 per cent of the overseas soldier vote—and if he is anything like the timber wolf, he was not entitled to one per cent.

Well, Sir, what about Springfield? The opponent of the member for Springfield (Mr. Richardson) received only four per cent of the home soldier vote, but 6.4 per cent of the overseas soldier vote. Was there any manipulation overseas against him? I do not think so; the figures do not show it. But the member for Springfield had a clear majority of 1,147 of the civil vote, so that he could credit the whole soldier vote, 1,032, to his opponent, and still come in with a handsome majority. The same is true of the member for Macdonald. The only member of this House from Manitoba who received a smaller percentage of overseas soldier votes than he received of the home vote was the member for Provencher (Mr Molloy). As the Minister of the Interior pointed out, the member for Provencher may thank his stars that W. T. R. Preston and some of the other manipulators for the Laurier candidates got in their work overseas, or my hon. friend would not grace this House with his presence.

In British Columbia, with thirteen seats, all but one hon. member could have handed his opponent the overseas soldier vote and still won out. That one was the hon. member for Skeena (Mr. Peck) who, as everybody knows, was overseas fighting valiantly for his country. He received a larger percentage of the overseas vote than of the soldier vote at home; but if we give him only the same percentage as he received at home—and is that unreasonable?—he still could afford to hand his opponent a handsome number of soldier votes and win out. In Saskatchewan, with sixteen seats, credit every soldier vote in that province to his opponent and it would not deprive any member of his seat in this House. Was there any manipulation there?

The same is true of Alberta, with the exception of Edmonton West. In that case if we give to the hon. member for that constituency (Mr. Griesbach) the same percentage of overseas vote that he received at home—and his opponent was home working on the ground, while the hon. member was overseas—and the rest of the votes to his opponent, Hon. Frank Oliver, the member for Edmonton West would still have 2,288 of a majority, and he could therefore hand over another 1,000 soldiers votes and still retain a handsome majority.

I have gone to some trouble to arrive at these figures, but I wanted to place them fairly before the country. When hon. gentlemen opposite undertake to make the people of this country believe that there was manipulation of soldier votes overseas or on this side of the water which counted for the success of the Union Government at the last election, I say they are talking entirely outside of the facts. The facts do not warrant any such conclusion whatever.

I wish now to call attention to some of the remarks made by the hon leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie). I was very much pleased with his speech in one respect, in that it was not of the ordinary kind in one very notable particular. For once in his life the hon. leader of the Opposition did not quote Scripture in making his speech.

I am sure it was not because he could not quote Scripture. I have often thought as I looked across the floor of the House as he was quoting Scripture and putting on that pious sanctimonious look, rolling his eyes towards the ceiling, and bringing his hands together like this as he starts to quote, that if he would only turn his collar around hind-side before, half the members on that side of the House would take him for a bishop or cardinal.

He looks the part. I am sure he did not refrain from quoting Scripture because he did not know Scripture. I hope that his failure to quote Scripture in his speech the other day may be taken as evidence of an awakening conscience, that he did really think Scripture was too sacred to mix up with the dirty subject he was handling. I would not say that, if it were not for an expression the hon. gentleman used towards the latter part of his speech. Speaking of the officers overseas and their endeavour to influence the soldier vote he quotes them as saying:

> "Gentlemen, we do not want 99 per cent of your votes; we want 100 per cent." That was the exhortation of generals, colonels and others from the top to the bottom, and for the poor man who might attempt to exercise his own right there was a place to which he would be consigned, and of which fact he was well aware.

May I ask my hon. friend to be more explicit? To what place does he refer? What is back of the words he uses there? I pause to give my hon. friend an opportunity to make his meaning more explicit. I do not want to draw an inference that is a wrong inference. Would my hon. friend tell me what he means by those words?

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: I will answer my hon. friend. I have never hidden behind a bush from any body. It is generally believed in this country, and we will prove it if we get a committee, that soldiers were told if they would not vote as told by their officers they would be immediately sent to the trenches, where likely they would be killed, and where some were sent and killed. That is what I mean, and that is what I will prove.

Mr. EDWARDS: That is what I thought the hon. gentleman meant.

Mr. McKENZIE: Certainly.

Mr. EDWARDS: But I did not want to put words in his month. I wanted him to use words which would express his meaning beyond a shadow of a doubt, and he has left us in no shadow of doubt as to what he meant by those words. I want to say to the hon. gentleman who is possessed of wonderful courage in coming out from behind the bush, but who has not the courage to make his charges on his responsibility as a member of this House and thereby jeopardize his seat and the extra $7,000 he gets out of it, that the imputation against the honour of the officers over there which has just fallen from his lips is in my judgment the worst libel that was ever uttered by any man on the floor of this House or outside.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. gentleman is exceeding the amenities of debate in accusing the hon. leader of the Opposition of uttering a libel.

Mr. McKENZIE: I would be surprised if he said anything else. Let the child have his play.

Mr. EDWARDS: I can give my hon. friend all the play he wants, and perhaps a little more than he wants.

Mr. McKENZIE: Come along, my boy, come along.

Mr. EDWARDS: I can assure my hon. friend I may come along in a way he will not like.

Mr. McKENZIE: I defy my hon. friend.

Mr. EDWARDS: We will see before we get through. Mr. Speaker, if I am out of order in using the word "libel" I bow to your ruling and retract it. It was the word that occurred to me as best expressing what was in my mind, and I used it believing that it was properly applicable. I can understand the leader of the Opposition and some of his friends on the other side trying to discredit in every way they can the men overseas whom they did their best not to send assistance to.

I can understand their attitude. Hansard, and the reports of their speeches throughout the country, will show quite clearly the fact that they displayed an utter lack of appreciation of the perilous position our men were in overseas. They showed absolutely no regard for the soldiers, whose votes naturally went to the party which was pledged to support them in their noble but, till then, unequal fight over in Flanders. Hon. members opposite feel sore at the result and the only way in which they can safely get back at the men who were fighting for the lives of us all is a cunning resort to slander, for the men, I am sorry to say, have been slandered on the floor of Parliament and outside as well. That is the plain fact, and there is no gainsaying

it. I can conceive, Sir, of nothing in the English language that can adequately characterize, as I think they should be characterized, the views of any honourable gentleman who makes such an accusation as has been directed across the floor of the House by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie). I cannot conceive language befitting the circumstances, because, Mr. Speaker, your rules would preclude the expression of an opinion that would do justice to describing the honourable gentleman's conduct. After a lengthy speech yesterday he concluded by saying: "I do not know whether the facts are exactly as I present them. I take no responsibility in that regard." He based his charges and his motion on an alleged telegram which he does not and cannot produce, and backs it up with the statement of some man who says he took part in the election overseas, but whose name he does not disclose. Now, Sir, if ever a case rested upon a flimsy foundation, undoubtedly it is the case presented by the leader of the Opposition in his speech yesterday.

Let us look into this matter for a while. An election was held, and it was decided by this Parliament to give to the soldiers an opportunity to record by their votes their opinion as to whether or not relief should be sent to them. There was a certain amount of opposition to that departure, as every one in the country knows. A great many hon. gentlemen opposite were not very enthusiastic about giving the soldiers the vote, and there were weighty reasons why they were not enthusiastic. However, arrangements were made for taking the vote. Certain officials were appointed. The Clerk of the Crown in Chancery was in duty bound to fulfil his office in connection with that or any other election. Who was he? Mr. Foley, a man appointed by the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The returning officer was Mr. W. F. O'Connor, in regard to whom the Minister of the Interior read several tributes paid to his fairness, which I am not aware has ever been questioned. Special returning officers and clerks were appointed, half of them by the Government and half on the nomination of the leader of the Opposition. In the same proportion, six scrutineers were appointed, one of the three appointed by the Government being a former Liberal member of the House. Of the three scrutineers appointed by the leader of the Opposition I may refer particularly to one named W. T. R. Preston, better known as Hug-the-Machine Preston; and there is a certain man in public life who may probably be known by a somewhat similar appellation some day. His name will have as a prefix, not hug-the-machine, but hug-the-machinist. I desire to refer you, Mr. Speaker, to some of the propaganda sent out by this man Preston. He was sent overseas as the appointee of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and it was his duty to look after the soldier vote polled in the United Kingdom. One or two of the pamphlets which he issued were referred to by the Minister of the Interior, who showed that the three classes into which that gentleman divided the soldiers were not in accordance with the Act, and that he must have known he was making a misrepresentation in his classification. He refers to one class as the American soldiers. Well, we have no American soldiers. He had many documents to guide him and there was no reason why he should have made any statement that was not strictly in keeping with the truth. There was one document prepared for the guidance of voters. It states that a voter includes every person, male or female, who, being a British subject,—and so on. Instruction is given to electors under the Military Voters' Act and there are instructions for the guidance of deputy presiding officers. Military voter "means and includes any person, male or female, who, being a British subject," etc. The pamphlets distributed throughout the country drew attention to the fact that every voter must be a British subject; and therefore when W. T. R. Preston represented, as he did in some of his advertisements, that votes were given to American soldiers he represented what he knew was false. Now I want to call the attention of the House to another little advertisement which was not referred to by the Minister of he Interior yesterday, an advertisement prepared by this man Preston who signs himself on behalf of the Liberal candidates. This advertisement appeared on December 11, 1917, in the Penrith Observer, a newspaper printed in Wales. I have an exact copy of the advertisement, which was sent back here by one of the soldiers to whom it was given to influence his vote. It was headed: "Vote for Sir Wilfrid Laurier and conscription." It goes on to tell the soldier: "Do not be deceived by misrepresentations," and the soldier has marked opposite that in pencil: "I won't;" and I do not think, Mr. Speaker, that many of them were deceived. Now this is some of the literature distributed by W. T. R. Pres-

ton, the man selected by Sir Wilfrid to represent his candidates in the election in 1917. Will some hon. gentleman opposite tell me that this entirely novel statement: "Vote for Sir Wilfrid Laurier and conscription," is consonant with the oft-expressed views of the Opposition in this House, and the oft-expressed views of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier in regard to conscription? What was the object of such a deliberate falsehood? Every one in Canada knows that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was opposed to conscription, for he announced his opposition on the floor of the House and throughout the country, and the hon. gentleman who sat on his right and many others on the opposite side of the House expressed as their policy absolute opposition to conscription. They denounced conscription from one end of Canada to the other, but they realized that the soldiers overseas—the men who were doing their own work and that of three or four others, remaining two, three and four times as long in the front line as they should have done because relief was not forthcoming—were in favour of conscription and were determined at all costs to have proper reinforcements in order that Canada's battle line might be maintained in Flanders.

Consequently, notwithstanding their statements in this House and their statements throughout the country, statements made in order to capture, if possible, sixty-five seats in the province of Quebec, statements made with the deliberate intention of influencing those people in this country who were opposed to sending their sons overseas to do their part in this war—notwithstanding all that, they got out this pamphlet, sent it out amongst the soldiers and put an ad. in the papers over there advising the soldiers to

Vote for Sir Wilfrid Laurier and conscription.

These words were in big type.

An hon. MEMBER: Who appointed Preston?

Mr. EDWARDS: This man Preston was appointed by the leader of the Opposition at that time, the late Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Inasmuch as this man Preston has had quite a lot to say about the soldier vote overseas, may I be permitted to say one or two words about W. T. R. Preston? In the first place, I think it would be well for the members of this House to know who this man Preston is and who he was. He was organizer for the Liberal party in the province of Ontario from 1883 to 1893. He was defeated when he ran as a candidate in Durham for this House in 1885. He was appointed librarian of the Ontario Legislature in 1893. About that time a man named H. H. Cook testified that this man Preston had demanded from him $10,000 as the price of a senatorship. He not only made that statement, but he took his oath that such a demand had been made upon him by Preston. In 1896 Preston ran as a candidate for the House of Commons in West Toronto. The people of West Toronto knew him as well as they knew him in Durham and he was defeated there. He resigned the librarianship to take charge of the campaign machine in the provnce of Ontario and from the time he took charge of the campaign machine it went from bad to worse in the way of corruption and scandals of all kinds, until the province of Ontario became disgraced in the eyes of the world.

He took a very active part in the election of a man by the name of Macnish in West Elgin in January, 1899. Mr. Macnish resigned because of the corruption which was disclosed on that occasion. Let me tell you one or two things that were done in that election. Preston was handling the gang in West Elgin.

An hon. MEMBER: The machine.

Mr. EDWARDS He was hugging the machine and he had with him the Pritchards, the Cap Sullivans, the Lewises and a lot more of those fellows of unsavoury reputation. On the Sunday before the election, Preston put on his Sunday air, went to the Sunday school and talked to the children. I presume he had on a regulation long coat, probably a silk hat, and he perhaps looked as pious as the leader of the Opposition does sometimes. He quoted Scripture, spoke to the children, told them to be good, not to do anything wrong, and there were tears in his voice. Then he said: "Now children, there is one hymn I want you to sing; I like it very much; I want you to sing it for me to-day as a special favour." "What is the name of the hymn, sir?" "There is sunshine in my soul." And so he got them to sing the hymn "There is sunshine in my soul." That was on Sunday afternoon. On Sunday evening he met the gang; they got the machine together in an upper room of the hotel and laid their plans for defeating the wishes of the electors of West Elgin, by switching and spoiling ballots and defrauding the electors of their right of making a choice at the polls. The election was held and after the election, Preston, not happening to be in the riding that evening, telegraphed from

Toronto to Mr. Macnish, the Liberal candidate in West Elgin, as follows:

Heartiest congratulations, sorry to the bot- of my heart I cannot be with you to-night."

I suppose if he had been there he would have asked them to sing "There is sunshine in my soul."

To be supported by such a noble army of workers should make you the proudest man in Ontario. Shake hands with the boys for me, and hug the members of the much-abused threshing machine for 'Auld Lang Syne.'

That telegram showed the intimate relations existing between Preston and Macnish. A day or two after Preston sent that telegram he received one from Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Sir Wilfrid sent for him. He said: "Mr. Preston, you have made a nice job of it, but you have not been getting enough money; we are going to send you to England as our Commissioner of Immigration at a salary of $3,000 a year." That was the reward for the good work which he had done. Shortly after that charges were made against Mr. Macnish, his election was protested, and he finally resigned his seat, couching his reasons in the following letter:

Messrs Crothers & Price,
Barristers, St. Thomas, Ont.

Dear Sirs:—

We beg to advise you that Mr. Macnish has discussed at length with his solicitors the charges contained in the petition which has been filed against his return as member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario for West Elgin, and that they have to a considerable extent investigated the charges contained therein and other matters which have come to their knowledge in connection with the election. And the subscribers hereto make the following statements and admission respecting the same:

1. That a large number of persons were specially sent into the constituency by men working on behalf of the liberal party for the express purpose of taking part on Mr. Macnish's behalf on the election held Januray 12, 1899, and we believe that fraudulent and corrupt means were used by some such persons to secure his election.

2. That several of the said persons illegally and without authority acted as deputy returning officers at the said election, and in at least three cases so acted in the names of reputable local men, having under assumed names, been introduced to the returning officer by local agents of Mr. Macnish.

3. That in many polling subdivisions of the riding there were grave irregularities connected with the return of the ballot boxes and their contents, the voting, and the counting of the ballots thereat.

4. That there were large numbers of persons brought into the riding for the express purpose of personating legitimate voters, and assisted by some of Mr. Macnish's local supporters, such persons did personate qualified voters in voting for Mr. Macnish.

5. That the declared number of votes for Mr. Macnish largely exceeded the number of bona-fide votes cast for him.

[Mr. Edwards.]

6. That a large number of votes cast for Mr. Macdiarmid were in some nefarious and corrupt manner manipulated whereby the result of the election was rendered doubtful, and that in this connection the voting at Shedden and Middlemarch, and in several divisions in St. Thomas, where said persons acted as deputy returning officers, merits special mention.

7. That there are good reasons to believe that there are many specific and well-authenticated cases where agents of Mr. Nacnish concealed at their homes some of these strangers, who there paid large sums of money to electors to induce them to vote for him.

8. That Mr. Nacnish will forthwith deliver to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly his resignation as a member thereof for the said electoral district.

I call attention to this statement:

And the subscribers hereto make the following statements and admissions respecting the same.

Who are the subscribers to this document? Donald Macnish, Liberal candidate, and A. B. Aylesworth, at one time Minister of Justice in the Laurier Government. Those are the men whose names are signed to that confession of rascality of the worst kind, to that confession of all sorts of corruption. Those are the men, I say, who subscribed to that confession on the part of Macnish which this man Preston was connected with as he was connected with very many other shady transactions, and I will give you one or two more of them. It was Preston who, as organizer of the Liberal party in the province of Ontario, brought in this gang of pluggers, ballot-switchers, ballot-spoilers and markers. He is the man who was behind the cruise of the "Minnie M.", the nefarious work of "Cap." Sullivan; he is the man who was behind the self-confessed ballot-switcher Pritchard, and others of his ilk. This man, Preston, was the individual who organized this machine, and he was rewarded for his work by being appointed to a $3,000 position as emigration officer over in England.

Now let us see what he did when he got there. No sooner had he got to England than he started his dirty work, his crooked work, over there. His hand was seen in connection with the North Atlantic Trading Company, for which his son-in-law was the solicitor; and a certain Leopold Lazarus —a man of Hebrew extraction I would judge by his name, and about as crooked as they make them—was one of the agents for the company and had a room just across the hall from the office occupied by Mr. W. T. R. Preston, emigration agent for the Dominion of Canada. Well, Sir, let me give you a letter which will indicate to some degree at least, but only to a small degree, what an unscrupulous rascal this

man W. T. R. Preston was, and I believe is. This is a letter, dated 18th October, 1901, and it is addressed to Mr. Thomas Southworth. The letter was written by Mr. W. T. R. Preston on his own printed paper and it reads as follows:

W. T. R. PRESTON,
Emigration Department.
17 Victoria Street,
London S.W.
October 18, 1901.

My dear Southworth,—

I have your letter of a late date on emigration to Ontario. You incidentally say in the letter that you are opposed to indiscriminate emigration. Well, in that respect you agree with everybody else. I do not know any one who suggests, or who would propose, that there should be indiscriminate emigration to that province. Whatever is done must be done carefully and any who are sent out must be well-selected emigrants. But don't run away with the idea that only well-to-do people, or those with money, are going to emigrate. If you are going to keep up a population in the old parts of the province, you must be satisfied with sober, energetic and industrious emigrants. I know all you people are terribly afraid of the foreign element. Upon that point I don't agree with you and have no hesitation in saying that a good class of foreigners scattered about the old parts of Ontario will do very much more towards preserving a proper agricultural population than those from England, for instance. Politically speaking, I believe the introduction of a hundred families or so into some of those close ridings with the connections which could be had and maintained here would easily preserve for us many doubtful seats in that province. I know the anxiety or nervousness of the minister upon this question. Confidentially, I may tell you I fear it bears some slight resemblance to one of courage. You know enough about politics to know that courage always beats. However, as we don't agree upon that phase of the question we won't discuss it.

I have heard from the Wallaceburg people in answer to my letter of the middle of last month and I am now trying to meet their wishes among the beet growers of Belgium. I will be over there in the course of a week or ten days and will then write to you as also to them upon the outlook there.

Yours very truly,
W. T. R. PRESTON.

Now the signature on that is not typewritten. It is written with pen and ink, it is written on the paper of the Emigration Office where Preston had his office—there is no doubt about that. The leader of the Opposition in his remarks on the motion before the House spoke about fingermarks and earmarks and so on. Let him produce the telegram to which he refers, so that we may look at the fingermarks and the earmarks; let us see if he can produce this telegram with authentic marks on it as to its origin and parentage.

Mr. Speaker, why have I placed these matters before you and before the House? I have done so because I want to ask one question, and it is this: Knowing as we do know, and admitting as we must admit, that Sir Wilfrid Laurier knew the history of this W. T. R. Preston as he knew his alphabet; knowing that this W. T. R. Preston was the man who was connected with the switching of ballots, with the West Elgin election and with very many other elections which were protested in the province of Ontario and with which his connection could not be doubted; knowing that he was the man who made a demand upon a certain gentleman for $10,000 as the price of a senatorship; knowing that he was the man connected with the North Atlantic Trading company and several organizations which were bleeding or robbing this country to the extent of thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars on the emigrants that were brought out here; knowing all this—knowing his connection and his loose, crooked connection with the politics of this country, the question I ask is: Why was that man selected as the agent of the Laurier party over in England? There is only one reason why he was selected. If this Government was guilty of the charge which has been levelled and of the insinuations that have been made against it, that there was a conspiracy to manipulate the votes overseas, may I tell you, Sir, that it was fully aware of the record, the reputation and the ability for crookedness of W. T. R. Preston, and if it wanted to manipulate votes and wanted somebody crooked to handle those votes, it knew where to get the best man for that kind of work in the Dominion of Canada, or on the continent of North America—W. T. R. Preston. I repeat that if the Government wanted to manipulate votes and wished for a past master in crookedness to do it, and to divert the soldier votes, it knew that W. T. R. Preston was the man to apply to for that purpose. It did not wish to manipulate the soldier votes and it did not apply to or get Mr. W. T. R. Preston to do it. What reason was there for the leader of the Opposition to select W. T. R. Preston for that job? Was it because of his record for integrity, was it because of his record for political purity that he was selected for that position? Is the Laurier party so lacking in men of integrity and honour and credibility that they have to select a man of the stamp of W. T. R. Preston to represent their candidates over in the United Kingdom? Why was it done? It was done in my judgment, Sir, because they knew that the

sentiment of the soldiers was opposed to a leader and a party which had refused to back them up in their fight in Flanders. The Laurier Party said: "The man who is most likely to deceive those soldiers, to devise a plan whereby their votes will not be counted as they want them to be counted, is W. T. R. Preston. We will send that prince of political crooks over to England to represent the Laurier candidates." And yet the leader of the Opposition gets up here and professes a righteous indignation because of an alleged telegram which is vouched for by whom? By W. T. R. Preston. And the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) boasts that his ethical training makes him look with holy horror upon a request that a certain number of votes should be sent here or there. Well, well, the member for Brome shocked, the member whose ethical training is along the lines of political morality! When have we ever heard from the member for Brome or from the hon. leader of the Opposition, or from the honourable member from Gaspe (Mr. Lemieux) or from the hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) or from a whole lot more that I would name if they were in their seats—whoever heard of their having spasms over the crooked acts of the party they have supported for years? Did they stand aghast at the Sawdust Wharf transaction, at the Saskatchewan land deals,—at the selling of timber limits,—at the bogus ballot box affair down in Frontenac and Hastings Counties? Did they shed any tears over that last scandal? No, they did not express any horror, nor was the hon. George Graham tried or reproved for his part in it. Those bogus boxes were made at Watertown, and on a Sunday afternoon when the principals were going over to see how the work was progressing they went out of their way to visit Brockville and closet themselves with the Hon. George Graham,—the man who aspired to be the leader of the Liberal party—to talk over the situation. Many of the ballots were printed in his newspaper office. That came out in the trial of Riley, who served a year in Belleville jail for his share in the work. When have these hon. gentlemen, who now pose as political purists, ever denounced that sort of thing on their side of the House? I have yet to hear the first one.

We have a record here which is as long as a telegraph pole, if any one wanted to take time to read it, of attempt after attempt being made during the fifteen years the Laurier Government was in power to investigate this, that and the other scandal, this act of corruption and that act of corrupion, but all attempts were voted down every time. I can give a list of nine or ten just off-hand. For instance, there was the request made on 13th April, 1899, on the motion of E. F. Clarke, to investigate the Yukon scandal. On June 27th 1899, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper asked for the appointment of two judges to investigate the Yukon scandal. But he did more than that—and I commend this particularly to the attention of the hon. leader of the Opposition, who speaks of never getting behind a bush. Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper said: "Appoint those judges to investigate the Yukon scandal, and if I cannot prove my charges to the hilt I will resign my seat in this House and place myself in a position that I will never run for or attempt to hold any public office as long as I live." That was a different attitude from the way my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition seeks shelter. He takes care that he gets behind something that will serve his purpose to protect him from any harm. Then on 30th May, 1906, we asked for a committee to inquire into the management of public lands—that was refused. In 1909, another committee was asked to be appointed to investigate dredging scandals—that was refused. In 1910, Mr. Lennox,—now Judge Lennox—asked for a committee of seven to be appointed to go into the Lumsden charges —that was refused. Evidently, to use an expression which I heard the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier use in this House, "to the pure all things are pure," and he did not see any wrong in all those scandals, or if he did he was too clever or too shrewd to permit any investigation. Then we had a demand on March 26, 1907, for a special committee to investigate matters "affecting the honour of a minister"—that was a motion growing out of the celebrated "Wine, women and graft" charge. I specially commend that to a certain hon. gentleman opposite. There we had an hon. minister directly involved. The charges were made, but the committee was refused —the party then dominant would not allow any investigation. Then on April 16, 1907, the present Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) moved for the appointment of a committee to investigate election frauds in the constituencies of Brockville and West Huron as disclosed in the confessions of some of the hirelings of this man Preston —James Farr, Pritchett and others. These hon. gentlemen who were then supporting the Laurier party, and who are very much

concerned about the votes going the right way now—did they show any concern at that time? No, none whatever. They were quite sure that no investigation was needed. There was undoubted evidence of political frauds as shown by the confessions of various men taking part in the elections, and yet every attempt to secure an investigation was refused.

Now, Sir, the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) said in answer to a question that the officers over there had no right to canvass any soldier for his vote. Well, that certainly is a funny doctrine. Where was the wrong, supposing a request was made for a certain number of votes to be applied to a certain constituency? Both sides had the same opportunity.

Is there anything wrong with my going to my friend John Jones and saying: John, I wish you to go out to the fifth concession, see the people there, tell them I am the better candidate of the two, that I am supporting the Government, and try to induce them to poll their votes for me—is there anything wrong about that? Every member of this House does it; every member of this House places his case before the electors and tries to induce them to vote for him. Any member of the House, had he the opportunity of going overseas, would have gone to the soldiers and tried to influence them to vote for him. And why should he not do it? W. T. R. Preston, who handled the campaign for the Liberals over there, had that opportunity and he certainly made use of it—by sending out advertisements and lies by the hour. And he did not stop at one lie, or two, or half a dozen. If he thought that by telling lies he could influence the soldier vote, that would not stop W. T. R. Preston. That is why he was sent over there—because he did not scruple to lie or to use any other means he could to influence votes. But he found out, as did those on the other side of the House, that the Laurier platform was very unpopular with the soldiers—and naturally so; therefore the only thing for them to do was to organize some kind of scheme whereby they could make many of the soldiers believe that they had a right to vote anywhere they saw fit. This scheme they organized and followed out to the extent of practically disfranchising fifty or sixty thousand voters by deceiving them in regard to their franchise. An hon. member asks me if Preston has been banned from the party. Oh no, W. T. R. Preston will not be banned from that party. He is the prime mover, the man who is back of this whole thing. That is what I am trying to emphasize, Mr. Speaker. It was W. T. R. Preston who first made use of the expression used by the leader of the Opposition to-night—it did not originate with the leader of the Opposition—about officers sending soldiers to the front if they did not vote as they were directed to vote. How were the officers to know how these men voted? Did you ever hear such nonsense in your life? The soldier goes into the poll and marks his ballot. He is all alone when he marks that ballot; he puts an X opposite the name of the Government candidate or the Opposition candidate, as he sees fit. Nobody sees him mark the ballot; he puts it in the envelope and, if he is one of these voters at large, he designates the constituency in which he wants his vote to be applied. The point I make is that no returning officer or military officer could hold a club over that soldier's head and say: If you do not vote so-and-so I will send you up to the firing line, where, in all probability, you will be killed. The soldier went in there and marked his ballot behind a curtain, nobody saw him mark it; he marked it as he saw fit. How is the returning officer to know whether he voted for the Government candidate or against the Government candidate?

Earlier in the course of my remarks I quoted from the speech delivered by the leader of the Opposition and asked him to state explicitly what he meant by certain words he used. In explaining his words he emphatically and explicitly charged certain generals, colonels and others overseas with having intimated to the soldiers that if they did not vote for the Government candidates they would be sent to the front, where they would be likely to lose their lives. Now, a statement of that kind, coming from the hon. gentleman who is leader of the Opposition, even though only temporarily, calls for a little bit more, I think. The leader of the Opposition accompanied the assertion to which I have referred with an emphatic declaration that he was not the kind of man who would hide behind the bush in anything that he had to say. I ask him now to give me the name of one general, one colonel, one major, one officer, one man of any kind over there, who made such a statement as that? Now we will see whether the hon. member will hide behind the bush or not. He does not reply; he is hiding, all right—and it is a mighty small bush, too.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what do you think of an hon. member of this House who charges that an officer threatened to send his men up to the firing line, where they would in all probability be killed, if they did not vote as he wanted them to vote; and who sits there in silence and refuses to name the man to whom he refers? I do not know what you think, Mr. Speaker; I am not a mind reader. But I credit you, Sir, with being a mind reader, and I believe that you can guess what I think. Perhaps it will be a whole lot safer to let you guess than for me to attempt to say what I think and at the same time to keep within the rules of Parliament.

Well, what is the object of all this? I would apologize to the House for speaking at half-past twelve were it not for the fact that we have all listened very patiently to an hon. member who spoke for four hours. What is the object of this motion that has been put forward by the leader of the Opposition? Mr. Speaker, the object was stated very clearly and explicitly this afternoon by the member for Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark). I give it as my solemn belief and conviction that not an hon. member on the other side —not even the leader of the Opposition, who moved this motion; not even the member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding), who sits beside him; not even the humblest back-bencher—believes for a moment the insinuation which has been cast upon the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) this afternoon and yesterday. I do not believe that any hon. member opposite is convinced that the Minister of the Interior was mixed up in any dishonourable act or in any act that could reflect in the slightest degree on his honour as a man, as a member of this House, or as a minister of the Crown. I repeat, then, what is the object of all this? The object is, as the member for Red Deer said, to play the game of politics; that is the object, and that is the only object. It was started at a political convention by one of the most unscrupulous political shysters that this country has ever produced.

Following it up, if you want to get at the parentage of that alleged telegram, I believe W. T. R. Preston had something to do with it. There is no doubt about that. Does anybody in this House believe that the statement made by a man with the record of W. T. R. Preston is going to weigh with this House or the people of this country for one single fraction of a second, when he imputes anything dishonourable to a man of the standing of the Minister of the Interior? Not for a moment.

[Mr. Edwards.]

As the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) said, hon. gentlemen opposite have made a great mistake in bringing this matter before the House, and they realized that shortly after the matter was brought up. I am quite sure they realized it because they took up all the time they could in a short afternoon. Then the suggestion came from that hon. gentleman who never gets behind a bush—he is an awfully good fellow to himself, isn't he?—when the Minister of the Interior was about to answer, that the debate be adjourned until the next day. "Oh, yes," he says, "only let my statement go out to the country with a few hours' start, and you cannot catch up to it. Let my statement get to the public now, and you defer your answer for twenty-four hours until to-morrow or the next day, and then things will be all right." That was the suggestion made by the hon. gentleman who never gets behind a bush. Well, if that was not getting behind a bush, it was getting in the direction of the bush pretty fast. The next indication we had of their superabundant courage was when the Minister of the Interior had spoken about twenty minutes or half an hour and six o'clock came. Then the courageous member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) jumps up and calls the Speaker's attention to the fact that it is six o'clock, Wednesday, and no evening session. The medicine was coming to them faster than they could take it comfortably, and they wanted to get away. Then this afternoon we had the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères (Mr. Archambault) sticking most courageously to his guns and reading out extracts from the judgment of Mr. Justice Maclennan, occupying four hours of the time of this House, for what purpose? For the purpose, I am inclined to think, of preventing discussion on this matter. Perhaps I am wrong in that. I do not want to do the hon. member an injustice, but I certainly think I have some grounds for coming to that conclusion.

Well, we have given consideration to this matter, and what does it all amount to? An alleged charge based upon an alleged telegram which the leader of the Opposition cannot produce, and a statement made by some person overseas who says when he made the statement that he was a scoundrel or was doing what was wrong. Then we have that great and glorious and saintly man, W. T. R. Preston, to back up these charges. Mr. Speaker, it will require more than the sanctimonious air of the leader of the Opposition and his assumed

indignation at an alleged telegram which he is afraid to carry on his person, because he does not like to carry stolen property, or the vociferous declamation of the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) or the long-winded side-tracking of the hon. member for Chambly and Verchères (Mr. Archambault) for hon. gentlemen opposite to make out their case.

I am content to leave it there. I rose for the purpose of endeavouring to show, what I think cannot be refuted, that the result of the election was not influenced in any way by the soldier vote, and I have demonstrated that province by province. I also wanted to show the company hon. gentlemen were keeping when they were making these charges. I wanted to show the record of W. T. R. Preston, the kind of man they were relying on and applauding at their Liberal convention, when he was mouthing charges of this kind against a man whose shoe latchet he is not worthy to unloose. I am satisfied to leave the whole matter to the judgment of the country, and I am well satisfied also as to what the soldiers will say as to the remark of the hon. leader of the Opposition, a remark which I say he should never have made, a charge which I say is unworthy of any man in this House, implying, as it does, crime of the worst possible kind on the part of gallant men who were risking their lives for the people of this country. Certainly a charge of that kind should not be made unless the leader of the Opposition gets up and names the man who had been guilty of making a threat of that kind, for otherwise he leaves all these officers and gentlemen under that imputation.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 12.45 a.m.

Friday, September 26, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

PRIVILEGE—STATEMENT BY MR. McMASTER.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. A. R. McMASTER (Brome): Before the Orders of the Day are called, Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege. The Montreal Gazette in its issue of this morning contains the following words:

> A. R. McMaster, Brome, who harshly criticised the voting owes his election to failure of soldiers to comply with the regulations. If the soldiers from Brome had all regularly polled their votes, Brigadier-General Draper would now be in parliament instead of Mr. McMaster. From the hundreds who enlisted from Brome, only 184 votes were counted for General Draper.

I wish to say, Sir, that this statement is particularly untrue. From the little county of Brome—probably the smallest agricultural community in Canada—many of its youth bravely went to the front, but through death, wounds and other wastage, at the time the election was held there were not enlisted in the Canadian army or otherwise capable of casting soldiers' votes from that county more than three hundred men. My majority was over six hundred, and had every vote been cast against me by those who voted under the Military Voters' Act, I would still have had a majority of over three hundred. I make this explanation in the hope that the Montreal Gazette will see its way clear, and be desirous, to correct a false and misleading statement against a political opponent.

Mr. BUREAU: They will never correct it.

TREATY OF PEACE WITH BULGARIA.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Verchères): I read in the papers that the Treaty with Bulgaria has been prepared and signed, I desire to know if Canada is a party to that Treaty and, if so, whether our representatives have signed it. Further, is it the intention of the Government to bring that Treaty before the House for ratification?

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): I have no doubt that if the Treaty has been signed, as the hon. gentleman says, it will have been signed by our representatives. I am not aware, however, that it has been signed. As to what will be done in regard to this Treaty, I should think—not undertaking to determine the question positively now—that it will be proper, as was indicated in the answer given a day or two ago, for us to deal with it, when it is signed and comes before us, in the same manner as in regard to the Austrian Treaty.

TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (York, S. Riding): With regard to the treaty between Great Britain and France, to which we are supposed to be a party, may I ask whether that is to be brought before this Parliament also?

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY: That treaty differs from the other treaties in that it is, as the

hon. gentleman says, a treaty between France and Great Britain. As to what action should be taken by the Dominions in connection with it is a separate and distinct question.

LOBSTER REGULATIONS.

Mr. WILLIAM DUFF (Lunenburg): Before the Orders of the Day are called I should like to ask the Government a question which has reference to the Department of the Minister of Fisheries, who I regret exceedingly is absent through illness. In passing, may I tender him my sincere sympathy and express the hope that he will speedily recover. My question is based on a short item which appears in the Ottawa Journal of last evening, headed, "Must put full weight in the lobster cans". The item in question reads: :

> The Department of the Naval Service announces that during the approaching season lobster packers will be required to place in the cans the full weight of dried meat as specified in the Meat and Canned Foods Act, amended in 1917. The weights fixed for the various sizes of cans of lobsters are 14, 10½, 7 and 3½ ounces respectively of drained or dried lobster meat. A modification of these weights was considered in Parliament last session but was not effected.

In view of the fact that last February the Department of Marine and Fisheries passed a regulation fixing the weights of lobsters in cans at 12, 9, 6, and 3 ounces, and the further fact that packers of lobsters this season have complied with the regulation in regard to these weights, and also have put in large stocks of tin plate as well as having incurred expenditures in connection with labels, boxes and so forth, I am anxious to know if this item in the Journal is correct and, if it is, what reason the department has for changing the regulation made last February.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: If I may presume to answer on behalf of the Government, I may say that at the moment it is impossible to reply to the hon. gentleman's question, but I shall do so on Monday. I am not aware of the facts he has cited, but I think there is some legislation contemplated this session by the Department of Marine and Fisheries in this matter.

DOMINION LANDS ACT AMENDMENT.

Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN (Minister of the Interior): Mr. Speaker, if I obtain the unanimous consent of the House, I wish to move that we return to the Order for the introduction of Bills.

[Mr. Doherty.]

Mr. SPEAKER: Has the hon. member the unanimous consent of the House?

Mr. BUREAU: Lost.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. BUREAU: Lost.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member moves, with the unanimous consent of the House, that the House do now return to the Order for the introduction of Bills.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. BUREAU: No.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. BUREAU: No. There must be unanimous consent.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Carried.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do I understand that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bureau) objects to the motion?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. Mr. MEIGHEN thereupon moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 15 to amend Dominion Lands Act.

Mr. BUREAU: Explain.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The Bill continues statutorily Orders in Council relating to the Dominion Lands Act, giving priority of entry to returned soldiers. It has only one other feature, and that is an endeavour to make some provision for those entrants on Dominion lands who came from enemy countries, and who by reason of completion of duties and residence may be entitled to enter but cannot get naturalization for ten years under the Naturalization Act, consequently being unable to get patent during that time under the law as it stands. The provision is for judicial inquiry and certificate as to qualifications for citizenship outside of the ten year limit, and for provisions for the granting of patent upon such certificate.

Mr. BUREAU: Do I understand that this Bill has for its object the ratification of certain Orders in Council which were passed in connection with the establishment of returned soliders on land?

Mr. MEIGHEN: It is very nearly that. It is the ratification of Orders in Council that give returned soldiers one day's priority of entry over civilians in relation to all Canadian lands that are open for entry after the passing of the Order in Council. That has

been the law for some time. This provides for its continuance.

Mr. BUREAU: The minister states that has been the law. Why are you requiring a ratification of these Orders in Council if it is the law?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Because it would cease to be the law immediately the war ceased. We want it to continuue to be the law.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

INTERPRETATION ACT AMENDMENT.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty, the House again went into Committee on Bill No. 4, to amend the Interpretation Act, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—application of Act to Orders in Council and regulations:

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): This Bill remained in the Committee the other day in order that the hon. the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) might have an opportunity of satisfying himself as to whether its enactment would in any way produce the effect of continuing in force or reviving Orders in Council that may have been heretofore passed, more especially Orders in Council passed under the War Measures Act.

I ventured the opinion that the Bill would not produce that effect and since the matter was up before I have had it carefully gone through by the Deputy Minister of Justice, who advises me that there are no provisions in the Interpretation Act which, by being made applicable to the Orders in Council, would produce the results apprehended.

Mr. McKENZIE: The difficulty I have is altogether in relation to the provisions of section 19 of the Interpretation Act. As I understand it, under the War Measures Act, when the war ceases those Orders in Council are repealed and disappear as if they never existed, and no proceeding can be instituted under them or anything at all done by virtue of them once they have lapsed. I have some idea that parts of this section 19 of the Interpretation Act, when applied to an Order in Council, would have the same effect upon it as it would upon a statute. I had better read the section:

> Where any Act or enactment is repealed, or where any regulation is revoked, then, unless the contrary intention appears, such repeal or revocation shall not, save as in this section otherwise provided,—
>
> (a) revive any Act, enactment, regulation or thing not in force or existing at the time at which the repeal or revocation takes effect; or,
>
> (b) affect the previous operation of any Act, enactment or regulation so repealed or revoked, or anything duly done or suffered thereunder; or,
>
> (c) affect any right, privilege, obligation or liability acquired, accrued, accruing or incurred under the Act, enactment or regulation so repealed or revoked; or,
>
> (d) affect any offence committed against any Act, enactment or regulation so repealed or revoked, or any penalty or forfeiture or punishment incurred in respect thereof; or

It appears to me that if it is found that any offence has been committed against a repealed Order in Council, which offence has not been tried or punished, even if the Order in Council of itself has been repealed by the operation of the law, this keeps it alive for the purpose of enabling proceedings to be instituted to collect a fine or enforce punishment:

> (e) affect any investigation, legal proceeding or remedy in respect of any such privilege, obligation, liability, penalty, forfeiture or punishment as aforesaid:
>
> and any such investigation, legal proceeding or remedy may be instituted, continued or enforced, and any such penalty, forfeiture or punishment may be imposed, as if the Act or regulation had not been repealed or revoked.

These are the considerations which I wish to bring before the minister. If he is satisfied that it does not keep alive such an Order in Council, that is entirely a matter for himself and the Department of Justice, but I would suppose the provisions of this Bill keep alive, for the purpose of collecting a fine or enforcing punishment, an Order in Council, notwithstanding that the War Measures Act has been repealed.

Mr. DOHERTY: I have not before me the section of the War Measures Act but, speaking from memory, the provisions of that Act in regard to the effect of the revocation of regulations passed under it is in the sense of the provision of this particular section 19, namely, that the revocation of an Order in Council would leave standing the position of everybody as it existed at the revocation and if, for instance, a man had committed an offence which rendered him liable then to a penalty or punishment, that revocation would not operate to relieve that man; it would operate for the future.

It would operate for the future, the law being no longer in force, so that no man could commit any offence under it; but speaking from memory I think a provision in the War Measures Act itself saves that situation. That is to say that when orders made under it are revoked they are revoked for the future, but it maintains the situa-

tion of everybody as it existed at that time and leaves the parties who have violated those orders, where the offence is completed, liable to the punishment to which they already had rendered themselves liable before the revocation of the law. If it be necessary to make application of this section for the purpose of obtaining that result, it seems to me that that is a result that ought to be obtained so that a man who has violated any of these regulations, many of which were applicable only in war time, should not escape scot free from the consequences of that offence which he has committed, merely by reason of the fact that the war having ended that law ceases to be operative and is not being applicable under the existing conditions. An opposite interpretation would create a situation which would be, I think, manifestly unfair and unjust—a situation where, as between two violators of a law absolutely in force at the time of the violation, the one that managed to escape until the war ended would go scot free, whereas the other, who was apprehended while the war was still on, might be subjected to very serious punishment. I hardly think it would be suggested that a consequence of that kind would be just as between people all of whom, while that law was in force, were equally affected and equally bound to obey it, and equally subject to be punished if they failed to obey it. The provision of the War Measures Act on the subject of the revocation of orders and regulations under it is found in subsection 2 of section 6. It provides:

All orders and regulations made under this section shall have the force of law, and shall be enforced in such manner and by such courts, officers, and authorities, as the Governor in Council may prescribe, and may be varied, extended or revoked by any subsequent order or regulation; but if any order or regulation is varied, extended or revoked, neither the previous operation thereof, nor anything duly done thereunder shall be affected thereby, nor shall any right, privilege, obligation or liability acquired, accrued, accruing, or incurred thereunder be affected by such variation, extension, or revocation.

It seems to me that while this is not in the actual words of the section of the Interpretation Act, it is very nearly so. The provision of subsection of section 19 of the Interpretation Act declares that the repeal or revocation shall not have the effect of reviving:

Any Act, enactment, regulation or thing not in force or existing at the time at which the repeal or revocation takes effect;

I understand no exception is taken to that proceeding.

[Mr. Doherty.]

—or, (b) affect the previous operation of any Act, enactment or regulation so repealed or revoked, or anything duly done or suffered thereunder.

Now the provision of the War Measures Act is that neither the previous operation thereof—that is the previous operation of the revoked order under the War Measures Act—nor anything duly done thereunder shall be affected thereby nor shall any right, privilege, obligation or liability acquired, accrued, accruing, or incurred thereunder be affected by such variation which is, I think, substantially the same provision as in subsections (b) and (c) of section 19 of the Interpretation Act. Subsection (c) is almost in the same words. The revocation shall not:

Affect any right, privilege, obligation or liability acquired, accrued, accruing or incurred under the Act, enactment or regulation so repealed or revoked; or,

Then subsection (d):

Affect any offence committed against any Act, enactment or regulation so repealed or revoked, or any penalty or forfeiture or punishment incurred in respect thereof; or,

And then subsection (e):

Affect any investigation, legal proceeding—

——and so on. Those I think are simply in substance the same as the provisions already contained in the War Measures Act as to the effect of orders made under it or their subsequent revocation. If they were not so, I would submit that it would be proper to make that provision. That is not reviving or continuing the law in operation, but it is leaving everybody in the same position in which they were at the date of the revocation.

Mr. BUREAU: The Act itself says that.

Mr. DOHERTY: The Act itself says that, that is what I am pointing out. If that be a good rule of interpretation for a statute, and Parliament has determined that it is, it seems to us good rules of interpretation for the interpretation of statutes and for the interpretation of Orders in Council. As I said the other day, we have found that it was of great practical advantage to have settled rules of interpretation. In the absence of these rules we found the necessity arises very frequently in the case of each particular Order in Council of inserting clauses to define the precise meaning of certain terms that might be used in the Order in Council; and in our opinion we were not following a very bad example in following the example of

Parliament in its determination of how its enactments should be interpreted when we adopted the provisions governing that interpretation and applied them simply to such rules, regulations and orders as the Governor in Council is authorized to make. The statutes have general application; they have no special application to the orders made under the War Measures Act.

Mr. McKENZIE: This discussion would possibly not have taken place at all were it not for the fact that during last session this same point was debated in the absence of the minister. An Order in Council was passed enabling a commissioner, I think Mr. Pringle, to deal with difficulties between the pulp-producing companies of this country and the newspaper people, and in the absence of the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Finance introduced a Bill for the purpose of continuing the power that was vested in the commissioner under the Order in Council, otherwise the Order in Council would have lapsed by reason of peace. I took the point then that there was no necessity for that Act, because the provisions which the minister read enabled proceedings, once begun, to continue to the end whether the order lapsed or not. The Minister of Finance, himself a lawyer, agreed with me, but he said that the solicitor in charge of the business and the Department of Justice did not agree with him, they holding the view that the Order in Council of itself was not enough and that there would have to be a statute. The minister will find that Act in last year's statute. Therefore if that interpretation was correct, I do not want to see any laws kept alive to punish people if it was not the intention of the War Measures Act to keep such laws alive.

Mr. DOHERTY: I did not desire in virtue of this enactment to alter the law on that subject, whatever it may be. What we had in mind was the interpretation of the particular statute of last year, and of course I am not in a position to determine between the different opinions on that statute. It may have been thought that it was more important to make that absolutely clear which might perhaps without the statute have been the law. But in any event it does seem to me quite clear that there is no substantial modification made in the effect of provisions under the War Measures Act by simply subjecting those provisions to the interpretation clauses, including this one which applies to statutes generally; and, as I read the War Measures Act, the effect would be the same. But more than that, I think if there be a difference between them that in this Bill these interpretation rules are made to apply only in so far as they are not inconsistent. The section is:

> Every provision of the Interpretation Act shall extend and apply to every order and regulation heretofore or hereafter passed by the Governor in Council in the execution of any powers delegated by statute, except in so far as any such provision is inconsistent with the intent or object of such order or regulation, or would give to any word, expression or clause thereof an interpretation repugnant to the subject matter or the context, or is in any such order or regulation declared not applicable thereto.

There is no exception as to the legal provision; I was under the impression there was some exception. But I think the provisions are substantially the same. I think if there be any difference it would produce the effect which, I take it, was intended by the War Measures Act, and which in any event, in order to be just to everybody concerned, ought to be so.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Mr. Chairman, we have from time to time had debates of this House referred to before the courts to justify the interpretation of an Act, and I have heard instances where the remarks of the gentlemen introducing Bills had been quoted to justify a certain interpretation, but the judges and the lawyers would not hear of it. Now we have had the Minister of Justice and the leader of the Opposition, both gentlemen who adorned the bench in days gone by, talking a long time on this Bill. This may be a very far-reaching Bill—I have not caught the full scope of it yet—but if there is any doubt in it it should be dispelled. There must be a purpose in passing this Bill. Whatever may be the purpose it should be enunciated, and whatever the language of the Bill it should be clear and concise. Surely there is no need for all this discussion on such a short Bill if the foundation be absolutely clear and nothing hidden. Language is made sometimes to conceal one's ideas. I think in our statutes we should use language that is absolutely clear so that a child may read as he runs. I do not know how this would apply to the War Measures Act, or to the Military Service Act, or anything of that kind, but I would like the language to be clear and the meaning made explicit right now.

Mr. DOHERTY: The purpose is precisely to make a clear-cut rule by which Orders in Council may be interpreted, and we find those clear-cut rules in a statute laying

down the principles by which laws are to be interpreted. Now, we want the same rules that Parliament decided ought to be applied to the interpretation of the laws enacted by Parliament to be applied to Orders in Council. The purpose is to make for clearness and for uniformity of interpretation so that we may not be in a position where it may be contended that whereas a certain expression in a statute must, under this Act, be held to mean a certain thing, the same expression in an Order in Council might be open to the suggestion that it meant something else. The purpose is precisely to make for clearness of understanding of these Orders in Council and for uniformity of interpretation.

Mr. BUREAU: Mr. Chairman, is there any particular case the minister could give to the House which has suggested this legislation, where the terms of an Order in Council were subject to an interpretation which did not conform to the interpretation which should be given if we used the Interpretation Act? I see the section reads:

> Every provision of the Interpretation Act shall extend and apply to every order and regulation heretofore or hereafter passed by the Governor in Council.

Now, there may have been conditions heretofore different from those which now exist, and by passing this Bill we submit the interpretation of those Orders in Council, passed a long while ago, to this particular legislation. I think that is what my friend from Victoria (Sir Sam Hughes) had in mind.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Yes.

Mr. BUREAU: We are binding the courts to give a decision which might be other than what would be given if the Bill were not passed. I would like to know from the minister what was the date of the Order in Council under which the question arose which brought to his mind this legislation.

Mr. DOHERTY: I cannot recollect that it was in view of any particular Order in Council. What called attention to it was that in the carrying out of the War Measures Act the number of Orders in Council became very considerably multiplied, and it was found a great inconvenience to have to insert an Interpretation Act in each order.

Mr. BUREAU: I understand that.

Mr. DOHERTY: It was a very unhandy way to have to embody the clauses of the Interpretation Act in each Order in Council in order to make them apply. It seemed therefore much more desirable that we should once for all enact that the rules of interpretation laid down by law for statutes should apply to Orders in Council; and we did enact, under the War Measures Act, an Order in Council to that effect. Now that Order in Council, in common with others under the War Measures Act, is about to come to the end of its effect. Our experience of the value of such a rule led us to believe that it ought to be continued, and therefore we submit to this House that what are good rules to interpret its statutes must surely be good rules to interpret Orders in Council.

Mr. BUREAU: I admit that. But the word "heretofore" does not merely cover Orders in Council passed during the war, but Orders in Council passed ever since Confederation.

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, there can be no doubt about it. I do not think we have had for a great many years any material alterations in the Interpretation Act; the rules therein contained represent the wisdom of Parliament upon the subject of interpretation. They have been consecrated by the respect that has been accorded to them in all these years and by their application by the courts, and it did seem to us that we could not set to work to-day to make a better system of rules of interpretation. It is, after all, Parliament exercising its authority over these Orders in Council in the same way that it has exercised authority over statutes; it is making what we did subject to interpretation in the way that Parliament thinks laws ought to be interpreted. As those Orders in Council were given the effect of law, I should think it would commend itself to the judgment of Parliament that upon a question of determining their precise meaning they should be interpreted in the same way as all other laws are interpreted—laws of the past as well as the laws of the future.

Mr. MORPHY: There is doubtless good reason for the enactment of such a section as that which is before the committee. But how is it going to work out if the Interpretation Act of to-day is different from the Interpretation Act of yesterday? Is there not a danger that a result which is not intended may be brought about?

Mr. DOHERTY: I am not in a position to say that there has been no amendment of the Interpretation Act or how many years we would have to go back to find any amendment; but it must be a very considerable time since there was was any substan-

tial modification. When the Interpretation Act was passed it was made applicable to then existing legislation as well as to future legislation. The very first section of it is:

> Every provision of this Act shall extend and apply to every Act of the Parliament of Canada, now or hereafter passed.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Are there any exceptions in the Interpretation Act as there are in this section of the Bill which we are now considering?

Mr. DOHERTY: The exceptions in this Act are the exceptions made when the interpretation of the Interpretation Act would be inconsistent with the very context of the Order in Council itself. The purpose of the Interpretation Act is not to determine that things which, on their face, clearly mean one thing are to mean another; the purpose of the Act is to give an interpretation to any expression which, on the face of either an Act of Parliament or an Order in Council, is not clearly defined, and which might have one meaning or another. The law says that when an expression is used in that way it shall mean a certain thing, and we are applying that to Orders in Council. The wording of section 29 of the Interpretation Act is: "Unless the context otherwise requires," and of section 30: "In every Act, unless the contrary intention appears." The words used in this Bill are:

> Except in so far as any such provision is inconsistent with the intent or object of such order or regulation, or would give to any word, expression or clause thereof an interpretation repugnant to the subject matter or the context, or is in any such order or regulation declared not applicable thereto.

In other words, these rules are to apply except when, on the face of the Order itself, it appears that the intention was different from that which the application of these rules would give to it, or unless the Order in Council itself says that such and such an expression shall have a different meaning.

Sir SAM HUGHES: If the intent or the object of such order or regulation runs counter to the provisions of the Interpretation Act, then the Interpretation Act shall not apply?

Mr. DOHERTY: That is right. If Parliament, in passing an Act, or the Governor in Council in passing an Order in Council, indicates that it is not intended to say the thing which the Interpretation Act would make the Act or Order say, then what is intended is made perfectly clear and the Interpretation Act is overruled. The Interpretation Act is not intended to restrict the power of Parliament to legislate or the power that the Governor in Council may have under Orders in Council. It is simply intended, where nothing to the contrary appears—in other words, where no different definition of intention appears—to apply certain rules as to how the interpretation shall be made.

Sir SAM HUGHES: The intent or object of such order or regulation is to be determined, not by the debates in the House, but by a reading of the statute?

Mr. DOHERTY: By a reading of the statute.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported, read the third time, and passed.

DOMINION BY-ELECTIONS ACT, 1919—AMENDMENT.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE (Solicitor General) moved the second reading of Bill No. 13, to amend the Dominion By-Elections Act, 1919.

He said: This Bill became necessary by reason of what was, I think an oversight when the By-Elections Act, 1919, was passed during the spring session of the House. It is well known that the Dominion franchise is, in principle, based upon the Franchise Acts which exist in the various provinces throughout the country. The Dominion qualification, as set out in section 10 of the Dominion Elections Act, is as follows:

> The qualifications necessary to entitle any person to vote at a Dominion election in any province shall, except as herein otherwise provided, be those established by the laws of that province as necessary to entitle such person to vote in the same part of the province at a provincial election.

In the Act which was passed at the last session of this House, section 5, which was rather a broad enactment, provides:

> Save as in this Act otherwise provided, every person, male or female, shall be qualified to vote at the election of a member, who, not being an Indian ordinarily resident on an Indian reservation,—
>
> (a) is a British subject by birth or naturalization; and
>
> (b) is of the full age of twenty-one years; and
>
> (c) has ordinarily resided in Canada for at least twelve months, and in the electoral district wherein such person seeks to vote for at least two months, immediately preceding the issue of the writ of election.

Some provinces of the Dominion of Canada have passed certain limited disqualifications which would disqualify an elector,

who could qualify under the clause which I have just read of the By-Elections Act, but who could not qualify under the provincial law. This is so, notably in the case of British Columbia where, by section 3 of the provincial Elections Act passed in the year 1913, it is provided that:

Chinamen, Japanese, Hindus, and Indians are disqualified and prohibited from voting at any election and from making application to have their names inserted in any register of voters.

The present Bill is to remedy the omission in the Dominion By-Elections Act passed last session. Under the Act of last session the disqualification of Oriental voters in British Columbia would be of no effect, and they would be entitled to vote at a Dominion election. But as I pointed out at the beginning of my remarks, the Dominion franchise is based, in principle, upon the provincial franchise.

Mr. BUREAU: It was.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): It was.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I fancy my hon. friends have reference to the War-time Elections Act. The Dominion franchise is now based, by section 10 of the Dominion Elections Act, on the provincial franchises of the various provinces, and the By-Elections Act passed last session is—

Mr. BUREAU: If it is now based on that, what is the use of this legislation?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Because the provincial franchise of British Columbia, which I have just read, would not apply if the Act which this House passed last session in reference to by-elections were allowed to remain unamended. If the Act of last session remains as it is, all our Orientals, who are British subjects, twenty-one years of age, resident in British Columbia, shall be entitled to vote at a Dominion election, whereas the statute of British Columbia says that they shall not be so entitled.

4 p.m.

Mr. BUREAU: Is that the only case?

Mr. GUTHRIE: It is the only case that I am aware of. The Bill has been drawn in general terms, merely stating:

Notwithstanding anything contained in The Dominion By-Elections Act, 1919, where by the laws of any province in Canada a person is disqualified from voting for a member of the Legislative Assembly of such province by reason of the provisions of any law of such province in respect of age or race, such person shall not be qualified to vote in such province under the provisions of The Dominion By-Elections Act, 1919.

[Mr. Guthrie.]

The word "age" is added to the word "race." It was suggested, when this Bill was originally prepared, that in some of the provinces there might be a discrimination in regard to the age at which women were permitted to vote. On examination, however, of the various provincial statutes, I find that that is not so. It, therefore, does not matter whether the word "age" remains in the Bill or not; it has no application. It, however, cannot do any harm.

Mr. BUREAU: We can take it out.

Mr. GUTHRIE: If it should happen that some province has a provision in regard to age, this should govern.

Mr. BUREAU: If the provinces all have the same provision as to age, why leave this word in the Bill?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I do not mind. That is a matter, I suppose, for the Committee.

Mr. BUREAU: I would strike out the word "age" and leave the word "race" in the Bill.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the second time, and the House went into Committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—disqualification under provincial laws not affected by Dominion By-Elections Act.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Do I understand that under this legislation a Japanese shall be prevented from voting in a Dominion election if he is a British subject resident in British Columbia, and shall be able to cast a vote in the other provinces when such a disability does not exist in the laws of those provinces?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes, that is the effect of this legislation.

The effect is to recognize the right of the province to make its own franchise, and the principle of the provincial franchise is the one we adopt. I do not know any other province that discriminates against Orientals. Ontario certainly did fifteen years ago. So far as I am aware, this will only affect the province of British Columbia, and only in regard to Oriental votes.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: It appears, therefore, that a certain class of British subjects shall have the right to vote in some provinces but shall be precluded from exercising the franchise in other parts of Canada. When woman suffrage was introduced we were told that it was inconceivable that women might vote in one province at Dominion elections and not in others, and the

principle was enunciated in that connection that every province should have the same law in regard to those who might vote. Why should there be a difficulty in connection with some classes of British subjects?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I concede that there is somewhat of an anomaly in the suggestion that any British subject should not be entitled to vote, but I can only say that this is a very live question in British Columbia, and I noticed on the Order Paper yesterday or the day before, at the instance of the only labour member in the House, a question as to whether the Government did not intend to disqualify these Orientals in British Columbia. While a great deal may be said in support of the argument that every British subject should be allowed to vote, the fact remains that there are disqualifications. Some of the provinces disqualify all criminals in jails and penitentiaries, while other provinces disqualify all who receive provincial aid or charity. About thirty years ago—I think, about 1887 or 1888—our present Franchise Act was deliberately adopted on the basis of provincial qualifications. I was in the House as far back as 1900 and I know it was a settled matter then that we should adopt the provincial qualification with as little variation as it was possible to allow. We cannot make the system absolutely uniform. This is an innovation and applies only to a single province. But I think that it is the opinion of the House and of the people that we should have regard to the wishes of the province of British Columbia in this matter.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: I do not wish to be misunderstood. I favour the adoption of the provincial franchise for Dominion elections, but I desire to see the system uniform, not having regulations for certain people when it suits them and abolishing them when they are inconvenient.

Mr. BUREAU: I understood the Solicitor General (Mr. Guthrie) to say that under Clause 10 of the Dominion Elections Act the provincial franchise was adopted as the basis for Dominion elections, except as regards women's votes.

Mr. GUTHRIE: There were no women's votes when that Act was passed.

Mr. BUREAU: As I understand it, a man who cannot vote at the provincial election cannot, under the Dominion Franchise Act, vote at the Dominion election.

Mr. GUTHRIE: There is an exception in regard to office holders.

Mr. BUREAU: That is not in force just now.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes.

Mr. BUREAU: If it is in force, what is the use of this law? Every man has to be qualified under the British Columbia law in order to cast his vote in a Dominion election within the limits of that province.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Last session, for the purpose of the by-elections, we passed a new law which was given more breadth than the original Franchise Act. We provided that every British subject twenty-one years of age, resident for twelve months in the country, should be entitled to vote; and we did not pay regard to certain persons disqualified by provincial law.

Mr. BUREAU: There is no preamble in this Act and there is nothing in the Bill itself to show that it applies to British Columbia. Would it not be better to say in this Act that notwithstanding any provision contained in the By-Elections Act of 1917, the people disfranchised by the laws of the province of British Columbia shall have no right to vote at a Dominion election. If we did that we should know then that this Act was for a special purpose, applicable to a particular province.

Mr. GUTHRIE: That is practically what it is.

Mr. BUREAU: There is no preamble.

Mr. GUTHRIE: None of our public Acts have a preamble.

Mr. BUREAU: They used to have, and it is only lately that the custom of having preambles in public Acts fell into disuse.

Mr. GUTHRIE: It is considered better legal drafting without the preamble.

Mr. BUREAU: My hon. friend knows that you cannot go before the court with Hansard and quote discussions that occurred in Parliament by way of interpreting an Act. If you put it clearly in the Act itself the court will know exactly what was the intention of Parliament when it passed the Act. This is an Act relating to British Columbia. Why not, therefore, say so in the Bill itself?

Mr. GUTHRIE: It so happens that it will have application only to British Columbia, so far as I know. There was a reason for using the word "race." We

might have said, I suppose, that we would disqualify every Japanese, every Chinese and every Hindu, but that, it was considered, might be giving an unnecessary affront to governments of friendly powers. It was therefore thought more courteous to draft the Bill as it is.

Mr. BUREAU: I do not think the hardship of disfranchisement will be mitigated by any evasive expression. If British Columbia wants a certain law, why not say that it is for British Columbia?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Because this is a general Act for Canada, and if Nova Scotia passed a law disqualifiing Egyptians or Hottentots in that province, they could not vote at a Dominion by-election. This Act has application to every province.

Mr. BUREAU: The minister says that it is a general Act, but as a matter of fact it applies only to British Columbia; otherwise it would not have been introduced. Has the minister had a request for a similar law from any other province?

Mr. GUTHRIE: No, nor have we had any particular request from British Columbia.

Mr. McMASTER: In a country as great as Canada, and with such wonderful differences in geography and social conditions, it is extremely difficult for a person living in one part of the country to utter words of conviction in regard to social problems that prevail thousands of miles away. I should like this law to pass without expressing my dislike of it, and my opinion that those who desire to have such a law enacted should set before the House in the clearest and most unmistakable terms the reasons for that desire. This law means that one of His Majesty's subjects, born in India, perhaps a distinguished graduate of Oxford University who has served at the front and probably been distinguished for gallantry under fire, may come out to British Columbia, establish himself there, and discover to his chagrin that he is not a British subject in that part of the Empire and has no right to vote, being treated like a helot. As I said before, these questions are difficult, and I speak with considerable reservation and moderation in regard to them, because I am not familiar with social conditions in the province of British Columbia. But I lay this down as a sound liberal principle, that any man who is fit to come into this country to labour and work, and to pay taxes into the treasury, should have the right to vote. That is a principle on which the whole system of our body politic is based.

Mr. MORPHY: Does the hon. gentleman include the Hindus, Chinese and Japanese?

Mr. McMASTER: I include Hindus who are British subjects and if Japanese are allowed to come in and become British subjects, then they should have the right to vote. It seems to me that we have got to take our stand in this fashion: I can easily understand that for ethnical reasons, for reasons of race, it may be wise to exclude races which cannot coalesce with our own —without pretending that we are superior to them; merely on the ground that they cannot coalesce with us I can see a reason for it. I do not know sufficient about the subject to say whether one race or another should be excluded, but the clearest possible case should be made out for the pretension that once a man is allowed to come into Canada to work and contribute to the upbuilding of the nation with his powers, physical and intellectual, and who has taxes imposed upon him should not be allowed the rights of citizenship. This seems to me to be sound, democratic, liberal, constitutional doctrine. I have not heard from the minister in charge of this Bill this afternoon any argument at all except that it is in accordance with the wishes of the people of British Columbia.

Mr. GUTHRIE: It is the provincial law of British Columbia and the Act is based upon it.

Mr. McMASTER: And it is the desire of the people of British Columbia that their provincial disqualification should be incorporated into the Act and become a Dominion disqualification.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I did not say that.

Mr. McMASTER: That is what it entails.

Mr. GUTHRIE: The statute is based upon the provincial franchise.

Mr. McMASTER: Who asked for this legislation? This was not in the legislation brought up last year.

Mr. GUTHRIE: It should have been but it was overlooked.

Mr. McMASTER: Who brought it to the attention of the minister?

Mr. BUREAU: The hon. gentleman (Mr. Stevens) sitting behind him?

Mr. GUTHRIE: No.

Mr. McMASTER: I am not going to say the desire is wrong. I do not know suffi-

cient about the problems of British Columbia to speak with conviction about the subject, but the clearest and most convincing argument should be made to this House, composed of British subjects, why our fellow British subjects coming from India, many of whom have fought and bled for the principles of democracy and humanity, if they are allowed to come into this country, should not have the rights of citizenship.

Mr. STEVENS: My hon. friend (Mr. McMaster) has opened up a question that, I am quite certain, the House does not desire to enter into any lengthy discussion of to-day. This Bill does not precipitate necessarily a discussion of the Oriental immigration problem. We simply find that this is a Bill for the purpose of preserving to the electorate of British Columbia the same rights as have already been accorded to all the other provinces. The Franchise Bill which was passed last session did, in its terms, discriminate against British Columbia; that is to say, it did not recognize in all its terms the franchises of all the provinces. This Bill was introduced for the purpose of overcoming that technical oversight. My hon. friend challenges the Bill on the broad and general grounds of the great question of Oriental immigration. A great many members of the House know my views on that question, I have given them to the House on more than one occasion. But we have endeavoured in recent years to avoid controversial questions of a peculiarly provincial character in this House.

Let me, however, in one or two sentences, point out some justification, not for this Act, but for the Provincial Franchise Act. My hon. friend says that he desires to be fair, that he does not want to be extreme, that he wants to be moderate. What did he do? He proceeded to pick out an individual, as he described him, born in India, who had gone to England, studied in the University of Oxford, graduated, and then come to British Columbia. That individual was denied the vote. I do not know that there is such an individual in British Columbia. I do know that within one or two months, under the Government headed by his party, 7,000 Hindu coolies landed in British Columbia and precipitated this problem. If 7,000 coolies from any Oriental country landed in Montreal in a month or two it would also precipitate a problem.

Mr. McMASTER: I made it a point to say that I expressed no opinion as to the desirability or undesirability of allowing people of eastern races to come into our country. The point I was trying to get at was that once having allowed them in, a very strong argument ought to be adduced to show why they should not have the right to vote.

Mr. STEVENS: My hon. friend stated in exceedingly emphatic terms that it was up to somebody, inferentially the Solicitor General, to make clear to this House why this provision should be made. He said that he knew nothing about the problem, and then proceeded to lay down certain very extraordinary reasons and to cite an example which is of a most extreme character. I was trying to show you, when the hon. gentleman persisted in interrupting me in his usual manner, what is the average, general situation, not citing some isolated, individual case which does not exist at all as far as I know. The hon. gentleman confuses another thing. He says that a man who happens to be the subject of His Majesty in India should have the full rights of citizenship in Canada. Without labouring the question, or without any extended argument, let me submit to you, Mr. Speaker, and to the House, this argument. Out of the 400,000,000, or to be more exact, 340,000,000 people of India, up to the present time, there have only been 12,000,000 living under anything like a representative form of Government. In places such as Rangoon, Calcutta and Bombay, the people live under councils half elected and half appointed. That is the extent of the representative Government and of the citizenship, as we understand it, that they enjoy in India. I do not say whether that system is good, bad or indifferent. The hon. gentleman has asked that we should extend to a person claiming the protection of the British flag in some other part of the globe full rights of citizenship in Canada. That is only one phase of the question.

Then we come to the Oriental races. There came into British Columbia in years gone by tens of thousands of orientals of different races. Without questioning the type of civilization under which these races live, there is one outstanding fact present beyond all peradventure, and if the hon. gentleman who precipitated this discussion has the faintest acquaintance with the problem at all he will know that in no occidental country do these orientals assimilate.

As far as Canada is concerned, British Columbia has had to bear the brunt of this problem. In that province it has been proven for fifty years, and in California for

a great deal longer, that even the children born in the country do not assimilate, and that there is great difficulty in bringing Oriental people into acceptance of the common ordinary practices and conditions of our people. Now then, these tens of thousands of people come to this continent and all over the country, in the United States as well as in Canada, and you have this result— a Chinatown springs into existence or some section which is set apart for these people, not set apart by statute or by regulation, but by mutual consent and arrangement. So these Orientals hive, taking no interest in the affairs of the country, with very few exceptions perhaps. It has been found by experience—an experience covering from thirty to forty years and over in British Columbia, where the people have been actually face to face with the problem—that it is advisable that these people shall not have the franchise. Now all that is asked is that this Parliament shall respect the franchise law of British Columbia as it respects the franchise law of any other province.

Mr. BUREAU: Hear, hear, but say so in the Bill.

Mr. STEVENS: The suggestion is made that because there is a race problem in British Columbia this Bill shall so state it. My hon. friend from Three Rivers, who was Solicitor General to the preceding Government, will agree with me when I enunciate this principle which has been accepted by all, that Dominion or federal legislation should never be localized—that is, it should have a general application to the whole country. That is a sound principle of parliamentary procedure, and I am sure the hon. gentleman will never disagree with it. Furthermore, he will at once agree with me when I say that it is exceedingly undesirable to establish the precedent of designating in a Bill that such a provision shall be applicable to one province.

I have another reason why I think this Bill should pass, and it is this. The Solicitor General, who has undoubtedly given considerable attention to this matter, advises the House that he does not know of any further province to which this particular Bill would apply; but if my memory serves me right—I do not profess to speak with authority—the province of Saskatchewan has in force some regulation referring to Orientals in connection with its Franchise Act. Now I think it is desirable that provincial rights should be protected without necessarily looking through all the provincial statutes and ascertaining the exact provisions of those statutes. It was not my intention, nor is it my desire, to precipitate a discussion on the old Oriental question. If it were desirable I could make out a very strong and a very good case for my constituents and friends in British Columbia; but I simply rest my case on this: it is desirable that if the Act passed last session was found to be faulty, it should be amended, and no injustice should be done to any other part of the Dominion, whether British Columbia or any other province.

Mr. LEMIEUX: As a matter of principle I adhere to the idea that provincial legislation as regards the franchise should be respected, but on broader issues—speaking as a Liberal, and speaking only for myself—I must say that I protest against the statements made by the hon. gentleman when he seems to disparage the status of the Hindus, the Chinamen, or the Japanese in this or any other country. As a Liberal I protest against the idea that these men should be treated differently from other men. In the first place, all men are born equal, and once you open the gates of your country to the foreigner—and especially the friendly foreigner—as the Japanese and the Hindus are—you ought to treat him as a British subject is treated within the British Empire. My hon. friend always seems to regard with a patronizing air the Oriental races. The Chinaman who comes to Canada is subjected to a very heavy head tax of $500, if I mistake not. The Japanese only come here in certain numbers specified in a treaty, or in an arrangement, which has been respected by both Japan and Canada ever since it was made. Let me tell my hon. friend, as one who has been in Japan, that the Japanese race, a race which is friendly to the British Empire, is up-to-date and highly cultured and civilized. There are in Japan elementary schools, high schools and universities which would stand comparison with similar institutions on the continent of America; and if my hon. friend thinks that because there are many of those Japanese in a narrow fringe of territory on the Pacific ocean, and that consequently there are slum conditions existing in the large centres there, let me tell him as a Canadian who has some knowledge of municipal conditions in Canada and in America generally, that there is no cleaner race in the world than the Japanese race, and there are perhaps more slums in the large centres of Canada and in the United States

than there are in Japan. My hon. friend, speaking of those races, flaunts in their faces that they should not enjoy the privileges of the franchise. It is a poor compliment to pay to the Empire of Japan when we know that the Japanese were our faithful allies during this war, and that especially during the first month after the outbreak of hostilities they had to protect the Pacific coast of Canada with their navy. As regards the Hindus, my hon. friend I am sure rejoices in the privilege of being an imperialist of imperialists, and we know what the motto of the imperialist is: one king, one flag, one throne, and one empire. Now when the Hindus who fought during this war and who belong to the great British Empire came to Canada, we know what reception they had in British Columbia in the early stage of the struggle.

An hon. MEMBER: India is a member of the League of Nations.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Yes, my hon. friend states that they are now, according to the interpretation of the Treaty of Peace, members of the League of Nations. But they are British subjects, and, as British subjects, should they be debarred from the right to exercise the franchise under the British flag? What is the cause of the rebellious spirit that to-day exists in certain parts of India; what is at the root of the agitation against the British authorities there? Does my hon. friend know?

Mr. BURNHAM: Difference of race.

Mr. LEMIEUX: It is precisely because of the treatment accorded to the Hindus, who are just as much British as my hon. friend from Peterboro is a British subject. They are treated as an inferior race in such parts of the British Empire as Canada, and especially in British Columbia. That is at the root of the whole trouble. When one has had the privilege of meeting those Hindus not only in the army, where they have served gallantly, but at Cambridge and Oxford, at the Privy Council, at the Bar, and in the British House of Commons, one is surprised indeed at the lofty air assumed by certain "Colonials" when they speak of their "fellow British subjects of India."

In British Columbia, so far as I am aware, the Chinaman is the only one who will accept menial occupations, and I know that those who raised the anti-racial cry against the Oriental races in British Columbia were the first to utilize the services of Chinamen and other Orientals; and you will not speak, Mr. Chairman, to any member from British Columbia on this question of Oriental labour who will not have to admit that he and his fellow-members are thanking God every day that they have Chinese domestics and Oriental labour generally in that province. Speaking as a Liberal, and speaking only for myself—I do not wish to commit any one to my own opinions—I say that these men, especially the Japanese, who are a highly intelligent race, should have the right to exercise the franchise; and it goes without saying that a fellow-British subject like the Hindu should also have a like right.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall clause 1 carry?

Mr. BUREAU: No, Mr. Chairman. I think it was understood with the Solicitor General that if we are not going to limit this to British Columbia the word "race" ought to be alone there, the sentence then reading "in respect of race such person shall not be qualified."

Mr. GUTHRIE: I have no objection to the words "age or" being struck out. I therefore move:

That the words "age or" at the end of the eighth line and the beginning of the ninth line of Clause 1 be struck out.

Mr. McKENZIE: I wish to assure the Solicitor General that I listened with a great deal of satisfaction to the first part of his speech when he quoted the old election law of Canada, that is, the law before the War-time Elections Act, and made that the basis of his amendment and gave it as the reason why the rights of the provinces should be recognized in saying who should and who should not vote. There is a great deal of force in saying that the same class of people qualified to vote in municipal and provincial elections shall also vote in Dominion elections, because it is the same class of people and the same Government of the same people in different forms. A man who votes in the city of Vancouver for his city government has the right to vote for the Provincial Government and also for the Dominion Government. I am not at all getting into conflict with what was said on this side of the House as to what should be done to the stranger who comes into the country; but I do say that the principle is right, that the provinces should have something to say about the franchise, and that we should follow that principle in future as we have followed it in the past.

At Confederation, of course, the British North America Act provided that we should adopt the local franchise until this legislature should provide otherwise. We ran along under the provincial franchise until

1885, and in the election of 1887 we had for the first time a different franchise and what were known as Revising Barristers. It was a very cumbersome, expensive and unsatisfactory piece of machinery, and without any objection at all, I believe, from the Conservative party it was repealed in 1898, when we went back again to the provincial franchise, and that continued to be the law without any murmur and without any exception until the extraordinary, and possibly one might say the iniquitous Wartime Elections Act was enacted in 1917, which broke into what was regarded as the proper principle underlying the franchise. That principle is revived to-day by the Solicitor General, and in this amendment we are going to base our ideas henceforth upon what is the old law, and he quotes that law.

Next session, I understand, it is the intention that a general Franchise Bill shall be brought down, and I would like to know from the leader of the Government, as well as from the Solicitor General, if it is the intention of the Government to act upon the principle of the law which he has laid down to-day in regard to that Franchise Bill. Next session is not so far away as to justify the Government in not telling us their ideas in that regard. If they intend to go back to the sound principle enunciated to-day I shall hail with delight their return to those democratic principles which have been so acceptable in this country for many years; but if this principle, as has been stated on this side of the House, is only to be utilized while it suits the Government for a specific case, I would not be in favour of it.

Section as amended agreed to.

On the title:

Mr. McKENZIE: I rather think that the hon. gentleman who is leading the Government (Mr. Doherty) was in a mood to give us his views on this question of the franchise. I should be pleased to hear from him.

Mr. DOHERTY: I was reflecting very seriously on the wise words with which the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) had favoured us upon the question of this very important principle. What he said deserves more mature consideration than could be given to it in the moment or two during which he was putting his question, and before arriving at a conclusion we would like an opportunity of giving that mature consideration to what he said.

Title agreed to.

Bill reported.

NATURALIZATION ACT, 1919, AMENDMENT.

On motion of Hon. Hugh Guthrie (Solicitor General), Bill No. 14, to amend the Naturalization Act, 1919, was read the second time, and the House went into committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Section 20 of the Naturalization Act passed at the last session provided as follows:

> An alien desiring to be naturalized shall apply for a decision establishing that he is qualified and fit to be naturalized under the provisions of this Act to any judge of any Superior Court, or to any judge of any Circuit, District or County Court, and in the North West Territories to such authorities or persons as the Governor in Council may prescribe.

It is to be noted that in the enumeration of the courts to which applicants may apply for naturalization, the long-established Court of General Sessions of the Peace of Ontario has been omitted. I suppose for the last fifty or sixty years in Ontario nearly all applications for naturalization have been made to the Court of General Sessions of the Peace. The clerk of that court is the clerk of the peace, but he is not the clerk of the county court. The clerk of the peace in practically all the country districts is the Crown attorney, who has for many years been in the habit of receiving and dealing with these applications. I do not think it was the intention to deprive him of that function or of the simple fee that usually accompanies such applications. On the other hand, the County Court is enumerated in the Act, but the clerk of that court has not been in the habit of receiving applications for naturalization. This proposed legislation, therefore, is simply to include in the enumeration of the courts in Ontario the Court of General Sessions of the Peace.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have no objection to including the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for Ontario, but I wish to point out that we have similar courts in Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec city.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I see no objection to including the province of Quebec.

Mr. DOHERTY: In our province, I think, the matter has always been dealt with by the Circuit Court.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have quite often seen applications of this kind go to the Court of Sessions of the Peace.

Mr. DOHERTY: I do not speak positively, but if the law permitted such applicants in the province of Quebec to go elsewhere than to the Circuit Court, I am under the impression that the law has been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. To include Quebec would be introducing an absolutely new thing so far as that province is concerned, whereas what is sought to be done in respect of Ontario is to correct a mistake the result of which has been to pass this matter to a court which has never exercised jurisdiction in that regard. If we include in the Act the Court of Sessions of Quebec, we create in that province exactly the situation which was created in Ontario and which this Bill seeks to correct. I confess I am at a loss to see what advantage there would be in transmitting this matter—which is simply a matter of hearing evidence to show that a man possesses the qualifications of naturalization—from a civil court to a court which deals primarily with questions of criminal law. In Ontario, however, the advantage gained is that of putting the matter back where it always was until, through an oversight, the Court of General Sessions was omitted when the new Naturalization Act was passed.

Mr. LEMIEUX: One of the advantages of including the Court of Sessions of the province of Quebec—possibly the chief advantage—would be to secure a fairer distribution of the work. My hon. friend, who was a judge in Montreal for many years, knows that the Circuit Court judges there are overwhelmed with judicial work. If the jurisdiction in such cases were extended to the judges of the Court of Sessions, the work in connection with naturalization applications would be more fairly distributed.

Mr. BUREAU: Before these amendments were made the Circuit Court had jurisdiction in such matters; to-day it is the Superior Court. But, so far as the province of Quebec is concerned—that is, outside of Montreal, where we have Circuit Court judges—the Circuit Court and Superior Court judges are the same. I can see one advantage to be gained by making this change. I have been begging the Minister of Justice to increase the salaries of our judges in rural districts, who are overloaded with work. The judges of the Superior Court of the province of Quebec, who, except in Montreal, are also judges of the Circuit Court, go outside of districts wherein their particular courts are located and sit in the Court of Review. If an applicant comes there to be examined and to secure a certificate from the judge, he always finds the judge of the Sessions de la Paix in his office every morning, year in and year out. This has the advantage of having a man always at his post to take the case and consider it and give a certificate. As the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) says, it relieves the other judges who are overworked. It is a court of record.

Mr. DOHERTY: The matter deserves consideration. For instance, are we going to have a situation in which every man who wants to be naturalized will have to present himself before a court sitting as a criminal court? There seems to be something incongruous about giving this matter, which is in no way analogous to a criminal matter—

Mr. BUREAU: This is not exclusively a criminal court.

Mr. DOHERTY: I do not know what it may be in the rural districts, but according to my experience in the district of Montreal, the court of sessions has been a court exercising exclusively criminal jurisdiction. It would be a very unfortunate thing that every man who wants naturalization should have to appear before the bar of a criminal court.

Mr. BUREAU: It is the same in the circuit courts down in the rural districts. The criminal judges sit—

Mr. DOHERTY: They sit and hold the court of King's Bench, of course, but the office of their court is a civil court; the clerk of their court is a clerk of the civil court; the whole matter is handled by a court of civil jurisdiction. I do not think that the quantity of work that is entailed can be very excessive. As to finding a man always at his post, if I am not mistaken, the procedure is not one under which an applicant presents himself there one day and says: Now I want to be heard about my naturalization.

Mr. BUREAU: Notice has to be given.

Mr. DOHERTY: He has to file an application; then notice has to be hung up, and no doubt a day is fixed when a judge of the

circuit court is there to hear such applications. While I am not prepared to say offhand that there might not be some advantage, I think it is more desirable that if there be any advantage in this—and I am quite willing to consider the question—we should deal with it as a substantial matter by itself. I do not think that just incidentally to a Bill of this kind, without having given the matter further thought,—and when we come before the House simply as I said in an endeavour to correct a mistake by which the jurisdiction was changed in Ontario—we should take up a question in committee this afternoon and change the jurisdiction that, so far as my memory goes, has existed from time immemorial in Quebec.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I quite agree with my hon. friend that we should not, for the pleasure of adding the name of the province of Quebec, alter the Bill. My only point was that I thought that, speaking for the district of Montreal, the judges of the Superior Court and Circuit Court are so busy that proper distribution of the work should be made. My hon. friend may imagine what it means for a judge in Montreal during the term, sitting in a case of importance, to have to adjourn that case or to postpone the hearing of witnesses in order to look after this purely ministerial work. If my hon. friend finds something in my suggestion, I would ask him to think of it, because they have all the officers of the Crown at the Court of Sessions of the Peace, and with the small fee given, I am quite sure that they would see that those cases are channelled towards the sessions of the Peace, thus relieving the judges of the Superior Court in Montreal who are already overtaxed.

Mr. DOHERTY: In Montreal, the judges of the Superior Court are not, I understand, troubled with these applications, which are made to the Circuit Court. There was a time when I used to hear a great deal of complaint about the overwork of the Circuit Court, but—I do not know whether the salve that was applied, which was not in the direction of taking away jurisdiction, but rather in that of conferring remuneration, had anything to do with the matter or not,—I have not, for quite some time, heard any complaint or suggestion that the judges of the Circuit Court are at present overworked, and they have carried on that work as I have said, from time immemorial. I shall, however, be very glad to make inquiry into the situation.

[Mr. Doherty.]

Mr. BUREAU: Montreal is a special place; it is the only district in the province where there are circuit judges.

Mr. DOHERTY: I do not think it can be said that in our rural districts generally the judges of the Superior Court who also hold the Circuit Court are overburdened with work. I understand that the work in the district which the hon. gentleman has in mind has very much increased of recent years, but taking the average rural district where the judge of the Superior Court holds the Circuit Court, I think we would all agree that they can hardly be described as being overworked. There is also to be considered the fact that I am not sure that in most of the rural districts you will find a court answering to the name of Court of Sessions. That is doubtful, although I do not want to speak positively. Most of that work is done by stipendiary magistrates. Before we proceed to make the change, the conditions should be looked into, and I will make inquiries.

5 p.m.

Mr. BUREAU: Since the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) has spoken about the district I have in mind, I am going to name it. I have in mind the district of Three Rivers. My hon. friend laughs. He knows that the district of Three Rivers is just undergoing a period of development unique in the Dominion of Canada, and it is the place where applications for naturalization are being made every day by Americans and Norwegians, who are manufacturing pulp and paper. We are getting more applications for naturalization in that district than in any other district that I know of just now, with the exception, perhaps, of the West, into which farmers are flocking. We have a Court of General Sessions of the Peace which has time to look into the applications, pass upon them and issue certificates. Since the minister is going to take this question into consideration, I make a special plea for Three Rivers on that ground, and I think my plea ought to be granted.

Mr. DOHERTY: I will certainly look into it, and I want to make it clear that my laughing did not imply any reflection on Three Rivers, but was because my hon. friend thought it necessary to tell me what district he had in mind. I understand, with the devotion to his duties which characterizes him, he always has Three Rivers in mind.

Section agreed to.

On section 2—to be construed with Dominion By-Elections Act.

Mr. LEMIEUX: This clause reads:

—shall be deemed to have come into force and operation on the 7th day of July, 1919.

Have applications been made and received since?

Mr. GUTHRIE: We are dating it back to the date at which the main Act was assented to, because I understand that in many of the counties of Ontario clerks of the peace have been receiving applications, not knowing of the change in the law. This is notably the case in the city of Ottawa.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported, read the third time and passed.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by asterisks).

MILITARY DEFAULTERS IN QUEBEC.

Mr. BROUILLARD:

1. How many military defaulters have been brought before the civil courts of justice in the province of Quebec from the 1st of November, 1918, to the 1st of September, 1919?
2. What is the amount of fines paid by these defaulters during the said period of time, and the amount of costs paid by them?
3. What was the total sum expended by the Government in connection with the arrests, transportation of the defaulters and the officers or agents who made the arrests, and also, the amount disbursed for expense and fees in connection with the trials of the said defaulters.
4. Did the Government pay out any bonuses or remit a portion of the fines to the officers or agents who made the arrests of the said defaulters? If so, what was the amount of bonus paid or portion of fine remitted during the above mentioned period?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. The total number of M.S.A. defaulters apprehended and prosecuted in the province of Quebec is 4,155.
2. $185,295 in fines. No record of court costs.
3. $158,920.50.
4. No.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 5.15 p.m.

Monday, September 29, 1919.

The Speaker took the Chair at Three o'clock.

FIRST READING.

Bill No. 16, respecting The North Empire Fire Insurance Company.—Mr. Blake.

SOLDIERS' CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT ACT AMENDMENT.

SECOND REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

Hon. J. A. CALDER presented the second report of the special committee on Bill No. 10 to amend the department of Soldiers Civil Re-Establishment Act as follows:

The Special Committee on Bill No. 10, an Act to amend the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Act beg leave to present the following as their second report: Your committee recommend that their quorum be reduced from eleven to eight members.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Calder the report was concurred in.

Mr. CALDER moved:

That the name of Mr. McGregor be substituted for that of Mr. Tremain on the special committee on Bill No. 10, an Act to amend the Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Act.

He said: Mr. Tremain has been obliged to be absent some time and he is not able to attend the sittings of the committee. It is suggested that Mr. McGregor should take his place.

Mr. SPEAKER: This motion can only be entertained by unanimous leave of the House.

Mr. McKENZIE: Might I ask the minister when we may hope to get a final report from this committee? Are they making good progress and is the end in sight?

Mr. CALDER: The end is not in sight as yet. We are sitting practically every day two or three times a day but there is a great deal of ground to be covered. I should think that by the end of this week we would begin to see daylight, although daylight is not in sight yet.

Motion agreed to.

REPORTS AND PAPERS.

Report of Dominion Bureau of Statistics on lumber, lath and shingles.—Sir George Foster.

Report of the Superintendent of Insurance for the year ended December 31, 1918. —Hon. A. K. Maclean.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by asterisks.)

PURCHASING BOARD.

Mr. PELLETIER:

1. Did the Government Purchasing Board call for tenders in the months of May, June and

July, 1919, respecting supplies of cedar timbers and fence posts for the use of railways?

2. If so, whose tenders were accepted, and what were the prices submitted for the different grades of timber therein mentioned?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. No. Purchases for the Government Railways do not come within the duties of the War Purchasing Commission.

2. Answered by No. 1.

FIBRE FLAX PRODUCTION.

Mr. GLASS:

1. Pursuant to the recommendations made in the discussion in this House on the 16th April last re fibre flax production in Canada and the opinion then expressed by the Minister of Agriculture as to the importance of cleaning, standardizing, branding and marketing of Canadian flax fibre seed, what action, if any, has been taken by the Government to this end?

2. It is said that fifty per cent of the total acreage in Great Britain and Ireland sown to flax fibre in the year 1919 was seeded with Canadian fibre seed. In view of this and the need of securing a future permanent market for our exportable surplus of flax fibre seed, have any steps been taken by the Government to ascertain the relative results obtained from use of this seed compared with results likewise obtained with:—

1st. Dutch (White flowering) seed.
2nd. Yorkshire seed.
3rd. French seed.
4th. Irish seed.
5th. Russian (Perneau Crown) seed.

3. Has the Government received from the British Government or from any one authorized by such Government or from any other Government, inquiries or request having for their objects the conservation or securing of the 1919 crop of Canadian flax fibre seed or any portion thereof? If so, what steps have been taken, or are in contemplation concerning same?

4. With a view to establishing a permanent future market for exportable surplus of Canaian flax fibre, has the Government given serious consideration to the need of standardization and grading our fibre? If so, what measures have been adopted? If not, does the Government contemplate action in this direction?

5. Has the Government prchased for their equipment in their experimental flax station at the Experimental Farm, Ottawa, a new modern scutching machine? If so, has the machine been installed, and what results have been obtained in its operation?

Hon. Mr. CALDER:

1. In order to safeguard Canadian export trade of fibre flax seed with Ireland, through the maintenance of a uniform standard in cleaning, inspecting and branding, the Department of Agriculture had made provision for the inspection and grading of the 1919 fibre flax crop. The attached circular which was sent to the Ontario Fibre Flax Seed Producers by the Fibre Division of the Experimental Farms Branch of the Department of Agriculture will give full particulars as to the methods to be followed in the inspection and grading of the 1919 crop.

2. The Department of Agriculture is making every effort to ascertain the relative results obtained from the use of Canadian Fibre Flax Seed in Ireland as compared with results likewise obtained with other varieties of fibre flax seed sown in Ireland.

3. No.

4. Arrangements have been made to start a grading system at the commencement of the present scutching season, with a view to establishing grades for flax fibre and tow. A circular entitled "Notes on flax scutching and grading" has been prepared and distributed to all growers and mill-owners. A copy of this circular is attached hereto. As soon as scutching operations are under way, it is proposed to send the Flax Expert of the Department of Agriculture to visit each mill and personally set and supervise the grading of flax fibre and tow.

5. A new modern scutching machine has been purchased by the Department of Agriculture from the Fibre Corporation, Ltd., 40 Frederick St., Belfast, Ireland, and has arrived at the Central Experimental Farm, Ottawa. This machine is now being assembled and it is hoped to have it working in about ten days' time.

DEPORTATION OF ALIENS.

Mr. CASGRAIN:

Is it the intention of the Government to introduce legislation in order to deport to or repatriate in their country of origin subjects of enemy nationality at present in asylums or penitentiaries in this country?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: The intention of the Government will be disclosed at the proper time.

CLAIMS OF CANADIAN CONTRACTORS AGAINST U.S. GOVERNMENT.

* Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:

1. Is the Government aware that the War Secretary of the United States, Newton D. Baker, has appointed two American officers, called Assessors for the Canadian contracts, to sit on the Imperial Board of Munitions and concur in the decisions of the said Board, in the settlement of the claims of Canadian contractors with the Government of the United States?

2. Is the Government aware of the predicament of the Canadian contractors, by the fact that about $15,000,000 of these claims consisting in disbursements and damages is not paid to them although the Board of Imperial Munitions has declared and judged these claims to be just and reasonable, the recommendation of payment being stopped, because the American officers do not concur in the award of the Imperial Board of Munitions, and would like to settle with the Canadian contractors at 50 per cent discount?

3. Is the Government aware of the fact, that notwithstanding that the offer of the Amerlean officers is found unjust and unreasonable, the Imperial Board of Munitions refuses to come to the aid of the Canadian contractors in giving their decision to the Secretary of War of the United States, and for some unexplainable reason, they advise the Canadian contractors to accept the offer of the American officers?

4. Is the Government aware that the large amount of $15,000,000 which is kept back since nearly 11 months is equivalent to a loan to the United States, and that its unjust retention threatens to ruin certain Canadian industries?

5. Is it the intention of the Government, in view of these facts to leave their constituents at the mercy of these two American officers, or are they not of the opinion that they should intervene immediately to the Imperial Board of Munitions to force them to protect the Canadian contractors and to report forthwith their decision to the Secretary of the War, Baker?

Mr. SPEAKER: With respect to this question, I wish to direct the attention of the House to the fact that this question goes far beyond rule 37 and also the practice that has heretofore obtained. It is only open to make assertions of fact in a question sufficient to enable the basis to be laid for the answer. This question, in so far as statements of fact are concerned, goes very much farther than that. It also, in effect, introduces opinions and arguments in a way which properly cannot be done in the case of a question. In these circumstances I would ask that the question be dropped. The hon. member can later so revise it as to bring it within the rules.

Question No. 21 dropped.

P. O. SAVINGS BANKS.

Mr. P. R. McGIBBON (Argenteuil):

What were the deposits during the last year in the Post Office Savings Bank of Canada?

Mr. DOHERTY: $12,593,190.06.

CANSO HARBOUR MASTER.

Mr. J. A. ROBB (for Mr. J. H. Sinclair) moved:

For a copy of all correspondence and other papers and documents in the possession of the Government or of the Civil Service Commission relating to the appointment of a Harbour Master for the Port of Canso, N.S.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: There is no objection to allowing this motion to pass, but I stated the other day that quite possibly it would be unfair in many cases to produce on the order of the House all documents which might be in the hands of the Civil Service Commission in respect to an appointment to the service. I am not speaking from any personal knowledge, but I think it is quite conceivable that documents might be filed with the commission in response to confidential inquiries made by itself as to applicants for office which should not be brought down to Parliament. In assenting to this motion I would like to make the reservation that in all cases possibly the House should not accede to a general motion of this kind.

Motion agreed to.

UNOPPOSED MOTIONS FOR PAPERS.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:

For a return showing the cost of the Military hospital at Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue; the number of patients received and treated therein, to date; expenses to date for maintenance as to (a) coal; (b) wood; (c) electricity; (d) food; (e) lingerie; (f) remedies; (g) social events and recreations; the cost of theatre installed in hospital; names of physicians, officers, nurses, and privates of the general services, showing those who went to the front, and those who did not; their nationality and religion; salaries paid to each of the said persons; and the names and salaries of the chaplains attached to hospital.

Mr. PARENT:

For a copy of all telegrams, letters, contracts, and plans, passed between the Commission of the Trancontinental Railway, or the Government of the city of Quebec, the different transport companies, the Harbour Commission of Quebec or any other persons, corporations or companies, from 1910 to date, concerning the construction of a railway station at the Champlain Market in the city of Quebec, also the construction, in the said city, of wharves, docks, elevators to facilitate the transport of grain from the West, via the port of Quebec.

Mr. PARENT:

For a copy of all letters, plans, and contracts between the Government or the Commission of the Transcontinental and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, concerning (a) the construction, by this Company, of a railway station at "the Palais" in the city of Quebec; (b) the conditions of exploitations of the said station by the Transcontinental Railway Company or by the National Railways, and also any Orders in Council in this connection.

Mr. PARENT:

For a copy of all documents, letters, and plans, exchanged between the Government and any person, commission or company concerning the construction, in the city of Quebec or in the suburbs, of a tunnel to facilitate the entrance of the Transcontinental or of any other company in the said city.

Mr. PARENT:

For a copy of all documents, letters, and plans, submitted by the Harbour Commission of Quebec since 1910 to date, concerning the construction of wharves, docks, elevators, cold storage, terminal facilities in the port of Quebec, for the transport by land and water.

Mr. PARENT:

For a copy of all documents, letters and plans passed between the Government and the city of Quebec or any other corporation or

construction and transport company or any other person, concerning the construction or non-construction of a dam on the St. Charles river, in the city of Quebec.

Mr. BROUILLARD:

For a copy of all telegrams, letters and other correspondence and documents exchanged between Mr. Boulay, ex-M.P., and the Post Office Department in connection with the Sayabec Post Office and the Sayabec Station Post Office.

CANADIAN CASUALTIES IN CERTAIN BATTLES.

MOTION BY SIR SAM HUGHES DEALING WITH CANADA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR.

Lieut.-General Sir SAM HUGHES moved:

For a return showing: (a) The Canadian Casualties by battalions and other subordinate units in each of the battles, St. Julien, Festubert, Givenchy, Zillebeke, Vimy Ridge, Parvilliers (or Fouquescourt), Passchendaele, Arras, Drocourt-Queant, Cambrai, Mons. (b) The strength of each battalion or unit immediately before entering action at the said battles, respectively. (c) The respective number of reinforcements added to each said battalion and unit during the fighting at each of the said battles. (d) The respective strength of each said battalion and unit on coming out of the fight at each of the said battles. (e) The plans and conduct of each action, including incidents and events leading up to, as well as bearing on each.

He said: When I left the Government in November, 1916, I had two courses open to me to pursue; one, in defiance of the well-established custom, to attack the Government, and to attack any measure they might introduce which I did not conceive to be in the interest of the service or of the country, and the other, to pursue a passive course, assisting the Government in every legitimate way I could, in the meantime withholding any criticism I might want to make until a later period. I might have been more or less vindictive towards a couple of my colleagues, but I chose to give them a friendly support in any way I could in reference to matters concerning their departments.

I could have given rein to ambition, Sir, and have exposed the Military Service Act, the registration fad, the Food Control scheme, and various other operations of the Government that certainly gave one opportunity to criticise if necessary. But, Sir, I checked my ambition and loyally assisted these gentlemen in any suggestion they had to make to me. I could have gone in for personal glory, or I could have sharply criticised the operations and administration here, in England and at the front; but whether it was the Minister of Militia, the Minister of Naval Service, or any other ministers in the Government, anything I could do to help them in a quiet way was done, and my criticisms were confined, as far as possible, to legitimate action. I could also have exposed the outrageous loans and bad financing of the Government; but I contented myself with following the same line in regard to these matters. Everything was made subordinate to winning the war. I did make suggestions to my predecessor, as I say, but everything of that nature had for its object the interests of the people of Canada. When the Military Service Act was brought forward I spoke to the Minister of Justice and endeavoured to point out to him that the tribunals were just loopholes for having certain people escape service. I pointed out the weaknesses of that Act in as kindly terms as I could, but I regret to say my suggestions were not much heeded. The Minister of Militia will bear me out in saying that in any communication I may have had with the Prime Minister referring to anything at the front and which was of interest to Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, General Currie, or any of the other officers, I invariably marked my communication as open to their consideration and sent each a copy. The same with General Turner. But now the war is over, Sir, I owe allegiance only to the constituents who for thirty years have loyally stood by me in political matters. Union Government has made no change in the principles of the old Liberal-Conservative party of Sir John A. Macdonald. I have been carefully studying all the acts of the Unionist Government and I can see no acts worthy of consideration that were not embodied in the principles of the old Liberal-Conservative party of Sir John A. Macdonald many years ago, and therefore I have loyally stood by those principles and quietly submitted to actions with which I could not agree. But others have not been so considerate in regard to me. I have seen my war plans set aside; I have seen my honour impugned; I have seen my friends in the service treated with injustice bordering on persecution; but worst of all I have seen the gallant four hundred thousand soldiers whom I had raised needlessly shot to pieces. Therefore I do feel keenly in the premises. I have long adopted the motto that next to the honest convictions of my own heart and conscience I value the approval of my honest fellowmen and women. Therefore, knowing the facts; knowing the honest convictions of my own heart and conscience; this review—only a small fraction of the facts that

might be given in detail—is presented to Parliament and the country for the consideration of my fellows.

It is submitted:

1. In full justice to myself and family of whom I am rightfully proud.

2. In justice to my many friends throughout the Dominion of Canada and the world at large.

3. In delayed justice to many a gallant and capable officer and man such as for instance:

Lieut.-General Sir W. E. Turner.

Colonel John A. Currie, M.P.

General Sir John Carson and Colonel Murphy.

To the memories of the splendid fellows resting peacefully beneath the golden lilies of France or the crimson poppies of Belgium.

To the hundreds of thousands of the returned lads and their friends in Canada.

And last, but by no means least, to Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arthur Currie.

Now, Sir, there are variouus forms of calumny and slander. I do not know whether these have been indulged in during the recent war or not, but for the last number of years there has been a propaganda followed. Propaganda! I would like to see a definition of the word. But, Sir, there are various forms of propaganda. For instance, we have found:

1. Indiscriminate praise of others undeserving.

2. Calumny directly against the person concerned.

I have had the full limit of both forms from men whose motives have been most unworthy. The man is a coward, unworthy of association with his fellow-man and woman, who unjustly and deliberately deprecates another:

1. By promulgating what is false concerning him.

2. By boosting others in untrue praise with the object not only of helping the one boosted, but to deprecate the other.

Truth, fair play, justice for all, must be the watchwords. He who wishes more is unworthy the name of soldier; he who deliberately plans for more or accepts more than truth, fair play and justice is a moral leper among the half million gallant Canadians who so heroically did their duty; but he who would wantonly by word or pen, or by silence dishonour the fair name of a comrade by permitting falsehood, misrepresentation or slander in deed or word, active or passive, should occupy the pit of infamy.

Injustice always breeds rebellion:

1. In the person defamed or injured wrongfully.

2. In the person deprived of credit for actions honestly done.

3. In persons who see credit given to one who does not deserve it.

4. In propaganda, camouflage and suppression of the truth to advance untruth and hide the facts in order to advance another.

Mr. Speaker, I understand that Lord Finlay is about to enter the House. Will you be good enough to state how I am to proceed? What I mean is am I now to take my seat, or do you wish me to continue?

Mr. SPEAKER: If it is convenient to the hon. member, he may proceed and I will try not to have him interrupted except at a convenient opportunity.

Sir SAM HUGHES: It is immaterial to me what the form of procedure is, I am ready at any time to defer my remarks.

Now, Sir, I have some interesting data which I propose placing before the House and especially before the country.

Justice is the sheet-anchor of the ship of state of civilization. It is the corner-stone of freedom, liberty and progress. It is the foundation rock upon which humanity rests. My aim was that from the highest to the lowest the certainty should be that each should get even-handed justice.

VISIT OF VISCOUNT FINLAY.

Mr. Speaker suspended the session of the House during pleasure to enable hon. members to meet the Right Honourable Viscount Finlay of Nairn, former Lord Chancellor of England.

After an interval of fifteen minutes the House resumed.

CANADIAN CASUALTIES IN CERTAIN BATTLES.

Sir SAM HUGHES (resuming): Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether my remarks will be very interesting to His Lordship and to the House, but I will pursue the even tenor of my way.

I was speaking about the propaganda which had been instituted concerning my actions and conduct both before the war and during the war. Now, that the war is over, I feel that I am justifying myself in placing these facts before the House and the country in order that a proper review may be had of them.

The propaganda to which I refer was active even before the war began. I do not

wish to impugn the honour of any of the persons concerned in the premises, whom I shall name here as having been influenced directly by German money. But we now know that German gold in vast quantities had been distributed throughout the United States, Great Britain and Canada in order to create a public sentiment adverse to everything like preparation for war or the development of the defences of the country along proper lines. As Minister of Militia, and feeling as a result of my visits to Germany that this war was coming on, it was my duty to prepare the country as quietly as possible for the struggle which I felt was impending. It was therefore more or less unpleasant, Sir, to find myself attacked by various organizations and journals. For instance, one of the most ardent journals in the matter was the Toronto Telegram. I was unkind enough to attribute the influence of that paper to the association of the then Finance Minister (Sir Thomas White) with it. The Toronto Globe was very bitter in its attacks upon my preparations. I never could understand the reason for it. But some years ago I found that the editor-in-chief of the Toronto Globe was receiving fifty per cent or thereabout of his salary—within a fraction of that percentage—from a peace society in the United States, associated with which was Dr. Starr Jordan of the Leland Stanford university of California. Subsequently, it transpired—absolutely unknown to the editor of the Globe, mark you; I have no hesitation in saying that—that peace society was supported by German gold. The people of Canada, myself in particular, were subjected to attacks from that paper because I was making preparations and getting ready for the war. The Montreal Mail and Evening News—established through the instrumentality of the then Finance Minister; at all events, the proprietor of it was a brother of the then Finance Minister—day in and day out attacked my policy, belittled me before the country and belittled my projects. The Winnipeg Telegram and Evening Post, for reasons of its own, also treated me to some consideration in this regard. In clubs, restaurants, prayer-meetings even, and on trains, the propaganda went on, all leading towards the same line—that my policy was wrong; that other lines should be pursued, and that we should not make the progress which we were making.

I regret to say that both Lord Shaughnessy and Sir Joseph Flavelle lent themselves in 1915 and 1916 to the policy of stopping recruiting. I understand that Lord Shaughnessy claimed that the war was going to be over by the 1st of June, 1916, and that the whole agitation to raise troops and send them to the front was a fad of my own and had no foundation in necessity.

I wish to relate an incident that occurred in New York in March, 1916, when I was on my way to Europe to review the Canadian troops. Just as I was starting for the boat, I received a telephone call from one of the leading financiers in the city of New York who told me that under no consideration must I sail; that a conspiracy was afoot to destroy me. Thinking that he meant the German submarine campaign, I jokingly told him that I had arranged with the Kaiser that nothing was to happen to my ship, and that everything was all right. He said that this was a much more serious affair than that; that it was a conspiracy on the part of a couple of my colleagues in Canada to get rid of me. Knowing that I was the bulwark that stood between Sir Robert Borden and some of the conspirators in and out of the party, they had conspired to destroy me in order that they might get rid of Sir Robert Borden also. I immediately notified Sir Robert Borden to this effect and stated that if any controversial matter arose affecting him or myself in any way, I would immediately return to Canada and defend him. I had scarcely got across the Atlantic when, through the instrumentality of certain gentlemen who are now well known, an inquiry was commenced into the fuse contracts. In passing, let me say that no more searching inquiry than that was ever held, and never did men come through an inquiry with a cleaner record than did the gentlemen concerned. Had that Shell Committee been permitted to continue its operations and to enter into similar contracts after the establishment of the Munitions Board, we could have helped them out. Mr. Russell, a protégé, a creditor of the financial interests with which Sir Joseph Flavelle was associated, had, on the first million fuses he took, got a bonus of $675,000 over and above a fair contract price, and, as it was, when he found he could not load them, he got nearly $350,000 more for his first million fuses than did the Northern Electric Light Company of Montreal for an exactly similar contract. The scope, however, of the commission was not extended, although it may be at some future date.

On the evening before I spoke at the Toronto Empire Club in October, 1916, I had the privilege of being waited upon about eleven o'clock at night by a number of

leading Liberal-Conservatives of the city of Toronto. I may inform the House that in the city of Toronto the term " Liberal-Conservative " is still used. These gentlemen explained to me that the reason why they were out so late was because they had had a political meeting and the question had arisen whether the then Minister of Finance (Sir Thomas White) could get a seat in Toronto or not. They said that the meeting had unanimously decided that owing to his unpopularity in the city, he should not be nominated. The next day my staff officer came to me and said: " Something is wrong; last night we were told by these gentlemen that the Finance Minister was so unpopular here that he should not be nominated; now he is in everybody's mouth, it being said that he should become Prime Minister and that Sir Robert Borden, who is a weakling, should go."

I asked him who the gentlemen were who were carrying on the canvass, and in presence of two officers of the institution he pointed out eight men who were openly canvassing against Sir Robert Borden, demanding that the Prime Minister should go and that the Minister of Finance should succeed him. Each one of these gentlemen was associated with one or another of the commercial or financial institutions with which Sir Joseph Flavelle and the Minister of Finance were more or less directly connected. I shall not mention the names of the institutions. They are well known; they are known as the financial group in Toronto that has been manipulating the affairs of this country so long. That was in October, 1916. I notified the Prime Minister of that and gave him the data so that he could verify it.

Then came the Borden-Bennett trip to the West on that national registration scheme, on which a lot of blotting paper and a good deal of money was wasted, but from which nothing resulted. During that trip Sir Joseph could not contain himself any longer, but must make a speech, and notification was given that he was going to make a speech and to drive Borden from the Cabinet. It appears from an article that came out in the Toronto Globe at that time that an effort was made on the part of the Prime Minister to induce Sir Joseph Flavelle to moderate his tone a little until Sir Robert Borden returned and not to come out so flat-footedly as he was reported to be intending to do. The effect of the Toronto Globe article was that a meeting was advertised in the interest of Sir Thomas White, to be held on a Monday evening, the evening that the article appeared, and that there was a charge of conspiracy against the Prime Minister. That meeting was suddenly changed; a startling announcement that was to be made did not materialize, and altogether the matter was more or less of a frost. The Minister of Finance was on the defensive rather than on the offensive, the cause being the exposure in the Globe of that day of the actions of Sir Joseph Flavelle.

Then followed that famous speech of Sir Joseph Flavelle, in which he relegated profits to a warmer climate than we have in Canada at the present time, but which caused people to inquire into the profits he was making on bacon and other commodities with a result which was not very creditable to him. After the Empire Club meeting, when I found this propaganda at work—and it was a revelation to me—I examined the system that I found had been in operation before the war, all through the formation of the Valcartier camp and all through the conduct of operations until the time that I left office, and I found the same friends were directing the show right through. At every meeting at Toronto or elsewhere the propaganda would be at work belittling General Bertram and the Shell Committee. I should like to say at this point as regards the Shell Committee, that when Lord Kitchener asked me to get a couple of hundred thousand shells—a quantity which at the time the war closed could be turned out in a few hours by half a dozen of our institutions—from the Bethlehem steel works, I told him I could get them. But I saw that dinner pails in Canada were not filled; that our men were out of employment; that the country was in danger of becoming bankrupt; and that it was questionable whether we could raise the money to send the first 20,000 men over. I, therefore, decided to make the 200,000 shells in Canada, and we summoned the steel men of the country to Ottawa, with the result that after a time we got them started making these shells, and thus money was brought into the country. For the first time in history we used our own basic steel instead of acid steel. I want to point out two things in connection with the manufacture of these shells. This was the first time that shells had ever been made outside of arsenals; we made them in our factories, and this was the first time that basic steel instead of acid steel was used in the manufacture of shells. The result was that millions, aye, billions of money came into Canada, and if we have prosperity to-day and can float our Victory

Loans, that is due to the fact that those industries were established at that time, and they kept the country prosperous and buoyant. This year some are out of business. Men like Mr. Russell and Mr. Lloyd Harris, who I regret to say is misrepresenting, or, to be parliamentary, is "representing" this country in connection with trade matters at the other side at the present time, were agents who were active in securing the destruction of the Shell Committee which was doing so much to help the Empire in the great struggle which has just closed.

Subsequently to the attempt to squeeze out the Prime Minister, another move was tried. A number of able statesmen in Toronto—I may mention their names, Mr. Rundle, an officer in one of the departments of Sir Joseph Flavelle; Mr. Ames, a financial broker; Mr. Gundy, a little broker, friendly with Sir Joseph Flavelle, and others —came down to Ottawa, where they met Sir Joseph Flavelle on a Sunday morning, and had a conference with him. They then went to visit Sir Wilfrid Laurier at his residence at twelve o'clock, had lunch with him, remained until four o'clock, and then subsequently met some other leaders of the Liberal party. On the following Monday, another meeting was held and it was decided that——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I will just finish my sentence and then I will stop—it was decided that the thing should not go on.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. member that the motion before the House is for a return for the production of certain papers and for the obtaining of certain information, and I hope the hon. member will bring his remarks more closely to bear on the subject before the House.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I think if Your Honour will read the last phrase of my motion you will see I am absolutely in order. I deliberately put that phrase in so that I could talk on the subject. Well, they met on Monday and nothing came of it. The wily old Liberal leader failed to see anything in this offer from these gentlemen to give him the Prime Ministership, let him retain it for nine months and then be put out for Sir Thomas White.

Mr. SPEAKER: I fail to see that even the last portion of the motion has any bearing whatever on the last few sentences of the hon. member's speech. The motion calls for the production of "the plans and conduct of each action, including incidents and events leading up to, as well as bearing on each." These all have reference to certain questions submitted calling for information, and I must again ask the hon. member to bring his remarks more closely to bear on the subject before the House.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: I think he has the unanimous consent of the House.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I do not want to enter into any discussion. My object in all this is to show how I was handicapped and the organization of our forces was handicapped leading up to all these engagements, by the interference and misconduct of certain gentlemen who pursued lines that were not in harmony with those I was pursuing. I may not be a lawyer but I drew the motion up with the intention and expectation that it would give me scope to carry on, and I think I am within the limits. However, I am through with the Canadian end of it, and I will now take up the Old Country end, which has to do with the training of the troops over there.

In 1914 I arrived in England, from New York, on the same day as the troops. I found that the High Commissioner for Canada was there and my presence seemed very objectionable to him. He even went so far as to tell me "You do not pretend to control the troops." The same words were put in the mouth of Lord Kitchener, and when it came to Lord Roberts' inspection of the troops the plan was that he was to go to the inspection without me, but Lord Roberts informed Lord Kitchener that he would not go without me. When we got to the grounds Lord Roberts insisted with General Alderson that I should take a prominent stand in the review. I shall not dilate on this further, except to say that all the actions carried out in connection with the troops were interfered with by press agencies friendly to the High Commissioner's office, and that adverse criticism after adverse criticism, all of which was found to be groundless, was made of the Dominion of Canada.

There is another matter. In October 1914 I had called on Lord Kitchener and asked for the return of all our machine guns which we had loaned him at the beginning of the war, and I also asked him for the return of our field pieces, some sixty or seventy 18-pounders. He said he would be prepared to return them as they had ordered 300 more 18-pounders and 2,500 machine guns. I suggested that instead of that number he should have ordered 30,000 18-pounders and 250,000 machine guns.

I had been requested by Mr. Grant Morden to put him in some office on the other side in connection with our forces where he could help in the development of the service, but I could not see any place to put him then; but this day in conversation with Lord Kitchener I pointed out to him that the aeroplane service was in need of development, and that very little was being done for its development anywhere in the Empire. I told Morden that if he would get the data in connection with the aeroplane service of the country and of Germany I would give him an appointment. I appointed him accordingly to look after the aeroplane service, and I want to say here that it was due to that action alone, as all the English papers now admit, that the great development of the aeroplane service in Great Britain and on the whole western front, which has done so much to win this war, took place.

In connection with the Cellulose matter I spent a good deal of money inquiring into it. I handed it over to Colonel Grant Morden and I understand that he visited Germany. In the following year he was able to lay before the British Government the whole plans, having secured these from the German officials, and to-day the works are going on in Great Britain and they have been of very great service to the Dominion and to the Empire. Colonel Grant Morden is now regarded as a patriot and a hero. He has been returned to Parliament by a large majority, and a judicial committee, appointed at his own demand, has exonerated the entire company from any fraud or scandal in connection with the matter. At that time I never knew that I had any stock in the company. I never knew it until a short time before the inquiry, when I got an offer to sell out for fifteen hundred pounds. I immediately made inquiries and I was informed that I had one thousand shares of £1 for the money I had put in in the early days of the development. I was very much disappointed. I never knew a company had been formed and I thought the money I had put in would have entitled me to a bigger holding of shares. I have been very envious since that I had not much more stock in the company than I have.

The aeroplane service did good work in helping to win the war. Since the address I delivered in this House last year a new aspect of this propaganda has been placed before me. I have seen three different letters of instruction to the newspaper men, and in each of them are the words, "Be sure that Sir Sam is completely overshadowed." That puts a new aspect on the case, and makes me wonder what it all means. I have tried to stand loyally by the Government in helping them on with the war. I played the game as I thought became a man, and yet I find as part of the propaganda these instructions to correspondents, one in Canada, and two in the Old Land, "to be sure and overshadow Sir Sam." In connection with this propaganda I want to point out that the record of the Fourth Division at the front, which gives the history of the formation of the old division, does not even mention my name. The Ontario Government record recently issued showing the deeds done by the people of Ontario and the province does not, I am informed, even mention my name. The Toronto History of the War—I do not know who is getting it out, I haven't seen it—does not mention my name in connection with the war from start to finish, so I am informed. I have known of the influence to keep reports of meetings and of my speeches from the press. That has been very common for a long time, but the articles in defence of Flavelle's bacon always find space in the press under the propaganda rules.

Let me give another instance to show how the formation of the corps was handicapped. I was waited upon one morning by a gentleman whom I had never before seen. He telegraphed me from Buffalo that he urgently wished to see me in connection with the war. When he met me he said he had come to me to ascertain why in all the publicity work under the auspices of the Canadian Government, and by this concern showing the recruiting that had been done in this country for the war, my name and photograph were always left out or besmirched in some way or other; and he asked if the Finance Minister and I were good friends—the gentleman who managed the concern was a relative of the Minister of Finance.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, I regret to have to interrupt the hon. member, but I would direct his attention to the fact that his motion is:

For a return showing: (a) The Canadian casualties by battalions and other subordinate units in each of the battles, St. Julien, Festubert, Givenchy, Zillebeke, Vimy Ridge, Parvilliers (or Fouquescourt), Passchendaele, Arras, Drocourt-Queant, Cambrai, Mons. (b) The strength of each battalion or unit immediately before entering action at the said battles, respectively. (c) The respective number of reinforcements added to each said battalion and unit during the fighting at each of said battles. (d) The respective strength of each said bat-

talion and unit on coming out of the fight at each of the said battles. (e) The plans and conduct of each action, including incidents and events leading up to, as well as bearing on each.

The hon. member will be speaking beside the question in referring to conversations as he evidently purposes doing, and I must ask him to bring his remarks more closely to bear on the subject before the House.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I bow to your ruling, Mr. Speaker, and I will take the proper occasion to tell the story. I do not question your ruling in any sense whatever, Sir. I might point out that when we went over to England our motor lorries were thrown out and a propaganda was carried on there which I shall tell you about. Our wagons were thrown out on the ground, alleged by the officials who were attending to the business, that they could not turn in the narrow roads of France, as the English wagons could, when as a matter of fact an investigation showed that they could turn in three feet nine inches less space than the English wagons and that the Canadian wagons were in every sense better than the English wagons. This was a piece of camouflage, such as they carried on from start to finish, in order that they might reject the things that we sent over there. I could go down through a long list of articles which were all thrown out, on the ground that they wanted uniformity at the front. I had taken the ground that Canada was a unit in herself, exactly the same as Field Marshal Haig was a unit under General Foch. I claimed that our forces were a unit under Haig in this great war. I regret to say that it was only at a later period that I could get any recognition of my contention, not by the British authorities, because Lord Kitchener, Lloyd George and all those prominent statesmen, when the matter was explained to them were prepared to concede it, but from the subordinate officers. These subordinate officers would reject everything we would send over there except our men. They rejected motor lorries, wagons, harness, collars, shovels, belts, rifles, bayonets, boots, clothes, field kitchens, tents, and machine gun batteries.

Later I found that an Order in Council had been surreptitiously passed by the Canadian Cabinet—I was not once consulted about the matter, although I was present at several of the meetings--giving General Alderson full control over the appointment of officers without consultation with any person in Canada or with myself.

[Mr. Speaker.]

I had this immediately altered, and with a view to giving the facts which led up to the passage of this Order, I shall read the correspondence which occurred with Mr. Cubitt, representing the War Department, transmitted through His Royal Highness the Governor General, and my answers in reply thereto, establishing the basis upon which the two forces, the Canadian and the British, should act. I wrote the following memorandum:

Referring to the communication from the Right Honourable Bonar Law to His Royal Highness, the Governor General enclosing the War Office letter from Mr. B. B. Cubitt (L21/overseas/1826 (M.S.I.) concerning appointments and promotions, kindly permit the following. Paragraph 2 states:

Hitherto the promotions of Canadian officers serving with the Expeditionary Force has been approved in this office and published in the London Gazette when recommended by the General Officer Commanding, Canadian Corps, and concurred in by the General Officer Commanding in Chief and the promotion of officers serving at home has similarly been approved on the recommendation of the General Officer Commanding at Shorncliffe. This procedure is in accordance with the arrangement laid down in the approved minute of the Privy Council of Canada, a copy of which was enclosed in your letter of 8th October, 1915, No. 45,889.

That Order in Council was passed, although I was never consulted about it. It was immediately rescinded. My reply to that is this:

When the "approved minute of the Privy Council of Canada" above referred to was passed—and which has since been cancelled there was but one division in the field and it was not anticipated that the war would be prolonged. This accounts for the non-advancement of the principle of the supremacy and constitutional position of Canada in the premises and the lack of uniformity in the system therein authorized.

Paragraph 4 states:

It is observed that one of the effects of the new proposals might be that the appointments and promotions recommended as a result of observation of an individual's value in the field would be subjected to the veto of the Governor of the Dominion in Council on the recommendation of the Minister of Militia who would have no first-hand cognizance of how an officer had behaved under active service conditions.

The expression "veto" in the above paragraph does not seem constitutionally to apply. The authority of the Minister of Militia and Defence, and the Governor of the Dominion in Council are constitutional rights and duties—not "veto."

But it is observed that it was to avoid these very objections and to ensure that promotions and appointments should be made on an even and meritorious basis, and upon reports of those competent and in a position to judge of the fitness or unfitness of the officer that the new rule has been established.

Under the former Order in Council it was found that promotions and appointments of senior officers had been recommended on a

basis other than of merit, and by influences other than "first-hand cognizance of how an officer had behaved under active service conditions.

Moreover, it is observed that the difference between receiving reports in Canada, on officers at the front, and receiving them ten or twenty miles in rear of the line is merely a matter of a few days, with the cumulative advantage in favour of Canada, and with a knowledge for years of the character and qualities of those concerned, as against mere staff and other reports based on influences of various kinds some other than military.

Under the new Order in Council the reports of competent senior officers will have the same consideration and weight as under the former. At the front especially the position will be much more in favour of merit being recognized and of even-handed justice being administered.

I might point out that this was not the case. Junior officers in England were made senior to men who were fighting in the trenches. Officers in Canada, who had never been overseas, were promoted in preference to men at the front.

Under the new Order in Council an even scale of promotions relatively in Canada, in Britain, and at the front for the Canadian Overseas Force will be possible, and full advantage will be received from the many individual authentic and unbiased reports from officers, non-commissioned officers and men in narrative to their friends in Canada, as well as to the minister direct.

There is no intention, as a rule, to depart from the usual routine. For the minor positions, the reports will be accepted exactly as now, subject to any specific adverse report, possibly unknown to those at the front; that is, the company or battalion officers make the recommendations and they pass through the routine channel. The Department of Militia and Defence for Canada is not on record with interference in these.

However, under the former Order in Council there were many irregularities in promotions. For example, junior officers in England were promoted to be the seniors of their former seniors at the Front; and it is found at the Front that officers were appointed who were inferior to those over whom they were placed. In short the promotions of senior officers were, in several instances, assuredly not based on merit or fitness or as "a result of observation of an individual's value in the field," as was pointed out by the Minister of Militia and Defence for Canada and as sad experience has shown.

Concerning promotions and appointments, the Canadian troops in Britain are regarded by the Department of Militia and Defence in the same light as though they had remained in training camps in Canada. Those at the Front are regarded similarly, excepting with the additional great advantage of consideration by the Commander in Chief of the British Forces.

Under the former Order in Council the General Officer commanding Canadians was supreme, and under that rule some unsuitable officers were promoted to high positions and in opposition to the expressed wishes of the Canadian Minister of Militia and Defence.

The new plan is—there should be, as a rule, no interference with subordinate promotions; but for Staff Battalion, Brigade, Divisional or Corps promotions, there should be preliminary conference through the General Representative for Canada at the Front, Colonel Sir Max Aitken, Bart., between the Commander in Chief, or the Army, the Corps, the Divisional, or the Brigade Commander, as directed by the Commander in Chief on the one hand; and the Minister of Militia and Defence for Canada on the other.

Para. 7, states,—

> While therefore the Army Council do not withhold the concurrence to the proposed change, they think it prudent to record their opinion that it is not so much in the acceptance of the new regulation itself as in the application thereof that difficulties may arise, should difficulties occur, it may therefore be necessary to qualify their concurrence by saying that a time may arise when they may regard this innovation detrimental to efficiency, in which case it may be necessary to reconsider the whole system without prejudice to the procedure now outlined which they are prepared to concur in as a temporary measure.

This refers to the possibility of the Army Council reconsidering the whole system "without prejudice" to the procedure now outlined which they are prepared to concur in as a temporary measure.

In this regard it may be observed that it is understood Great Britain furnishes the money for the support of the Belgian Forces, and yet, appointments, promotions and management of that Force remain under Belgian control.

Canada, on the other hand, provides a large Force—considerably upwards of three hundred and fifty thousand men having been raised—bears the entire cost of their pay, training, equipment, pensions, etc., yet, in practice according to the desires of some, this country should be deprived of any superior rights in appointments or promotions—which position, of course, is untenable. Canada, under the new Order in Council, recognizes for the time being, that for purposes of command and administration at the Front, the Canadian Expeditionary Force is under the direction of the General Officer Commanding in Chief, the Force of which it forms a part. But, as the new Order in Council also provides for purposes of appointments and promotions, control rests with Canada. The only thing seemingly now necessary to provide is diplomatic procedure in making those selections in the first place, and to this end Canada would be pleased to profit by the experience of Great Britain.

A little constitutional point arises here of very great interest.

Paragraph 8 of Mr. Cubitt's letter states:

> It should be realized, however, that if the Gazette notices are withheld, pending reference to Canada, a considerable delay will occur in conferring the promotions for which officers are recommended, and I am to inquire whether the object of the Canadian Government could be met, if, instead of submitting all such questions to Canada, they were submitted to Maj.-Gen. Carson. It seems possible that he might, at any rate, be empowered to deal with the routine appointments and promotions, the more important ones being forwarded by him to the Canadian Government for final approval. This would tend to obviate some of the delay which will otherwise occur.

I might point out here, that by General Carson all the local appointments of regi-

mental officers were made, and were never interfered with.

Under the former conditions, it is understood the appointments took several weeks to finally go through but the officers selected acted from the date of their nomination. Thus there would not be more than two or three days' difference in time in any event between the two systems.

Under the new plan, the proposal regarding all appointments and promotions at the Front is that they shall be submitted to Colonel Sir Max Aitken, as the General Representative for Canada at the Front, and be, by him, taken up with the War Office, while the more important ones should be informally talked over by that officer with the Commander-in-Chief, or his representative, before any action be taken. In all probability positive agreement could be reached through this informal conference without any hitch whatever.

Regarding promotions, etc., in England:—The plan is that those shall be sent through the various corps to General Carson who, with Sir Max Aitken, will consider them; and then both they and those from the Front will be by the latter officer submitted unofficially to the War Office and officially to Canada.

By pursuing this course it appears evident that any possible friction will be reduced to a minimum. The presence of the General Representative at the Front, who will be advised by the Canadian Minister of Militia and Defence without any delay as each important appointment or promotion presents itself, will obviate the possibility of the action proposed in the last paragraph of the letter of Mr. B. B. Cubitt. Hence, the statement therein contained that "it will therefore not be desirable that vacancies should be left over until the concurrence of the Dominion Government has been obtained" cannot be accepted by Canada, the matter of cabling from the Front to the Minister of Militia and Defence for Canada on the one hand, or to the Secretary of State for War in England on the other being a difference of only a few minutes.

Moreover, the question of appointments to important positions on the Staff and Brigades, Divisions and Corps is one which would especially come under diplomatic consideration between Canada's General Representative at the Front and the Commander-in-Chief, or his representative. These appointments being important and there being many members of the Canadian Force who are well qualified for them, it would be most desirable that the consultation and agreement should take place in the preliminary stages rather than later. However, where parties are actuated by the supreme welfare of the Empire and by the most honourable and patriotic motives, and where no personal or local interests find place, there should be no trouble in amicably settling any and every possible difference that might arise.

Further, it would be very undesirable that any such appointments should be temporarily filled. It would be a very delicate matter to remove an officer once he were so appointed. In justice to our own deserving officers Canada respectfully asserts the constitutional principle that these appointments shall be controlled by her; and that as she has officers competent to fill any of these appointments with credit, capability, and honour, it is essential that such Canadian officers be given first consideration and that among them selection be made on the basis of merit and fitness alone.

I may point out I have a double object in placing these facts before the House. One is to dispel the misapprehension which has been caused in the country by the speech delivered by Sir Edward Kemp last session in which he claimed that this position had not been taken until he himself had taken it some time previously. I point out now that away back in 1915 and 1916 I had laid it down as a principle, and asserted it from the very beginning; also demonstrating that it would have a very great effect in the developing of our troops and keeping up that splendid spirit with which they entered the war and which continued until the end.

I now come to an article written, I think, early in 1918, by Lord Rothermere in the Sunday Pictorial on "The Menace of a Seven Years' War," and I quote from it the following:

Lessons of Passchendaele.

Now, as to the future; it is imperative for the Allies not to be recklessly wasteful of man-power in the field, no matter how great their numbers may become.

No nation, certainly not Germany, has been so prodigal of man-power in the battle line as Great Britain has been. France learned her lesson early. We have not learned it thoroughly even now. Our operations have been conducted as though we had an inexhaustible reservoir of men. As most men know the evil consequences which flowed from Passchendaele directly contributed to the break through near St. Quentin last March, which placed France and the Allied cause in jeopardy.

There has been far too much secrecy in official statements with regard to these battles.

The British tradition appears to be that while admirals and commanders of ships must suffer for grievous blunders, generals can do no wrong. This should not continue. A measure such as M. Clemenceau has introduced in France, by which military commanders, however exalted, may in future be tried by court-martial so constituted as to include not only generals, but also eminent members of the Senate and Chamber, and the head of the highest French legal tribunal, should be adopted.

In the fifth year of the war it is time that British generalship was not necessarily taken for granted. It should be submitted when necessary to close, competent, and ruthless scrutiny, in the interests of the real fighting men. The range of selection for the highest commands should be widened.

Now, in connection with this matter, I wish to say a few words concerning Lieut.-Gen. Sir E. W. Turner, V.C., of Quebec. Turner went to the South African war and won there the South African medal, the Distinguished Service Order and the Victoria Cross. In 1914 he enlisted for the recent war. He sought to serve in a subor-

dinate capacity in the Princess Patricia's Regiment, offering to take command of a company. I declined to allow him to serve in that capacity and at Valcartier gave him command of the Highland Brigade. At St. Julien, at the second battle of Ypres—which I think in some respects was the greatest battle of the war, owing to the fact that it was the first time the horrible poison gas was used by the Germans—this officer practically had entire command of the whole defence system. General Alderson, it is true, was in reserve; he was in the rear, as commanders usually are, ten or fifteen miles away, and was therefore not in actual touch with what was going on. Turner was actually in the firing line and had command of the whole force, of the entire line, some battalions of the 2nd Brigade and some battalions of the 1st Brigade, as well as the entire Highland Brigade, being placed directly under him, so the general control of the whole fight devolved upon Turner. He carried that fight through all Thursday afternoon and night, Friday and Friday night and Saturday, and retired only late on Saturday night, when the British troops came in to help him out. I think I am right in the date and that he had the general command up to Saturday night. Further than that, in 1915, about a month later, he distinguished himself at the battle of Festubert. Although the attack as a whole at that time was not a success, Turner's part, the Canadian part, of it was a complete success. The troops on either side of him encountered machine gun positions which the reconnaissance of the Imperial forces had not disclosed, the troops on each side being Imperials. The machine gun nests held the Imperials up, but Turner got through and maintained his position until he was relieved by Imperial troops. When the second division was being organized in 1915, General Steele not being fit to take command owing to having been injured twice, I recommended Turner for the command. Now, Sir, in justice to General Turner and in justice to the late Lord Kitchener, I must point out that there was an agitation at that time, or, rather, there was a feeling that only Imperial officers should command divisions. Even when the Valcartier camp was formed the idea was entertained by some that colonels of our regiments should be taken from the Imperial service as far as possible. I repudiated that.

The next thing was the command of the brigades. I did not find any fault with those who recommended appointments contrary to my views, no doubt their motives were absolutely honest, but I insisted that our own officers should be placed in command of our brigades. Then when the Second Division was formed I felt that General Turner was entitled to recognition and should have it, so I stood up for him. He had distinguished himself in South Africa and also at St. Julien—the greatest battle in many respects in the history of the world—and also at Festubert. Sir Robert Borden reached London the day before I did, but I did not see him on the morning of my arrival. I immediately called on Lord Kitchener at 8 o'clock, as previously arranged, and discussed with him General Turner's appointment. He recommended some excellent English officers but as he had not given them anything above a brigade in the British Army, I did not think we should give them the command of our division. When I asked him why Turner was not put in command, he said that Turner was insubordinate at Festubert. I inquired, "How insubordinate; he won Festubert." Lord Kitchener said, "When the order came to him to take Festubert he said, "What, more bloody murder!" I said, "What would you have him call it? Was not that a very proper description?" I assured him that no staff officer of any decency would ever report what was said by an officer when an order was handed to him. I had been a staff officer and had carried orders, but I never thought of reporting what an officer said. Officers always damn the orders they receive, but I thought it was beneath my dignity to report their remarks. However, this had been reported to General Alderson, and by him reported to Kitchener. Alderson was against Turner from start to finish and used his malign influence for all he was worth. I stood out for Turner's appointment. Kitchener asked me to see him again in an hour's time. In three-quarters of an hour he telephoned to me to come to him. He said: "I have seen His Majesty the King, who said, 'I pinned the South African medal on Turner's breast, I pinned the Distinguished Service Order on Turner's breast, I pinned the Victoria Cross on Turner's breast, and I want Turner to command the Canadian Second Division.'" Kitchener then said that Turner would command the Second Division. Turner took over the command and held it with great credit until he was removed and brought back to England to act as staff officer to the Overseas Minister of Militia—one of the greatest blunders in the history of the war.

Then began a propaganda against him in favour of another. When Turner was brought to England late in 1916 with Sir George Perley, I sent word to Turner: "Resign and leave the service like a gentleman, because the greatest general that ever lived would fail in such a job under such a man as Perley." I was anxious that Turner should save his splendid reputation by resigning, but he considered it his duty to remain in the position assigned to him in that great crisis.

I dislike, Sir, to refer to Turner's homecoming. No more gallant or successful soldier ever left Canada or ever returned to it. I want to ask this Government why Turner was permitted to land practically unnoticed so far as the Government was concerned, when hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent in propaganda for others who were not fit to unloose Turner's shoes. Turner returned, Sir, with no reception by this Government, with no recognition by the Dominion for the great services wherein he offered his life thousands of times and sacrificed his reputation in order to carry out the whims of this Government. Yet, Sir, he has been given no recognition since he returned, and I must respectfully call the attention of the Government to the oversight. Possibly they have forgotten General Turner in their mad rush in other directions.

Next I turn to Colonel Jack Currie. I have been blackguarded from one end of the country to the other for not getting him a D.S.O. or something of that kind; but I have explained all that. However, as I pointed out at the beginning of my remarks, the question of doing justice to a dog is important, and much more important is it to do justice to a fellow-man. Colonel Jack Currie had been in the Highland battalion in Toronto for a great many years, and I met him on the staff at Niagara in 1899. He is an energetic, logical, argumentative gentleman and soldier—almost cranky, but proud of his battalion and always mothered his men. In 1914 the Fifteenth Battalion was placed in the Highland Brigade, and in 1915 they were in the centre of the gas attack at St. Julien. Some of our Canadians did not get much gas; his battalion got the very worst of it. The Germans captured the village of St. Julien only when the last cartridge his boys had was fired. The ammunition was out, and with a final bayonet charge his boys went at the Germans. Having been in the fight all Thursday afternoon and night, Friday and Friday night, and Saturday until late in the afternoon, Jack Currie was still with his battalion. He stood with his men—this is known beyond peradventure—and on that afternoon he received an order—I have not seen the order, but he has it yet, I understand—signed by Brigade Major Garnet Hughes, ordering him to give place to a British regiment, and in accordance with these orders he withdrew the remnants of his battalion to the village of Ypres. I heard in Canada soon after the battle, before I went over and on my return, rumours that almost every one even wounded men of his own battalion had said that they were ashamed of him; that he had run away, had hidden in a British dugout and had been kicked out by General Snow. Four times this session I have been asked by hon. members whether those rumours were really true. His wife and family have been subject to all sorts of insults for the past three years. He cannot stand up to refute those rumours, but I can, and I am going to do so and show that Jack Currie has been the victim of a mistake from start to finish. Jack Currie was not the man. I said to young Dansereau that I could not recommend Colonel Currie to be reinstated in his command while these rumours were hanging over him. Dansereau's statement to me was: "It is a falsehood. I saw Currie day and night until I was shot; he never budged from his position, but stood to his guns like a man." Even yet I understand telephone messages and anonymous letters are received by Colonel Currie and his family imputing to him faults of which he is entirely innocent.

Sir, I have already stated that when the South African War broke out one of the first men to volunteer was Turner; and when the late war broke out he was again one of the first to volunteer.

I now come to General Sir Arthur Currie. And let me say, Sir, that General Sir Arthur Currie owes more to Sam Hughes than to any other man or any set of men in the world. I will say no more. He can find no fault with any action of mine towards him. General Sir Arthur Currie, I understand, did not enlist for the South African War—at all events, I understand he did not go. General Sir Arthur Currie did not volunteer for the late war. When I formed the brigades at Valcartier I proposed Colonel Leckie, a hero of the South African War, a splendid soldier and a graduate of the Royal Military College,

as commander of the Second Brigade.

It was pointed out by officers—well, objections were raised; I won't say any more—personal, I found out afterwards, rather than military. I wished to have no friction or anything of that kind, so I waived Leckie and on the recommendation of another officer in whom I had great confidence I wired Currie to come east and take command of this brigade. After some delay he came east and took command of the brigade; and that was how Arthur Currie happened to be brought into the Canadian force. I had always observed that Arthur Currie was a very good organizer and a fairly good administrator, and for that class of work I thought he would have been a very good man. He would have been a better man in England than Turner, and Turner would have been a better man at the front than Currie; I think a great mistake was made in reference to these two positions. That is my opinion, and I am prepared to back it up at any time later on if need be.

Sir Arthur Currie has never had anything but absolutely fair treatment from me. About this story of Jack Currie and the Snow dugout— a story which is common to-day—a colonel recently returned from the front, a Highland brigade colonel, too, said to me: "There is no use in your telling me anything different; I know it was Jack Currie who was kicked out of Snow's headquarters." I said: "Well, he never was there." When I asked Jack Currie if he had had any conversation with Snow, he said: "Yes, I met him Tuesday near Wiltjy after the battle"—poor Jack Currie did not know what he was being charged with at that time. Three sessions ago I made a statement in the House of Commons with reference to this matter; I was anxious to do justice to both the Curries and that I did more than justice to Arthur Currie will be admitted. Here is a letter written to me by General Sir Arthur Currie:

1st Canadian Division,
25th March, 1916.

Major General,
Sir Sam Hughes, K.C.B.

Dear General Hughes,

I have been shown a cutting from The Evening Telegram of Toronto of the issue Wednesday, February 23, 1916. One column of that issue is headed "Victim of Mistaken Identity," "Minister of Militia says Commander of 15th Battalion was confused with Brigadier of same name."

I am attaching herewith a copy of two paragraphs of article which follow above mentioned heading, also a tracing of the area around Ypres.

In the first place let me say that I will not be mixed up in any way with any rumours concerning Colonel J. A. Currie. I have nothing whatever to say of his actions at Ypres or any other place.

I may point out that I did not myself read this letter. My secretary casually read it to me and I immediately dictated a cablegram in regard to it. But when I did that I had not seen this paragraph, which expressed more or less contempt regarding Colonel John Currie. (Reading):

In the second place, I know you are a man who loves truth and fair dealing. You want a fair deal yourself and you are inclined to give the other fellow always a little better than a fair deal. At least you will not do him an injustice. I think it is fair to you to ask if you ever made the statements in the paragraph attached. If so, it is fair to me to tell you that you have been misinformed.

In para. 1 you are doubtless referring to a visit I made on Saturday, April 24, about 3 p.m. to Potijze, the Headquarters of the 27th Division. I was not there more than twenty minutes but even Potijze is not behind the Yser Canal,—

I want you to note the word "behind" the Yser canal. (Reading):

—and, as you were good enough to say, I had a perfect right to be there.

Para. 2 is not true in any particular in so far as it refers to me.

Apparently Colonel Currie has been accused of being "back in rear of Yser Canal behind Ypres" and you have been informed that he was not there, but that I was. I know nothing about Colonel Currie being behind Ypres, but I do know that I was not "back" in rear of Yser Canal, behind "Ypres" at any time between the afternoon of April 22nd, when the battle began, and 11 p.m. on Tuesday the 27th when my brigade was ordered there. At no time between the dates mentioned did I go to consult with General Alderson.

I have put on the map attached where I was each day from April 22nd to April 27th. Hundreds can verify this statement.

I know that you would not intentionally make a false statement, but some one, for reasons I know not, has told you what is not true.

That statement about his going back to see General Alderson is a mistaken one, because it was Turner who was summoned back on the occasion referred to. I don't care to mention it, but the command was given, at all events, from General Alderson for a thousand men to charge with fixed bayonets against thirty thousand Germans. Turner knew the futility of such a thing. and after a telephone communication he was ordered back to talk the matter over. It was Turner, therefore, who went back to consult about this order, not Arthur Currie, so that there is no more confusion in that regard. But that does not matter. The crux of the whole thing is the question who was in Snow's dugout? That was the

charge levelled against Jack Currie—that he was in Snow's dugout. Now, Sir, it is admitted here that it was General Sir Arthur Currie who was there. Arthur Currie's brigade had not been heavily in the fighting. Two of its battalions had been pretty heavily in the fighting under Turner, but his brigade was attacked on Friday afternoon and on Saturday. On Saturday afternoon General Currie—I may say that in my statement I said that General Currie had a right to go back there. I understood that he had been sent back; the intimation given to me was that he had been sent back by Turner to ask Snow for reinforcements. I found out that this was not the case. Arthur Currie was in command of his brigade at his own headquarters northeast of St. Julien. It may be set down as a distinct maxim of war that the brigadier of a brigade stands to his post the same as a battalion commander or a divisional commander stands to his. Arthur Currie had no orders that I have ever been able to see to go back to General Snow's division. He left his post in command of a brigade major, a young inexperienced officer, and went away to his place. I am not questioning his motives at all, but he went there notwithstanding the fact that he had telephone communication with his own divisional commander and that he had also staff officers available to send. He could have sent to his own divisional commander when he wanted to get reinforcements. As the battle was raging he should have communicated with Turner before he went to Snow's headquarters. Arthur Currie, on his own statement, is the gentleman who was in Snow's dugout and that was the charge that was hurled against Jack Currie from one end of Canada to the other—that he was hiding in a British dugout and was thrown out of it by a British officer. I give this in justice to Arthur Currie, in justice to Jack Currie, and in justice to myself in the premises, for I held up any recognition of Jack Currie or his being restored to the command of his regiment until I could satisfy myself that he had played the man. If there is anything further desired, I could refer to certain conversations that have taken place, but I do not believe in that sort of thing. I am not questioning Arthur Currie's motive in going back; I merely say it was unmilitary for him as a brigadier to leave his position.

I would point out that Potijze, where Snow's headquarters are, is not at Ypres.

[Sir Sam Hughes.]

It is a little farm house about four or five hundred yards from Ypres, so that in going over the road there an officer seeing General Arthur Currie at that place would naturally say that he was at Ypres. Sir Arthur Currie says that Potijze is not behind the Yser canal, but I would point out that the people there all spoke of the front of the canal as being the side towards France, while behind the canal was the side towards Belgium and that expression was used not from a military viewpoint at all. At all events, Arthur Currie was in the neighbourhood of Ypres, within three or four hundred yards of it, for a considerable time that afternoon; he was absent from his command for some hours, having left a young officer in charge. He admits that himself.

Now, I had laid out plans for the fifth and sixth divisions. We had the troops, and I say here, without fear of contradiction, that if we had not raised one man after November, 1916, and had utilized our troops in England and at the front to the best advantage and had guarded against these mistakes of Passchendaele, Lens, Cambrai and one or two other little scraps, we would have had sufficient men to keep these divisions up to full fighting strength until the close of the war.

Sir Edward Kemp in his speech last year makes reference to these divisions, and that is about the only point in his speech to which I shall refer. I was going to take up his speech more in detail, but I will not detain the House to-day. In his speech last year he pointed out that they had brought about the plan to form this one corps, and that they did it in conjunction with Haig. I am in a position to say that in 1915 I suggested to Sir John French that there should be an organization somewhat similar to the one that I will outline in a moment. In 1916, I suggested this plan to Sir Douglas Haig in writing, and there are copies of my suggestion on file in the department. My suggestion was as follows: that there should be two corps, with three divisions each, making a total of six divisions, with three brigades per division, four battalions to a brigade, with a composite body made up of snipers, bombers, machine gun men, etc., besides a pioneer battalion for each division. The Germans early in 1917 adopted practically the same plan, and some months later on the British adopted what amounted to practically the same plan. But although the Canadian commander was asked by the Canadian Prime Minister, the Canadian Overseas Minister of Militia and Field Marshal Sir

Douglas Haig to follow along similar lines, he declined to do so and did not follow along those lines but held to the one corps, a closed corporation under his own command, I shall not enter into the details of that further than just to give the framework.

I took the position that the following advantages would accrue from having the two corps. There would be greater rest for the men; it would be a complete system running in bunches of three; there would be honest rivalry between the two corps; it would require no more men than for one corps because the same length of front was always to be held, the men would be exposed to the same fire; there would be the highest efficiency when we had two corps instead of one, and there would be no vendetta with England. Anybody going from England to France or from France to England at times had to take his life in his hands because there was so much bad blood between the two places. Finally the Prime Minister got the parties together and the trouble was smoothed over. There would be no swash-buckling, and no using of the Canadian corps as a "bouncer." If there was a nasty job, it was a case of "send for the Canadian corps." All that the Canadian corps was entitled to do was to take its place in the fighting line, and it was not entitled to be regarded as a "bouncer" for the army. There would not be nearly such heavy losses, and there would be an opportunity for efficient officers. Let me point out here that the Canadian force has developed thousands of splendid officers. There were in England hundreds upon hundreds of excellent officers who could not get to the front; hundreds of them came home, and we hear men from their places in the House taunting officers because they did not go to the front and fight, when these men would have given their last drop of blood to be permitted to go, but they could not go except as privates, and they were too old for that. We had at the front any number of boys who were fit for promotion. There was young Rogers of Toronto who was competent to command a division, and there was Colonel Allan of Toronto, now deceased. These are only two of hundreds I could name if I could take the time. There were many fellows who would make excellent divisional commanders—take McBrien, no man would have ever made a better divisional commander than he. There are our friends Griesbach and Peck in this House, and they are no exception to the rule; there are hundreds like them who would have made the best of brigadier commanders, staff officers, regimental commanders that it was possible to find. Yet, under the closed corporation of one unit, there was no opportunity for these men. I have no hesitation in saying, with all kindness to certain of the gentlemen who held these high positions, that they were not superior to men who were serving under them, and it would have been a great thing for the service if there had been six divisions instead of five eighteen brigades instead of nine, and so on right down the line. Sir Edward Kemp, in his speech, pointed out the terrible increase in cost which he said would result from the adoption of such a scheme. The cost, however, would not have been greater. These men were drawing almost the same pay, if not higher, than they would have got at the front, in whitewash jobs in England where they were rolling over each other, in the way, breaking their hearts—but they wanted to serve their country in some way, and so they took these jobs in England. Had my scheme been adopted, recognition of worth would have been possible; publicity of facts would have resulted, not propaganda. I could give a chapter on that, but I shall not detain the House. There would have been no closed corporation. Inefficient officers would have been weeded out; blunders would have been avoided, and there would have been a larger force at the front training instead of deteriorating at the base. I shall not enter the details of that, but can give the figures at any time they are needed. There would have been a comparison of command which was not otherwise possible. Hundreds of good officers for the staff could be found in the force, both at the front and in England; more officers and men would have been trained, so that hundreds of officers and men who have returned without service would thus have had it. Junior officers at the front would have had promotion; competition would have eliminated weak senior officers, and there would have been no actions such as Lens, Passchendaele and Cambrai. At the end of 1916 there were enough recruits in uniform to keep six divisions at strength until the end of the war. There is not one argument against six divisions and two corps, and not one argument for only four divisions in one corps under one command.

I was going to take up the question of the dual ministry, but I will save that for another occasion, and will simply say that there was very bad blood between England and the front. I was also going to take

up the question of control of generals, but that comes under another heading, so I will defer it.

We come to the time of the retreat of the Germans, and I want hon. members to picture this in their mind's eye. These are my ideas, and while I may be wrong, in many things I came pretty close to what happened. The line from Nieuport on the North sea to Verdun, is an air line of 200 miles; the trench line between the same points is 260 miles in length. From Chateau Thierry, the south point of the German advance, to Namur in Belgium, is upwards of 100 miles. The funnel is thus 200 to 260 miles at the mouth with a depth of 100 miles and at Namur the neck that the Germans would have to retreat through is about 30 miles wide. The whole German line, 260 miles in length, had to retreat 100 miles and then go through that thirty mile neck. If the line were broken perceptibly at any one point, a large part of the force, if not the whole force, might have been cut off, and that was Foch's game, to pin them up against Sedan at the right, to smash them off to the left, and to smash them in the centre. His plan was to cut off two small salients from Rheims to Soissons and from Noyon to Arras. Some people thought that if he had adopted the big plan better results might have been had, but his plan succeeded very well. The centre of that funnel was Douai, Cambrai, Le Cateau, and Hirson. I might point out that on my maternal side I had associates in the city of Valenciennes and Cambrai which I visited thirty years ago or more and in which I took a great interest. It is the centre of the funnel and any one could understand that the German army, in order to save itself from annihilation must on one side hold the centre of the funnel by the best forces, and the Canadian troops which were against them, as they did on every occasion faced fearlessly and manfully these soldiers. The world never before has seen soldiers like these Canadians. The river Meuse runs from Verdun northwest to Charleville and Mezières, and there is a splendid road, which I have had the opportunity of travelling over on three or four occasions and down which the Germans had to get all their heavy material. In order to hold themselves on their line they had to get their impedimenta and munitions of war back through this funnel as fast as they could, and in order to do that they had to hold the positions all along the front. The Meuse runs north west to Charleville and Mezières, then north to Namur, then northeast to Liège.

The causes of the retreat, in general terms, were the splendid advances made by the Yankees. They had brought millions of troops into France, and their entrance into the war and their advances in attack was one factor; secondly, there was the disruption and discontent in Germany, and for evidence of that you have only to read Ludendorff's story. Thirdly, the front German line had two salients, one from Rheims to Soissons, and the second from Noyon to Arras, and any break in any part of the line endangered the whole line. I have no hesitation in saying, from the viewpoint of the student of military history, that Ludendorff, in retiring his army as he did against these splendid assaults of the British, French and other Allied forces, made what must be admitted by military men to be one of the most masterly retreats that has ever occurred in history. The Germans had to hold these positions in order to avoid disaster, and I maintain that any general must have known that in going up against these positions he could expect to hit a snag and he should be prepared for it.

We have read a great deal of the qualities of soldiers in times gone by—of Horatius and his comrades holding the bridge; of Leonidas and his three hundred men at Thermopylae, of the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, but we must remember that all these men were inspired by the enthusiasm of personal combat and the impelling glory of a cavalry charge. The heroic cavalry charge at Balaclava, for instance, was accompanied by sounding trumpets that inspired the men to brave deeds, but in this war, again and again and again men have walked silently up to almost certain death. They could not see their enemy once in a thousand times, for he would be hidden in some dugout, firing with a machine gun from some unseen position. The history of warfare shows nothing more glorious than the cool bravery of our men.

The retreat of the German army was begun at Chateau Thiery. I happen to know intimately a Yankee officer, who, with his battalion, was surrounded. He did not know that the Germans were so close to him, but when he saw the Germans behind him he realized there was only one thing to do and that was to shoot. " We were good shots," he said, " and we trimmed them to a finish; we would have run like good fellows if we had only known, but there they were behind us and we had to fight our way out." And so it went on. They got there fighting

little by little, until finally the Yankees made a good showing with the French to the south. Some two divisions of Americans also made a good showing with the British to the west. The conduct of the soldiers at Arras, Parvilliers, and elsewhere was magnificent. I have had questions put to me regarding the loss of the 32nd British division which was attached to the Canadians, and which was almost wiped out of existence—needlessly, the British officers claim. The Drocourt-Queant line was smashed; a tremendous artillery fire preceded, the tanks smashed through and the infantry followed up. At the same time the British claim that their naval divisions broke through a little farther to the south. The Canadians did their duty fearlessly and well, following out their part in the general plan of attack. I might refer to a letter which the Prime Minister has in his possession, and which I wrote away back in 1915, and again to the same effect in 1916, protesting against these blanket attacks running up against trenches. It was only a waste of men, and I suggested that the narrow front and a smash through with tremendous force, then mushrooming out, was the only plan of attack. Ludendorff admits that this narrow yet deep attack is effective. On November 27, the British had advanced to Cambrai. Considerable criticism has been made that I was wrong in my statements in regard to Cambrai. What I said in my letter, which appears on last year's Hansard, was that it entailed a "needless loss of men," was "bullheaded," and that there was fighting in "suburban villages." I have here maps which were taken off a German officer, stained with his own gore, and good rich blood it seems to be. I have scores of reports from lieutenants, corporals, captains, majors, and colonels who were on the field of Cambrai, and some of them are not unknown to this House. These facts have been furnished me in justification of my position in this matter. I shall not weary the House by reading them, nor divulge the names of my informants. Incidentally, I might say that in South Africa I never divulged the name of any person who informed me of anything. In this war I had considerable difficulty on that account with some of my colleagues. I pointblank refused to divulge the name of my informant in each and every case in matters concerning secret missions and things of that sort. I would not divulge these things to any human being. Any information given me I treat as sacred, but lest some one should say "Oh, it was Jones sent him that, or Brown," I want to point out that they have done nothing of the kind. These reports have been sent to me by men who held them and who have been discharged from the army. I have scores upon scores of original orders and reports justifying the position I took as regards Cambrai where for example, in one attack, one whole company reduced to the command of a lance-corporal, was shot to pieces inside of two hours.

On September 27, 1918, Bourbon Wood was attacked, and after considerable fighting was taken. The Canadian force lay with its right on the Amiens-Cambrai road, and its left extended beyond the Arras-Cambrai line. On the 28th of September the British and Canadians met at the village of Fontaine, having failed to take it. Subsequently it was taken by a Canadian infantry brigade. St. Olle, a suburb of Cambrai, was not taken on the 28th, the attack being repulsed. Some guns of the Canadian artillery rode in the next morning and were shot to pieces. On the 28th the officers of infantry battalions reported to the higher command that machine guns were in St. Olle church tower. The high command replied that this was not so, and refused to have artillery fire upon the church tower. The report was repeated the next day, and the church tower was then fired on, and a nest of machine guns cleared out.

Mr. W. A. GRIESBACH: What division was involved in that fight?

Sir SAM HUGHES: Different divisions on different days.

Mr. GRIESBACH: Will the hon. member name one division that was in the fight at St. Olle?

Sir SAM HUGHES: I am satisfied that the 3rd Division was one of them. I know the artillery rode in. The Princess Patricias were there too, also the R. C. R. and I think the 49th; they were close to it.

Mr. GRIESBACH: What warrant has the hon. member for saying that the artillery were shot down at this particular place by enemy machine guns? What is the source of his information? Is it an historical fact? I was not very far away from there and I did not hear of it.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I am not called on to give names. I am assuming responsibility for my statements here to-day. I am not going to stoop to giving names. We have seen that game played many a time

here. Sam Hughes assumes responsibility for any statements he makes. I said that it was in the early morning and foggy, and the artillery did not know they were so close to St. Olle. As the main line of the Canadians had been advanced and the right wing curved back, they thought the line would be farther up, and the first thing they knew they were shot down and lay wounded in the suburbs of St. Olle for half a day. St. Olle was taken that evening and they were relieved.

St. Olle is a suburb of Cambrai and machine guns were in a church tower at St. Olle. The word was sent back that the machine guns were there but the higher command said " there are no machine guns there; go on." That is not disputed, if it is disputed I will give the data.

I met Major Edgar when the Princess Patricias were here, and I said in the presence of Mr. Smellie, a barrister of Ottawa: " Edgar, I do not want you to open your mouth; I am going to do the talking; you are not talking; you notified the higher command on the night of the 28th that you were up against wire entanglements, but the higher command replied that there were no wire entanglements there and instructed you to go on." Edgar said " There are wire entanglements over a mile long and sixty yards in width " but the higher command said: " No, go on."

Mr. GRIESBACH: Who would be the higher command—the brigade commander, the divisional commander or the corps commander?

Sir SAM HUGHES: The hon. gentleman knows the routine as well as I do.

Mr. GRIESBACH: No, pardon me; the hon. and gallant member is too subject to inferences of that kind. I desire him to say whom he means—the brigade commander, the divisional commander or the corps commander.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I do not presume it went back as far as the Field Marshal but I would expect a brigade commander would consult the corps commander before he would order any one to go up against wire entanglements like that.

Mr. GRIESBACH: That would eliminate the divisional commander?

Sir SAM HUGHES: When the command came to these boys to go on, the higher command was responsible no matter where it might be. On the night of the 28th the artillery was ordered forward after one o'clock in the morning 6,000 yards to their positions before they were to fire the barrage. On the 29th the Canadian division passed through a narrow passage left in the wire entanglements, deployed outwards and took their positions. Inside of three hours they were shot to pieces. Lance-corporals in some cases were in command of companies. Colonel John Thompson of Ottawa came out with less than 100 men. The Highland battalion came out with less than 150 men, another battalion came out with 40 men, and other battalions met similar terrible losses. Next day two tanks started up, punched through the wire entanglements and in less than an hour one of them destroyed 59 German gun positions with the loss to the tanks of one man slightly wounded. In one instance it was a question of sound judgment and in the other it was a matter of sending splendid and gallant Canadian soldiers up against machine guns. There were machine gun nests every nine or ten yards and our battalions were mercilessly sent up against these and shot to pieces. That is what happened to Major Topp's company of the 42nd Highlanders. I gave him the data—I did not get it from him—and he had to admit that it was correct. The losses on the 29th September were simply terrible. On the 30th the tanks came forward.

On the morning of the 1st of October I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of Canada. I had seen by the reports how the boys had been handled and I protested. I immediately sent notice to General Currie, to Field Marshal Haig, and to the overseas minister, and inside of a week after Ramillies had been taken an order was issued that there should be no more concentrated attacks, but that there should be, to use the words of General Foch, "peaceful penetration;" that is, penetration after heavy military fire—smash them to pieces and then advance. Our machine gunners also had been rushed forward on the night of the 29th to try and occupy positions.

Colonel PECK, V.C.: I would ask the hon. gentleman if he could give us any map reference as to the location of the German lines where the machine guns were, or anything else, because I have been trying to follow him closely. As far as I can find out the artillery seem to have been ahead of the infantry—something that I have never heard of before.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I have maps here which I am not going to bother the House with because all the members could not gather round and see them. On October

1, when the magnificent battalion so splendidly led by my hon. friend (Col. Peck, V.C.) fell back, I am free to say the artillery was not ahead of the infantry. They were up on the line that had been left that morning, and the artillery, the camp equipage and everything of that kind had to be retired precipitately to the rear, something it had not done before. They feared that the Germans were following up, but fortunately the Germans were not strong enough to follow them. Up north of St. Remi the hon. gentleman's battalion retreated from Bantigny. I do not reflect on anybody. Fighting such as that had never occurred in the history of the world, but the occurrences showed lack of proper discretion on the part of some person in the rear in failing to make sure of the position, with the result that thousands of men were rolled up between the marshes of the Sensee canal and Cambrai. It was criminal to send men blindfolded and empty-handed against positions like that. On the 30th September they sent the tanks in and cleared the German machine gun nests out. They had no proper barrage of any kind on the morning of the 29th. As I say, they had not sufficient artillery barrage and on the 1st October the 16th battalion, commanded by the hon. member for Skeena (Col. Peck) was badly shot up, and the remnant of the battalion in the end had to retire with the loss of one complete company and the balance badly shot up.

Col. PECK, V.C.: I would like to correct that statement; it is not the fact. I might inform the House that my battalion did not retire then and never retired in the war. I was ordered to keep in touch with another battalion, but in coming up we were left with a flank of two or three miles. The Germans came through in behind Avecourt and my battalion, along with others, having reached their objective, were forced not to retire but to move to the right and form the flank on the right.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I do not wish to detract from the credit to which any particular battalion or regiment is entitled, simply because it had to retire. I never knew of a battalion yet that had not to retire at some period or other of its history during the late war. What I have to say is that the gallant 16th Battalion had to retire or had to go back in an oblique direction, and the flanking British troops on their left were caught by the fire of the Germans posted in the marshes along the Sensee canal. One company of the 16th Regiment was practically wiped out and the balance badly shattered were retired southwesterly to the position held by the Canadians in the morning. There is no glory in saying that any particular battalion did not retire. The best soldiers in the world have had to retire again and again. As one officer said to me speaking of his experiences, "I came back much faster than I went in." The point I want to make is that on the 29th there was not sufficient preparation. On the 30th there was proper tank preparation and a good artillery barrage. Still they first attempted to make the dash without that proper preparation and came to grief. They did not capture the place until the 10th of October. I wrote my letter on October 1, and the statements I made were absolutely true.

There was at St. Olle, St. Remi and Petit Fontaine fighting in the suburbs and bull-headed work all along the line. On the 30th more adequate preparations were made and more was gained with the loss of only one wounded man than was achieved with such terribly heavy losses on the 29th. On the 1st October an infantry attack developed north of St. Remi with the result as my hon. friend (Col. Peck) points out that the 16th Battalion had to retire obliquely to save itself. I think I am safe in saying that at least one company of the 16th was wiped out and the balance badly cut up as is proved by my records and also the German records. But that is no discredit to the men. I say that better fighting was never displayed in the history of the war. These men went on to certain death again and again and there was no protection for them. I wonder at the higher command permitting such a thing and allowing the men to go on. I want to point out that in one instance Lord Cavan took full responsibility early in the war for not advancing and declined to make the attempt, notwithstanding the order of his superior officer, because he knew the reconnaissance that had been made was wrong and there was no proper barrage. I know that the 27th Regiment was cut up early in the war because of failure to disobey. At St. Eloi I know that four colonels followed my instructions. I had given them orders "Unless there has been a proper reconnaissance don't put yourselves at the mercy of any fellow over you; do not sacrifice one man's life needlessly unless you are absolutely sure that you are right." Those instructions were followed by four colonels. One poor fellow who did not follow these

instructions lost some 827 odd men of his battalion on the battlefield of St. Eloi.

I do not want to dilate on the affair of Mons, or say anything here that will not do the highest justice to the gallant officers and men concerned; they had to live up to their general instructions. As I said at the time, my one object was to save the lives of these gallant men and to use brains instead of something else. My object in writing that letter was absolutely justified. Inkerman was a soldiers' battle, but every battle in this war has practically been another Inkerman. I tried to do justice to all without doing injustice to any; but justice delayed is never the same as justice rendered at the time. As to Mons, I have data here (I will not weary the House with it at the present time) showing that the general officer commanding the Canadian Corps congratulated the troops at 10.50 o'clock that morning on the capture of the historic city of Mons. I want to point out that the Canadians were eight miles beyond Mons on the north and more than abreast of it on the east. I saw a letter written by General Morrison, in which he stated that the night before the armistice smoke was going up from fires started by the Germans preliminary to their retirement. So that the Germans were retiring, and anyhow Mons was not a city of any great importance; I would not give the snap of my finger for it. It is a nice little place, but to sacrifice the lives of Canadians on the eve of the armistice was quite out of place and more of a piece of bravado than an attempt to help the great cause of human liberty at an acceptable time.

There are some other matters that call for consideration, but I must take the privilege of dealing with them on a future occasion. At present I shall not detain the House any longer.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: There is no objection to producing the papers called for by the motion.

Motion agreed to.

TREATMENT OF RETURNED SOLDIERS.

MOTION BY MR. FRIPP AS TO POSITIONS FOR RETURNED SOLDIERS.

Mr. A. E. FRIPP (Ottawa) moved:

That, in the opinion of this House, all persons who have served overseas in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces, including British Reservists from Canada, are entitled to be placed in as good circumstances financially as before enlistment by being (a) restored to their former positions by their employers; (b) appointed to all positions in the outside and inside branches of the Civil Service of Canada if possessed of the necessary qualifications without passing any academic examinations and in priority to all other applicants; and (c) given an annuity for a limited period sufficient to augment their present earning capacity reduced by disability arising from such service, to equal the amount earned at the time of enlistment. And further, that the necessary legislation to provide for the purposes of this resolution be passed at this session.

He said: Mr. Speaker, this resolution was introduced by me at the last session of Parliament, in March last, as the result of personal interviews with a great many returned soldiers. I do not know whether any other hon. gentleman has had the same opportunity as I have had to receive and interview many of the men who served us so faithfully overseas. Whether it is because this is the Capital city or not I do not know, but we certainly do receive a very great number of returned men in Ottawa. As a result of my interviews I came to the conclusion that this Government had not up to that time, that is, in March, 1919, taken such practical steps to rehabilitate the returned man as they ought to have and might have taken. Since I introduced this resolution I have received thousands of letters from all parts of the country, and some of them I would like to place upon Hansard.

I imagine that every hon. gentleman will agree with the preamble stated here, that the members of our overseas forces are entitled to be placed, as far as this country can place them, in as good a position as they were in before the war. That is not such a very big order if it is considered properly and fairly. What was the position of these men when they came back home last year? As far as I can find from these personal interviews as well as from the letters I have received, their position amounts to this: A large proportion of them find that the positions which they held are not now open to them; and the first proposition which I asked the House to consider is that those men should be restored to their former positions by their employers. I am not unmindful of the fact that perhaps this Parliament has not sufficient jurisdiction to enact that an employer shall reemploy his former employee; that is possibly a matter that the local legislatures must deal with, because it may come under "property and civil rights;" but I do think the Dominion Government can restore returned men to their positions in the Government service, and from the correspondence I have received it appears that that has not been done. I think it is important that this House should affirm the principle,

that these men should be restored to the positions they formerly held, unless, of course, they are now absolutely incapacitated from filling those positions.

The Government can enforce that principle in many directions. The Government is a considerable employer of labour, in the sense that a great many firms do business with it, and if this Parliament laid down the principle that men who are able to take their pre-war positions must be restored to them, a large measure of good could be accomplished through the exercise of authority over persons and firms engaged in Government business. And just here, Mr. Speaker, I had better place on record some of the letters I have received in that respect. This letter that I am about to quote will, I think, give the House very effectively an idea of the attitude taken by the returned soldier. It is written from Middle Musquodoboit, Nova Scotia. The writer says this in part:

I was employed as Resident Engineer by the Department of Railways and Canals from September, 1912, on the construction of the Dartmouth to Deans Railway, a branch of the I.C. R. in Nova Scotia, until my enlistment in March, 1917, when recruiting was at its lowest ebb. I was given a commission and was the first officer selected in what had just been authorized, the N.S. Forestry Depot.

Further on, dealing with his return, he makes this statement:

Having had "Leave of Absence" by Order in Council, dated April 10, 1917, from the Department, I thought I would have no trouble in getting back to my former position, so hurried home to my family (wife and seven children). On my return I notified the Department of Railways and Canals, about February 1, and asked for work. They had nothing to offer at that time, but said the first available etc. The same staff was on the Dartmouth to Deans Railway as when I went away and is still on.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me to be a very serious matter that a man who gave up his position in the Government service is informed on his return that his position is filled, although there are men still engaged in the service who did not enlist. I am firmly convinced that very drastic action is necessary if we are to satisfy the returned men and their families and friends. If there is that unemployment which we anticipate during the coming winter, it seems to me that men in the public service of Canada, yes, right here in my own constituency, who were fit for service overseas and did not volunteer, ought to be deprived of their positions in favour of those men who did go overseas. It is probably drastic action, but we cannot satisfy public opinion, nor can we do justice to these returned men, if we allow shirkers to hold positions to the detriment of these returned men and so force them to walk the streets of our cities looking for employment. There ought to be sacrifice by everybody in connection with this war. What sacrifice did the man make who remained at home? He has made no sacrifice yet. There must be and, I am satisfied, there shall be before very long, some sacrifice on the part of those who did not bear their share of the burden at the front.

I have here another letter, this time from Transcona, Manitoba. I might say that I have hundreds of other letters from the constituencies of my hon. friends in Toronto. I will leave out the very complimentary remarks of the writer for my action in this matter—

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: No, read them.

Mr. FRIPP:—and come to the part which is pertinent. He states:

I am a returned boy of twenty-five months' service in France and over three years in khaki. 1914 I obtained my qualifying certificate for a Railway Mail Clerk, and having no prominent friends at that time was naturally unsuccessful in obtaining an appointment. Since the war the appointments are made direct from Ottawa and not from the various M.P.'s—

This will meet the approval of a great many hon. gentlemen because the writer goes on to say that appointments should be made by members of Parliament and not by the Civil Service Commission.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. FRIPP: He continues:

I am not asking any favours, holding the necessary qualifications as I do, and with your resolution an accomplished fact, we may get the appointments, which in the past seemed to be impossible for a boy such as myself, with no people here in the country to help me along.

Now, Mr. Speaker, that is a straight, honest letter, which would not be written without cause by any man who had served his country as faithfully as did the writer of it.

Another statement appeared in the Toronto Globe which I shall read because it is short, because it expresses the idea embodied in nearly all the communications which have come to me. The words of a returned soldier are quoted as follows:

We won the war, but I as a veteran do not want any cash won in that way. Like many of my chums, I am a citizen and a taxpayer of Canada as well as a soldier, and I know that every dollar raised by Canada comes from our

pockets, and that we cannot hoist ourselves by pulling on our own boot-straps.

We all want a chance to get a good job—as good or better than we left behind us. If the chaps doing all this talking were busy working they wouldn't have so much time to spend looking for so much easy money.

Again I ask, why should a conscript get $2,000 of our taxes because he was forced to go to France when the war was finished?

There are in Ottawa to-day, I have no doubt, at least five hundred returned men out of employment—although Ottawa and the Government at Ottawa have done excellent work in providing positions as far as possible for returned men; and that is much to the credit of the Government here. In The Veteran, published by the Great War Veterans' Association, it is estimated that fifty thousand men will be out of employment this winter in the larger cities. What do we propose to do about it? It is true that this matter of the re-establishment of the soldier has been referred to a parliamentary committee, but I am sorry to say that there is one notable feature about that committee—those who represent the majority of the men who went to the front are not represented on it. I hope that that will not cause the committee to fall short of dealing with this matter thoroughly. A large body of men who went to the front, eighty per cent of them, were labourers and mechanics from the large cities. Toronto did its duty nobly; I believe that that city alone sent 75,000 men overseas. But there is no representation of members from Toronto on that committee; neither is there any in respect of Winnipeg, Ottawa or Hamilton. I mention this only to express the hope that the House will strengthen the hands of that committee by adopting this resolution so that those on that committee who are not as much in touch with the condition of the returned men as we who represent cities will, nevertheless, do their part in giving effect to such legislation as may be necessary to rehabilitate returned men.

I think I have said enough about the employment end of the resolution. I have somewhere heard the expression—and it seems to me most apt—that a Government that is strong enough to take a man out of his job and put him in the army ought to be strong enough to take him out of the army and put him back into his job. That is a principle which any Government might well adopt in dealing with the question of restoring to these men, as far as possible, their former positions.

Then, I ask that all persons who have served overseas in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces be appointed to all positions in the inside and outside branches of the Civil Service, if possessed of the necessary qualifications, without examination. That suggestion ought to be accepted unanimously by the House. Any hon. member who will read some of the questions put to candidates for positions in the lower grades in the Civil Service will see at once how absurd they are. Had I known that this resolution was to come up this afternoon I would have brought with me some examples of these questions, for the benefit of hon. gentlemen who have not seen them. One question, for instance, was: "What is St. Petersburg noted for?" Evidently that examination paper was written before the name of the Russian capital was changed to Petrograd. Candidates were also asked to name several cities in India where certain articles are produced or manufactured —and all this for a man who is going to earn $800 a year. Then, there are questions in arithmetic; the applicant is asked to multiply twenty-eight figures by twenty-eight figures, and so on—questions that were submitted by a gentlemen who then held a position on the Civil Service Commission. I suppose they were his idea, coming as he did from a university not far away, of the best way to get at the proper qualifications of a postman, a letter-carrier or messenger. Any returned soldier, who, as the result of an oral examination, can show that he has enough common sense to perform such work in the lower grades as I have mentioned, ought to get the position without having to write any examination.

The last clause of the resolution involves, perhaps, a more difficult question; it asks that we augment the present earning capacity of the soldier, which has been reduced by disability arising from service. That, of course, is a very big order. I have considered the matter seriously, and I do think that we ought to augment the present earning capacity of the returned man so that it will be made at least equal to his earning capacity before he went overseas.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Do you mean the wounded man?

Mr. FRIPP: The wounded man, the partly disabled man, and the man who has been rendered unable, by reason of his having taken part in the war, to hold the position that he held before. Let me give you a single example. Not long ago a

young man came to me and said: "Mr. Fripp, I would like to get a position in the Government." "Well," I said, "what was your position before you went to war?" He said: "I was a qualified plumber. I was shell-shocked. When I came back I went to my old job, but I find I cannot do the work that I did before. I cannot go on a high building; I cannot do plumbing work at any considerable height from the ground, so that all I can earn now is what I can get as a plumber's helper." He put the question to me: "Why should I lose, after my service of four years overseas, the difference between the wage that I was able to earn when I offered my services to my country and what, through no fault of my own, is the most that I am able to earn now?" That is only one case out of thousands of the same nature. Many returned men are not quite fitted for the positions that they held before, and the question arises, what are we going to do about it? My judgment is that we have to deal with these returned men practically as individuals, not as a class. If the Department of Militia and Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment are doing their duty, they have a complete record of every man who went overseas. They ought to know what his former occupation was; what disability, if any, he suffered or is suffering; what his earning capacity was before he went away, and what his earning capacity is to-day. Having that information, it would not be difficult for us to take hold of these men individually and find out exactly what can be done for them. In my judgment, with all due respect to those who think differently, the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment is a very expensive piece of machinery for the amount of good that it is going to do or is doing. If I remember rightly the figures given by the President of the Council (Hon. Mr. Rowell) the other day—of course, I am subject to correction in this—he said that 22,000 returned men were being re-trained. That is an excellent and very essential work, no doubt, but there are thousands of men who cannot take the training that is necessary to fit them for better positions in life.

If, as I understand, we are paying out of the treasury for the Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Department $30,000,000 or $40,000,000, it seems to me that is too expensive for the results we are obtaining from it. Would it not be better for us to take each soldier individually, and to say to him: We will offer you a position; we will help you to secure such a position as you are able to fill? These men are the wards of the Government, and it is the duty of the Government to take them individually and to see that their present condition is, at all events, as good, if not better—and we would all like to see it better—than when they went overseas. There are many men whose positions are better to-day than they were when the men went overseas. We can eliminate them, but there are many men whose present positions are much worse, and such men must be attended to by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, or some other organization, and money is required for that. I am satisfied that we must either deal with the problem in the way I suggest or give them a cash bonus or gratuity such as that with which the hon. member for Simcoe North (Mr. Currie) dealt in this House some days ago. We must face the situation one way or the other, and that will require money. As regards the money part of the matter, I am not one of those who may be or are pessimistic about it. There are large sources of revenue yet untapped for the returned soldier. I do not say that we could raise such a sum or should shoulder such a responsibility as that which was suggested as regards giving them $2,500 and $2,000 each; but there are in this country many people who have not made any sacrifice whatever, and they could raise a large sum of money which would pay the interest on a larger sum. If, for example, we put a special soldiers' war tax on every man, woman and child in Canada, we could raise a large sum of money. We could raise very much larger sums from men who are not yet, through the income tax, paying their fair share of the burden of this war. Of course, my first proposition would be to put a tax on our farmers, who have not yet, I think, contributed their fair share to the war. I am sure all hon. members are of opinion that there are sources of revenue from which we can obtain such a sum of money as will be sufficient, in part at least, to mete out to those young men who have come back to us some such measure of civil re-establishment as will give them a fair start for the future.

Then there is the alien question. This Government lost thousands of friends in this country by not taxing the alien. The time is not yet too late, and there is no reason in the world why we should not pass legislation compelling the employer of the alien to deduct every day or every week a certain proportion from his earnings so that he may pay his share of the war. I do not see any serious difficulty in that respect. In Australia and New Zealand the Governments are moving along the lines I suggest with regard to compelling em-

ployers to take back soldier employees if they are able to do the work. We have a "Master and Servant" Act in this province and in every other province, so why should not a soldier be able to go in a simple way before a magistrate and lay a complaint that his employer refuses to take him back and say to the magistrate: You can decide whether I am to be taken back or not? That would be a very simple remedy.

There are many ways in which we can deal with the problem to the advantage of the returned men. I do not want to detain the House any longer, because I presume this resolution of mine will go to the committee that is now dealing with the soldiers' civil re-establishment. My sole desire is that it will go to the committee so that their action may be as wide as it is possible to make it for the purpose that we have in view, namely, the re-establishment of the returned man in civil life. I am satisfied that the committee will deal with the matter seriously if they realize that the House is in earnest—and we are in earnest and the Government must realize that. Any man who has anything to do with the returned men must know that there is amongst those men a current of feeling that they have not received justice. I know no body of men in the Dominion of Canada who say less about what they should have and what they think they should have than the returned soldiers. The returned soldier is the most modest man I have ever had to deal with, and as you know, Sir, during the time I have sat in Parliament, I have had to do with thousands of persons wanting Government employment. I have never yet met a class that equals the returned man in his humility, modesty, want of braggadocio, any attribute that would lead one to believe that he was expecting more than he thought he ought to get. On the other hand, I find they expect less than we ought to give them, and it is our duty to face the situation and to see if we cannot put them back as nearly as possible where they were before they made the great sacrifice and did so much for Canada and future generations of this great country.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY: Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the resolution moved by the hon. member for Ottawa (Mr. Fripp) raises questions very much of the nature of and cognate to, those which are at present engaging a committee of this House appointed to consider the Bill dealing with soldiers' civil re-establishment, and acting upon the suggestion of the hon. member himself—without undertaking at present to express an opinion one way or the other upon his proposals—I beg to move that the resolution be referred to the said committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: That motion could not be entertained at this stage except by consent.

Motion agreed to.

PROPOSED TIME LIMIT ON SPEECHES.

Mr. LEVI THOMPSON (Qu'Appelle) moved:

That in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that a limit should be placed on the time that may be occupied by members in addressing the House and Committee of the Whole.

He said: Mr. Speaker, I think it will be agreed that this House transacts more important business than any other institution in Canada. One would, therefore, naturally expect the business of this House to be transacted in the most business-like way. But no one, I think, will claim that it is so conducted. I think most people will agree that the work of this House is transacted in a more unbusiness like way than that of any other business institution in Canada. That certainly should not be the case.

There may be some reason for this, but to-night I shall deal with only one. The length of time occupied by many hon. members of this House in making speeches on different questions, and the frequency with which they address the House, is becoming both a public and a private nuisance. It is a public nuisance in that it wastes the money of the country. I do not purpose giving an estimate of the amount of money wasted by unnecessarily long and frequent speeches. Estimates have been made, however, of the cost per day, and even per hour and per minute, of the cost of conducting the business of this House. There is no doubt that the sessions are unduly prolonged by reason of these lengthy and frequent speeches, and I do not think it requires much arguing to make it plain that this practice, which is daily becoming worse, does constitute a public nuisance, if for no other reason than that money of the country is unnecessarily expended in carrying on the work of the House. It constitutes a public nuisance also because the business of the House is

unnecessarily retarded, and in consequence, important measures are left over from session to session. There may sometimes be other reasons why measures are left over, but the main reason, in my opinion, is that so much time is unnecessarily taken up in discussion that the Government are discouraged from bringing forward the legislation they would like to present.

The practice is also a private nuisance, because it compels members of this House to remain here longer than is necessary. It is in the interests of the country, I believe, that men who want to conduct the business of the country in a businesslike way, promptly and with despatch, should be encouraged to seek seats in this House and to keep those seats so long as they are able. At present men of that type are discouraged from entering Parliament. The last thing this country needs is orations. We need, rather, business men from all walks of life—the business labour man, if you will, and business men in every other line. We require men who believe in conducting the business of the country with promptness. But the time that is now wasted in making speeches discourages these men from entering the House. Further, from the beginning to the end of the session, the voices of a great many members of this House are hardly ever heard, and they are silent largely because of the length of time taken up by others. I believe that the views of some of these men who are conversant with the subject under discussion would be more useful to the House and the country than the views so frequently and fluently and freely expressed by others, but these men are silent because they feel themselves outclassed by orators, or near-orators, or those who think they are orators, who are anxious to address the House on all subjects that come before it whether they are posted on them or not.

I want to refer briefly to the Debates of the session of 1918, the last session for which we have a bound volume of Hansard. I have made a few calculations, and while I would not undertake to say how much of the time of the House each member occupied to air his views—I am referring to private members, and that does not necessarily include the Speaker of the House or the Chairman, the Prime Minister, the leader of the Opposition or his desk mate, nor any one holding a portfolio under the Government—I find that there were 204 private members, and that nine of them took up twenty-five per cent of the time occupied, as nearly as I could figure it——

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Name them.

Mr. LEVI THOMSON: ——and that over half of the time was occupied by twenty-five members. Those hon. gentlemen may consider that their views are so important that they are entitled to that proportion of time, but I do not think the majority of hon. members would agree with them. To make matters worse some of these gentlemen who took up this extra time were new members, and when we think of what may happen when they become thoroughly familiar with the procedure of the House and "get into their stride," the prospect gives us cause for serious reflection.

It is proposed that we shall express ourselves in the terms of the resolution I have moved. We are only asking for an expression of opinion. No plan is being proposed except, if the House should express itself favourably to this resolution, we would expect the Government, or the House, in some way to take action upon it because there is very little use in expressing the view of the majority of the House unless action is taken. I do not want to suggest any particular way in which this plan could be worked out, but one thing that strikes me is that if we think favourably of this proposal a parliamentary committee should be appointed at the beginning of next session which would take the matter into consideration and decide upon some plan which it would ask the House to adopt. It would be useless to take the question up at this late day in the session, but it seems to me that it would be well to take it up at the beginning of next session.

While, I say, we are only asking the House to adopt the principle, I would suggest that it would not be out of place for me to make some suggestions that have occurred to me, and I make them merely as suggestions. It seems to me that if we were adopting such a rule we would have to make some exceptions. Necessarily, it would go without saying that the Speaker and the Chairman of Committees, the leader of the Government and the leader of the Opposition, would be excepted from the rule. If a time limit were fixed for each member, it would be only reasonable that certain members should be allowed a greater time than others, for instance the heads of departments or the holders of portfolios in the Government. The work of the Opposition, no matter which party is in

opposition, constitutes a very important part of the work of this House, and I believe that it would be necessary, if any such rule were adopted, that the leader of the Opposition should be allowed to select a certain number of persons whom he would call his lieutenants and who would be given additional time. These are merely suggestions.

There is another thing that occurs to me. According to present appearances, in the next Parliament we may not work on the old two-party basis; we may find ourselves with additional parties in the House. That possible fact would have to be taken into consideration if we were framing any plan.

There is another thing that I have not brought to the attention of the House in particular although I think it would be a very important consideration. If the time were limited we would have condensed speeches upon different subjects, which would be very much more interesting than some of the unboiled speeches we hear at the present time.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. SHEARD: Boil down the speakers.

Mr. L. THOMSON: Perhaps I should say unboiled-down speeches. These are merely suggestions. All we are asking for is that the House give an expression of opinion on the principle involved, which, I hope, in the interest of the House, in the interest of the country and in the interest of humanity generally, will be favourable.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce): Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time that this subject has been ventilated in the House. I am not going to say that it partakes of the quality of the proverbial chestnut, but similar ideas have been floating around within the halls of Parliament ever since my entrance into Parliament in 1882. I do not think there is any doubt at all that a good might be gained if the doctrine of self-restraint were practised by each individual member. You can often get a man to put a rein upon himself who would be restive under a rein put upon him by a second or third party.

Mr. BURNHAM: Then the hon. gentleman is not a prohibitionist.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: A school for teaching proper methods of conducting business in legislative and parliamentary assemblies might be a very good thing and every member of Parliament and prospective member of Parliament should be obliged to take a course and get a diploma from that school. A great deal, I think, conceivably might be accomplished in that way; whether we could practically carry it out or not I do not know.

Then again I think there is quite as much waste of time in Parliament—not speaking of any others now but our own—by the intrusion into the parliamentary arena of subjects the reason for the introduction of which it takes a good deal of ingenuity on the part of the common-sense-minded man to unravel. If we had some kind of censorship, some sieve through which all these things should be put, or some sort of questionnaire, which would eliminate altogether irrelevant and altogether irreverent subjects which are often brought to the attention of Parliament, I think we might gain a good deal of time and in public respect as well.

But when you begin putting the throttle on, you always have the right of the individual to contend with. The individual represents his constituency, and you run the risk of the accusation that you are trying to cripple and shut out the voice of the great electorate in so far as that constituency is concerned by tying down the man who represents it and not giving him the free use of his speech, his powers of oratory and his power of thought. You have to take that into consideration. The individual member, the representative of a constituency in Parliament, has a pretty good platform upon which to expatiate—almost as good as has the newspaperman when he hurls his anathemas against any attempt to restrict the freedom of the press and to prevent the voice of the people from being heard through that medium.

As far as this motion is concerned, it asks for an expression of the opinion of the House, and if an expression of the opinion of the House is given on the principle that we should try in some way or other to place limits on the extraordinary usage of time, we, the Government and the House itself, through its proper machinery, must take cognizance of that wish and try to devise some way by which, by amendment of and addition to the rules of the House, less time may be wasted than is wasted now. We will include all of ourselves as being wasters of time. In these later years I do not take up very much time, but may be if we went back far enough those with memories as persistent as my own must recall a period when I took up a considerable amount of the time of the House myself.

But coming down now to what really may be said of the question, I think it is possible for us to make of ourselves a more efficient and more respected body than we are at the present time by putting some restraint upon the misuse of time to which we must all, in the course of long parliamentary careers, plead guilty at one time or another. It is true that of late there have been deep questionings in reference to the efficiency of parliamentary institutions not only in our own country but in other countries. It may be that we are considerably to blame for these questionings in the outer world; and that if we did really put ourselves down under reasonable restrictions which would enable us to do business more efficiently in shorter time and to the greater satisfaction of the public, parliamentary institutions might not be attacked as much as they are. It may be that the proposals of alternatives which are so disastrously advocated to take the place of parliamentary institutions of the past may have been to a certain extent aided by the misuse of time in legislatures and parliaments, and that we would exercise a wholesome influence upon the growth of what you might call the direct political action if we made ourselves a more efficient body. Now those thoughts just come to my mind. I am an old member of Parliament and my time in parliamentary life is drawing towards its close. Those that are about me are younger, they will be responsible for the future work; but I cannot help but be very strongly impressed with the fact, and with the idea, that parliamentary institutions may have made arguments against themselves by the lack of efficiency and method and purpose with which they have applied themselves to their task. I have always found that when a man is limited to time he will draw upon his best resources, and he will put himself on his best behaviour—he will marshal his facts and his arguments so that the time that is at his disposal may be most advantageously used. And I am entirely of the opinion that shorter speeches, debating speeches, speeches which do not have for their main object an object outside of the House itself, are most effective in parliamentary work and conduce to the better understanding of the subjects which are being discussed.

There is no objection at all to this motion —this is a proposition for the House. If the House thinks it is better that we should put ourselves into a position of thought and possible action as to how we may best economize our time, but which in a larger sense is the people's time and for which the people pay, I think that some method can be found by which that opinion, that laudable wish and recommendation, can be carried into effect.

Mr. J. H. BURNHAM (West Peterborough): The right hon. gentleman (Sir George Foster) has touched, I think, if he will allow me to say so, on the central point, or kernel rather, of the situation. He says it is for us to make ourselves a more respectable body. How can we do that, Mr. Speaker, when but a short time ago, when the question of patronage arose, we committed political and moral harikari by stigmatizing ourselves as a crooked bunch—the most extraordinary scene that was ever enacted in this House, or probably that ever occurred in the annals of Canada.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope the hon. gentleman will not fail to adhere to the subject before the House which has purely to do with the length of time consumed in making speeches.

Mr. BURNHAM: That being the case, Mr. Speaker, it would be impossible for us to consider length of time. Length of time would have no place in the matter at all, and we ought to be snuffed out at once;—we set ourselves by ourselves, and we ought to know.

Then the right hon. gentleman has touched upon representative institutions. There are only two institutions, or sorts of institutions, in the country so far as I understand—those that are representative and those that are not. Even the Russian Soviet is simply the same representative institution in different hands. The word "Soviet" means a council; and in Russia they have the village councils, the district councils, the general councils, and the national councils (which is only another name for Parliament), and they are representative. The confusion of the revolution is simply due to the fact that the people have lifted up the mighty burden and overthrown what is in existence—they have not overthrown the principle. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that our representative institutions should not be tampered with—either the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press—and that if we would allow ourselves to enjoy a reputation which every respectable man ought to wish to enjoy—that is some belief and regard for his reputation for probity, and not stigmatize himself as a crook—then I think we would have done

very largely that which the resolution seeks to attain.

Mr. A. R. McMASTER (Brome): As a young member who spoke perhaps on more than one occasion last session, I rise with a certain amount of diffidence after the weighty words pronounced by the member for Qu'Appelle (Mr. L. Thomson) and I assure you, Mr. Speaker, that my remarks shall be very brief. I recognize, and I think all recognize, the wisdom of the words which fell from the lips of that famous parliamentarian (Sir George Foster) who is leading the House to-night; but let me say this, that as a new member I have been deeply impressed by the fact that we do a tremendous amount of our most important business—that is the passing of the estimates and expending of the people's money—without, in my humble opinion, anything like adequate discussion and adequate examination. I do not wish in a family talk of this sort to be unduly critical of the Government, but my short experience has led me to the belief that very often a great number of important Estimates are only brought down at an hour of the session when it is practically impossible to deal with them as they should be dealt with. Now, should we limit by the rules of this Chamber the right of members to speak a certain time? I remember a story of a curate who, having preached a sermon of a length of only ten minutes, asked his bishop, who had listened to him, whether he had not done well in making such a short sermon.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE: Was he a Presbyterian?

Mr. McMASTER: The name "curate" implies, to those who understand the different denominations into which the Protestant church is divided, that he was not a Presbyterian. Well, this curate asked his bishop whether the sermon could not be commended upon the grounds of shortness, and the Bishop replied that it was one of the most tiresome as well as shortest sermons he had ever listened to. Some speeches are tiresome that only occupy ten minutes. Other speeches are much more interesting although they may occupy an hour and a half.

But are there not other methods which we could adopt besides the method of individual self-restraint which has been commended to us by the Minister of Trade and Commerce? I think there are. For instance, there is a rule of this House that if a Bill is not completely passed in one session it has to be taken up de novo the next session. In the recently published life of Sir Edward Clarke he tells us of his efforts to introduce into the British House of Commons a rule whereby if a Bill went as far as its second reading and was then shoved aside by pressure of other business, it should not be thrown into the waste paper basket, but should at the next session of the same Parliament be resumed at the committee stage. These are suggestions I throw out as a short and, I hope, not tiresome contribution to the discussion.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, I fully agree with the idea of the resolution, that we should waste no time. A certain amount of time is necessary for the proper conduct of the business of this House. The problem is to draw the line between where we use our time well and where that time is wasted. One thing is certain, that every member elected to this House should realize that he is coming to an assembly where there is sympathy and good will, where there are no austere rules, and where the representatives of the people are expected primarily to present their views to the public, if you please, and, in a secondary way, to the House of Commons.

Whether we are in the schoolhouse, or on the farm, or in a business—whatever position in life we occupy, there is much to be gained by the example set by our teachers or principals; and I would suggest not only to this Government, but to all governments, that much time might be saved by the Government itself being ready with its business and putting it forward with every possible despatch. Much time is wasted for which Governments are to blame by reason of their not being ready with their business, which unreadiness invites long speeches and dilly-dallying while they are preparing something to throw into the mill. Very few hon. members will continue with a long speech if they find they are impeding Government business and that the Government has really live business to bring on. I would therefore suggest that hereafter the heads of departments should have their business ready when Parliament meets so that it will be manifest to the House that there is work to do and no time to waste.

As far as freedom of speech is concerned, Sir, I am absolutely opposed to trammelling any member who has anything to say. I think a good example can be set by the leaders of the House not talking away

from the subject, and their followers being kept as close to the line as possible. I would like to bring to the notice of the leader of the House (Sir George Foster) that last year, during his absence—I presume he would not tolerate such a thing if he had been present—we had the closure applied after two hours' discussion of a Bill; and after the Government had taken that course five pages of closely printed matter were added to the Bill. That is going to the other extreme, and while I am not in favour of any waste of time, I must necessarily, as a Liberal, I suppose, be absolutely in favour of the fullest opportunity being accorded to every member to express his views. It may be a mistake to allow that latitude at times, but it is certainly keeping on the right side, and, after all, perhaps it is the best use that we can have of wasted money. I do not wish to tantalize my good friend the leader of the House, but I was very much amused tonight when the hon. member for Qu'Appelle (Mr. Thomson) was speaking to notice my hon. friend listening very attentively until he discovered that the hon. member was not criticising the heads of departments, when he immediately exclaimed: "Name those long speechmakers." He felt he was safe.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: My hon. friend gives me credit for more shrewdness than I possess.

Mr. McKENZIE: There are advantages in long speeches from hon. gentlemen like my right hon. friend who leads the House. His speeches contribute much to our literature, for they are conspicuous examples of splendid English, fine thought and lambent wit, and are a source of inspiration and education to us, as they will be also to those who come after us. In cases of that kind it would be a pity to restrict the scope of the speaker's eloquence, imagination and learning on public matters, which are to the advantage of this House and of succeeding generations.

I have only one remedy to suggest, Sir: That those of us who realize the difficulty should set an example, and endeavour to develop a public opinion in this House against too lengthy speeches, and that public opinion will undoubtedly prove thoroughly effective and salutary.

Mr. JEAN J. DENIS (Joliette): Mr. Speaker, the atmosphere of the House tonight gives one the impression that hon. members are opening up their hearts in the direction of effecting a reform, and in that line I cannot help but add my small contribution. During last session I had occasion to oppose a motion which was made by the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) that the House should sit during the remaining days of that session every Saturday and every forenoon. In so far as I remember, I was the only one who dared oppose such a motion, because, at that time every hon. member was very anxious to go back home, especially when the session dragged into the sultry days of summer. I said then that it was totally impossible for hon. members to do their duty to their satisfaction—at least, I was speaking for myself—and I contended, as I still contend, that with my humble attainments it is absolutely impossible for me to follow the sittings every day, six days in the week, in the forenoon, in the afternoon and at night. The occasion does not arise now for a protest on my part, but I am simply taking this opportunity of warning the Government that if we are going to have a free Parliament they should take the necessary means to convene the next session at a sufficiently early date to allow business of the House to be transacted during reasonable hours. This question, I understand, is not irrelevant to the motion under discussion, which has for its object the limiting of the time to be occupied by hon. members when addressing the House, and so, incidentally, limiting the time during which the House sits. A man of ordinary physical strength cannot sit in the House all night and still be in a position to assist in a reasonable way in the passing of legislation—legislation, at any rate, which has been duly weighed in the estimation and conscience of every one.

During this session hon. members have not been very busy. Only one important matter has come before the House—the ratification of the Peace Treaty. And what happened? Hon. members are called upon to cast their vote on that subject before an opportunity has been had for free discussion in this House. I take the responsibility which goes with my words; I say that the Treaty was adopted before a free discussion had been allowed. For it is not a free discussion in any Parliament when the members of that Parliament are called upon to vote on a certain subject at a time which has been fixed. In this way hon. members are debarred from expressing their views freely on a given subject. Upon this one important subject with which we were called upon to deal this session we were asked to vote at half past one in the morning,

when several members had no opportunity of expressing their views with regard to it. Well, Sir, I think that the Government should take the necessary measures to provide that the House should sit only during reasonable hours. I would say that only under very exceptional circumstances should the House sit after midnight.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. DENIS: There is no reason why the House should sit until one, two or three o'clock in the morning.

Further, if the Government wants to bring about such a reform as that of which the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) spoke a while ago, they should establish the principle that the House should not sit during the summer months—in July, for instance. During the war that was all right enough. If the House had sat twelve months in the year, no one would have complained; those who were here at the time realized that it was necessary. But now that the war is over, there is no reason why the House should sit during the months of July and August, and I appeal to the ministers who hear me now to convene the next session of Parliament sufficiently early so that we shall finish the business which has to be done not later that the middle of June.

During the last two weeks of the last session I came into this Chamber day after day, sitting after sitting, and saw on your left, Mr. Speaker, perhaps ten or twelve members, and on your right fifteen—just enough to make a quorum, although the House was, perhaps, discussing a most important measure. Estimates were passed by the millions and scores of millions, yet hon. members had no control over them at all; it was physically impossible for them to have any control over them. Hon. members would stand the strain for a day or two and then walk out disgusted; some of them would go home, saying: "We have had enough of it." A reference to this condition was on the lips of many during the latter part of last session, both inside this House and outside of it.

Now, Sir, if we are to have reforms, if there is to be a limitation of the length of speeches, I do not object. If other reforms have to be made, I am ready to help the Government as much as I can. But certainly there is a reform to be made in the matter of which I speak; the abuse was referred to on many occasions during the last session as well as after its close. Immediately after the session closed I read an article on this subject in the Ottawa Journal, which certainly is a supporter of the Government. Had I known that this subject was to come up to-night I would have had that clipping with me. The Ottawa Journal said it was a crime to cause Parliament to cease to exist through these long sittings. I hope, therefore, that the Government will accept the advice which has been given them from the other side to-night and see that some reform is accomplished.

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Verchères): Mr. Speaker, when I heard the hon. member for Qu'Appelle (Mr. L. Thomson) make the speech supporting his resolution, I went to the library of the House and looked up the Hansard which contains the report of the proceedings of the House at a time when the hon. member was not so shy as he seems to be now.

I find that in those days when the hon. member was not straddling the fence, as he is now, he covered many pages of Hansard in the addresses which he made to this House. In 1914, on the occasion of the Address and in reply to the speech from the Throne, he covered about eight pages of Hansard. In 1915, on the Budget, his speech covered about the same number of pages. In 1916, on the Prohibition question, his speeches covered pages 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 2557, 2883. On the Military Service Act in 1917—coming closer to the present—his speech covered nine pages, and his speech on the Budget of that year covers pages 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, and 985. May I suggest that the reason why the hon. member is not making any speeches now is that he is in such a position that were he to rise for the purpose of addressing the House he would probably be obliged to make long speeches of criticism of the Government? My hon. friend probably thinks it is better for his health that he should sit down and not air his opinions at the present moment, and that is probably the reason for his continence.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK (Red Deer): Mr. Speaker, I have hesitated very much to intervene in this debate, as I was anxious that my hon. friend from Qu'Appelle (Mr. L. Thomson) for whom I have great respect, should receive some measure of support from those who agree with him. It follows from what I have already said, Sir, that I do not find myself in absolute agreement with my hon. friend.

The hon. gentleman, as my hon. friend (Mr. Archambault) has pointed out, made to-night what is perhaps his shortest speech on record. I certainly think it was the worst speech of his that I ever heard—not because of its brevity, but because it contained so little. He said, so far as I can remember, that there is a great deal of time wasted in Parliament, that long speeches are the cause of it; and without going into detail, having made his diagnosis, he proceeded to the treatment, which of course was the suggestion that the speeches should be curtailed. Well, that is a very summary way of dealing with this question. One has, in such a debate, Sir, to speak with one's watch in one's hand.

The very points that my hon. friend mentioned in his speech which seemed to reveal a feeling on his own part that the subject was defective are those which he should have elaborated. He said that he was not going into detail. Now, that is a pity, because if he was going to curtail speeches, he should at least have given us some idea of the point to which he would allow the speeches of those who are not heads of departments or ministers to go. He did not mention any time limit that he himself would put on. Another great defect in the speech, so far as I may be allowed to judge it—and my good friend will allow me, I know, because he and I have always been on the very best of terms, and will continue so, even though I venture to differ from him on this subject—was that he failed utterly to take note of the fact that a large variety of subjects come before hon. members of the House.

Mr. Speaker, it is perfectly obvious to the youngest member of this House that there are some subjects which naturally lend themselves to brief speech, and I have heard in the House debates in which no speech exceeded a very few minutes, because of the nature of the subject being dealt with. The debating was, from my point of view, admirably varied and spread over the whole House. I have known other subjects come before this House which naturally lent themselves to be dealt with by hon. gentlemen who had given perhaps a lifetime of study to those subjects and the very nature of which caused the speeches of these hon. gentlemen to occupy a large proportion of the time. I repeat that I wish my hon. friend had gone more into detail and that he had taken note of that other matter. In supporting his resolution he ventured a long way in criticism of his fellow-members. He practically classified this House, so far as it has an existence outside of himself, and the classification took this form. He gave some very interesting figures about hon. gentlemen who spoke a great deal in the House, and then he went on to express the opinion that there were a large number of hon. gentlemen who never speak at all, who did not open their mouths, yet could speak at least as well or perhaps better than the speaking gentlemen. In other words, he seemed to classify the House as consisting of speaking nonentities and dumb philosophers. I am quite at a loss, and I am sorry that my hon. friend did not enlighten us, as to how he arrived at an opinion of the ability of the dumb gentlemen. That is a matter which is a very great puzzle to me at the present moment. It must have been because they have taken him into their confidence in private, and then, I suppose, they must have spoken, and it is possible after all for members of Parliament to waste a great deal of time in private conversation when they ought to be attending to speeches, short or long, within this chamber. I could not help thinking that when he was forming his opinion of the amount of wisdom that is contained within the heads of the hon. gentlemen who seldom or never speak in the House, he was a somewhat more superficial observer of men than Shakespeare was. Shakespeare, you remember, Sir, said:

> There are a sort of men, whose visages
> Do cream and mantle, like a standing pond;
> Who do a wilful stillness entertain,
> With purpose to be dressed in an opinion
> Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit;
> As if to say, "I am Sir Oracle,
> And, when I ope my lips, let no dog bark!"

Well, the poet, so far as he describes the kind of members of the House—I do not describe them—as they appeal to the hon. member for Qu'Appelle (Mr. Levi Thomson), has described them; but in the subsequent lines, if my recollection is correct, the great student of human nature goes on to utter about this dumb people some further sentences which are by no means complimentary, because you, Mr. Speaker, who are a student of Shakespeare, will very well remember that he goes on to say that if these dumb gentlemen did but speak, their speech would so horrify the community that their brothers would wish they were dumb. That is my recollection of the subsequent portion of the poem.

I want, without exceeding my time limit and in a single sentence, to enter a serious protest on behalf of the only speaking animal upon the face of the globe. We have,

from the jelly fish, up through the insects and the worms and the reptiles and the molluscs and the birds and the fishes and the quadrupeds, an infinite variety of animal creation; but it so happens that the only animal capable of articulate and well-reasoned speech is the human being, and I want to enter a modest plea on behalf of the head of the animal creation on this globe. I should be very sorry to vote for the resolution in the form and shape in which it stands. I find myself almost in entire accord with the very wise words that fell from the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie). There is a certain waste of time in Parliament, though it is a very pleasant place to spend one's time in. I am a confirmed believer in Parliamentary institutions, and I enjoy seeing those Parliamentary institutions in operation, even when they lead to Parliamentary speech. There is a great deal in what the leader of the Opposition said about the methods by which Governments do their business. He did not, I think, for a moment want us to believe that that applies to any one Government in this country or in the Old Country upon whose great Parliament our parliamentary institutions are founded. The fact is, Sir, that in this connection certain broad traditions have gathered around Parliament, and one of these days, especially when our people are in such a businesslike frame of mind as I believe them to be at the present moment, when our people are looking for some product from Parliament for the benefit of the people, it will be necessary for some party, composed either from the old traditional parties or by an unparalleled and swift growth on the part of the cross benches in this House, to see to it that those traditions are abolished, broken through, and that when we meet for business, the Government of the day, which after all is responsible for governing the country and for the running of Parliament, shall bring its business before us in a businesslike manner.

In previous discussions, I have heard the rules of the House blamed upon this question. I would say in regard to that, emphasizing what was said by the leader of the Opposition about the importance of free speech, merely that those rules have grown not only through generations but through centuries of practice of the Parliamentary order of debating and deliberating, and that I should be slow to blame those rules. Nearly all of them are framed originally to curb arbitrary power on the part of monarchs and governments and to preserve the rights of the people. They may be improved, and they are being improved from time to time by the Acts of Parliament itself and by the rulings of Speakers in the Chair. I do not think my hon. friend was successful in making out a good case for voting for so abstract a resolution as the one he has brought before us, and if it went to a vote, I for one would certainly vote against it.

9 p.m.

[Mr. M. Clark.]

In addition to the very practical and wise suggestions which fell from the leader of the Opposition, we must all have been impressed with the equally wise suggestion which fell from my right hon. friend (Sir George Foster) who is leading the House on this occasion, namely, that a wise restraint upon the part of the individual would help very much. There are other restraints, of course. At every general election the public applies a restraint, because I believe it is a fact that one-third of the House disappears at every general election, and I am not at all sure that in that disappearance the speakers fare any worse than the dumb philosophers. The public is a wise restraint and a purifying process in that way. And the members of the House have, after all, their own methods of controlling any undue tendency to speak on the part of any individual member. Common sense in my humble judgment, may be trusted in this matter to control us. Of course, I may remind myself and the House of the three wisest rules I know of in regard to public speaking which were once pronounced in a famous address on the subject by a former Governor General of Canada, Lord Dufferin. Lord Dufferin gave rules for public speaking which, if we followed, would at once make needless such a resolution as that we have before us to-night. He said to an audience of young men once, "Never rise unless you have something to say. When you rise, say it. And when you have said it, sit down."

Motion negatived.

DISMISSAL OF JAMES CONNER.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Springfield) moved:

For a copy of all correspondence relating to the dismissal of James Conner from the dual positions which he held at Snowflake, Manitoba, under the Departments of Customs, and Immigration and Colonization.

He said: When the Estimates of the Customs Department were under discussion last session I brought to the attention of the House a little matter that I thought required ventilation. I referred to a member of the

Civil Service, James Conner, who was appointed a preventive office at Snowflake, Manitoba, about twenty-one years ago. He first was appointed to guard the public domain in the matter of timber, for which he got about $200 a year. Later he was appointed Customs officer at a very small salary. After from fifteen to twenty years' service, he was receiving a salary of $600 a year. About eight years ago when the immigration movement began from the United States, Mr. Conner was asked to look after the immigrants, and $100 a year was added to his salary. So he received for this dual position the magnificent sum of $700 per year. I have known Mr. Conner for some thirty years. He is a man of sterling character, devoted to the public service. He guarded the boundary for a considerable distance as faithfully as if the country belonged to him. During the eight years in which he received $100 for performing his immigration duties he spent many a night from sunset until eleven or twelve o'clock doing all in his power to perform those duties, and he lived in a tent in order to do it. I looked up the records and I read the report of a Government inspector who went down there and reported to the Government that Mr. Conner was a faithful officer and had done his duty efficiently. Mr. Conner has brought up a family of ten children in that country. They live there yet, and have added greatly to the wealth of the country. They farm something like eight quarter-sections of land. That man has laboured on the farm as very few farmers have ever done. I was moved when I was member for Lisgar, because of his faithfulness and industry as a man, to suggest to him that he might look after the timber for the Government and become a preventive officer. He did so and received this small salary. I have not represented that constituency for a great many years, but I know this old Scotchman, and he wrote me a letter about a year ago saying that he had just received notice on October 4 that he had been summarily dismissed as on the previous 30th of September. I was naturally indignant at an action of that kind on the part of the Government, and especially on the part of the Union Government, so I wrote to the Commissioner of Customs, the late Mr. McDougald, and he replied that the dual positions which Mr. Conner had held had been combined and Mr. Conner let out on the grounds of economy.

I want to preface what I am going to say by stating that I am not blaming the Minister of Customs or the Minister of Immigration because they knew absolutely nothing about this. I took the trouble to inquire into the facts, and I discovered that although one of the reasons assigned for Mr. Conner's dismissal was that he was an old man, there had been appointed in his place to do this immigration work a man from Winnipeg fifty-seven years of age, at a salary of $650 a year. Through a little contemptible wire-pulling on the part of some officers in the departments, for which they should be dismissed, they got this fine old farmer fired from the Customs Department, giving the dual position to this Mr. Nesbitt at a joint salary of $1,200—on the ground of economy, mark you!—whereas Mr. Conner had done the work of preventive officer for $600 and immigration for $100 a year. Any hon. member with a sense of justice would naturally be aroused at a contemptible action of that kind. I found by inquiry that the Minister of Immigration (Mr. Calder) knew absolutely nothing about it. It was done before the Government of which he is a member took office. I inquired into the reasons for the dismissal of Mr. Conner from the Customs and the other department. The matter was very properly referred by the Minister of Immigration to the officers of his department, and one of these officers, Mr. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, reported—I hold in my hand a copy of his report—that Mr. Conner had been discharged because he was inefficient; and a more efficient man appointed in his place. Inefficient, mark you. Now, Mr. Conner only received $100 for performing his duties as immigration officer, and during the eight years in which he performed his work we had the heaviest immigration into this country from the United States that we ever had. We shall never in all probability have such a heavy immigration again. And although Mr. Conner had performed this work during all these years up till the time immigration absolutely ceased, he was dismissed on the ground of inefficiency. It annoyed me still more to have these petty officers who conspired to put a decent man out of business make a lying report to the effect that he was inefficient. I read the report of a Government officer who inspected the work of Mr. Conner at the time and he reported that he was entirely efficient. Now, to add insult to injury, these petty conspirators put forward the claim that Mr. Conner was inefficient and they had to get another man to take his place; and, just think of it, on the

ground of economy, forsooth, when the new man is drawing double the salary that was paid to this old gentleman, Mr. Conner. In writing to me, Mr. Conner said that he would not have minded at all if the job had been given to a returned soldier, but it was a different matter when the position was given to an official sent out from Winnipeg, because there was nothing for him to do in the Winnipeg office and because wires had been secretly pulled to undo him. I inquired very carefully into this matter, because it interested me, and I am not able to see that any member of the Government even knew about it, but in the correspondence I was able to examine I found one letter that gave me a slight clue to what probably occurred. Here is a letter which Mr. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior, sent to Mr. John McDougald, late Commissioner of Customs. He says:

Mr. F. H. Nesbitt, Immigration Inspector at Snowflake, Manitoba, who draws a salary of $1,050 per annum could do the Customs work as well.

He was to get $1,050 to do the immigration work whereas Mr. Conner had done it for the years when there was immigration coming into the country for $100 a year. This man was to get $1,050 when there were no immigrants coming into the country. If Nesbitt was getting $1,050 as the immigration officer and $600 for customs he was being paid a pretty handsome salary. What business was it of Cory's to conspire against this splendid old officer who had done his best for the Government for twenty-one years?

I believe that your officer at that point is very old, and, from what I can gather, very inefficient. The commissioners, who have been investigating our immigration service recommend that the duties of the two departments be combined and that Mr. Nesbitt be placed in charge; the cost of the service to be apportioned between the two departments.

This is the matter about which I spoke to you over the telephone. Will you please let me have confirmation of this arrangement?

That is a very suggestive statement. This man Cory speaks to John McDougald over the telephone in order to conspire against this prime old officer who, after twenty-one years' service, receives a letter on the 4th of October saying that he is summarily dismissed. This is most contemptible conduct towards any officer. Here is the copy of a report that Mr. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration wrote to the hon. the Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Mr. Calder) after I drew the attention of the Government to it last session. Mr. Calder asked for a report. I will read from it.

[Mr. Richardson.]

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I would like to ask the hon. gentleman if that is not part of the correspondence that his motion calls for.

Mr. RICHARDSON: If I were quite sure that I would not get myself into a hole by answering that question, I would answer it frankly. Supposing I said it was part of the correspondence would I be ruled out?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The correspondence certainly could not be read.

Mr. RICHARDSON: Well then I will not admit that it is.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. member is moving

For a copy of all correspondence relating to the dismissal of James Conner from the dual positions which he held at Snowflake, Manitoba, under the Departments of Customs and Immigration and Colonization.

It is not permissible for a member to read papers which he is asking the House for an order to produce.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I do not think it is that. This does not relate to the dismissal of Mr. Conner. This is a letter written to the hon. Minister of Immigration and Colonization and it really has nothing to do with the correspondence. I fancy the House will be deeply interested in hearing this because it is a matter which deeply concerns the interests of all officials who may happen to be public servants like Mr. Conner. The blood that courses through our veins should boil at the treatment that he has received. This conspiracy was one of the pettiest, and dirtiest little devices on the part of certain understrappers in the public service that has ever come to my notice, and that is why I am taking the trouble to bring the matter to the attention of the House. I do not want anything like this ever to be repeated or that any officer should ever suffer as I believe this gentleman has suffered by reason of the treatment he has received. Now I will read the letter. It is a letter that even Mr. Speaker should enjoy:

When your Estimates were up in the House Mr. Richardson, M.P., raised some question regarding the dismissal of James Conner, of Snowflake, and the appointment of Mr. F. H. Nesbitt. You promised to look into the matter and I am submitting this memorandum to show the history of these cases as recorded on our files.

James Conner, then customs officer at Mowbray, Manitoba, was appointed to do immigration inspection work at that port, and at Snowflake in March, 1908, for which immigration work he received from us remuneration at the

rate of $100 per annum. At the time Mr. Conner was engaged by us his address was Mowbray but shortly afterwards he was moved, by the Customs Department, I presume, to Snowflake.

Mr. Conner may have been a very good customs officer but he was a poor immigration officer and we had to be constantly after him to get any report at all.

I took the trouble to go through the papers and I found that Mr. Conner made reports on his immigration work every month, and for Mr. Scott to state that Mr. Conner never made any report is nothing less than a pure bald lie told with deliberation for the purpose of injuring a faithful decent fellow officer who had served his country faithfully for twenty-one years.

So far as our records show, he never made any report of rejections, I suppose because he never rejected any person, and he reported very few admissions.

He reported all that came and there were thousands and thousands. I will read his letter which shows the work that was done and that he had to spend nights at work seeing after these immigrants.

He was responsible however for letting in a most undesirable bunch of gypsies, and this lack of judgment on his part was, figuratively speaking, the last straw that broke the camel's back.

Ye gods! If an officer made a report like that to me I would want to have his scalp in five minutes in view of the facts that I am going to read to you later on.

Mr. Nesbitt was taken on our staff at Winnipeg on the first of January, 1916, at a salary of $85 per month. He is a man of 57 years of age.

And they dismissed Mr. Conner on the ground that he was an old man. Mr. Conner was not, I suppose, over 60 years of age when he was dismissed.

When he was transferred to Snowflake he still received $85 per month.

There is a lot more correspondence. I asked Mr. Conner, when I read this statement, to send me a report of the facts. Here is the report that he sends me:

In reply to Mr. Scott's report to Hon. Mr. Calder re my dismissal, Mr. Scott states Mr. Conner may have been a very good customs officer but he was a poor immigration officer and we had to be constantly after him to get any report at all. That is not the truth.

Here is a fine old Scotchman that does not know how to lie. He speaks frankly about that report:

He also states he never made any rejections and he reported very few admissions because he never rejected any person.

I am sorry I have not the books of the customs office to fall back on for further information, but I happen to have some old settlers' entries from the years 1900-1901 down to the years 1906-1907. When immigration from North Dakota was at the highest, why sir, the rush was so great tents were sent out from Winnipeg, from the Interior Department, for the use of settlers while loading their cars. We had as many as ten cars of settlers' effects leave Snowflake on one train for the North West; hundreds of settlers entered their effects at Snowflake and Mowbray those above years. Many a night the C.P.R. agent and myself were on duty up to ten o'clock p.m., hurrying those people along to have their cars loaded for the train in the morning.

Mr. Scott states Mr. Conner was a poor immigration officer. I may state for Mr. Scott's information, if he will refer to the settlers' entries recorded in this customs office at Snowflake, he will find that James Conner has handled more settlers crossing the boundary line from North Dakota overland by highway than any other officer; nor will the same ever happen again.

Of course it will not happen again; there will not be a similar influx of settlement again. I repeat, that after doing all this work for years at $100 a year Conner is dismissed on the ground of economy and a man at seven times the salary replaces him at a time when there is not a single settler crossing at that point.

Mr. Scott says "We had to be constantly after him to get any report of rejections and he reported very few admissions." My report was sent in every month.

Yes, and I read his report. I went through these documents myself that were sent in every month and no officer could be more explicit or painstaking in his figures.

As for rejections if we found any one not wanted who had walked over from North Dakota when we had open bars in Snowflake for whiskey, we turned them back. Where there are hundreds of miles of open prairie and trails all along the boundary line running into North Dakota a barbed wire fence and a mounted policeman every mile would not keep any person from coming over either into Canada or the United States. They come over during the night after dark. When he war started we had notice from the military authorities at Camp Sewell to stop deserters, who had deserted, heading for the boundary line.

Mr. Scott also states that James Conner was responsible for letting in a most undesirable bunch of gypsies;

I would like the members to pay attention to that.

Well, I admit being partly responsible. Those persons were United States citizens, truck farmers from the State of Georgia. They crossed the boundary at Mowbray where they reported to the Mounted Police who was stationed here. They were travelling by highway with horses and covered wagons. They had plenty of money; in fact they showed me about thirty thousand dollars ($30,000) in United States currency and gold; they were

heading for Alberta where they had friends. As no land had been taken up I collected duty on their outfits. However, they lied to me, that about trying to enter at Emerson. If Emerson or Winnipeg had phoned or wired the Mounted Police stationed at Mowbray and Snowflake, or myself, we would have rejected them. In the meantime I reported their entry to Percy Reed who was acting Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg. He wrote in reply that I should not have allowed them in as they had been rejected at Emerson.

These men lied to Conner, they said that they had not even reported at Emerson.

Mr. Reed wired the Mounted Police Commissioner at Regina who wired the Mounted Police at Snowflake to follow them, arrest them, and bring them back. They were found north of Crystal City; four of the men I think were brought before a J.P. there and sent to the jail at Morden for making a false statement when entering Canada.

Mr. McLeod, a lawyer in Morden, took up their case on appeal for their release. The case went before a judge at Morden; as no one appeared from the Government to prosecute they were let free and deported.

If this report of the Superintendent of Immigration has any effect at all in condemning Mr. Conner for letting in these gypsies, how comes it that neither he nor the department thought it worth while even to send somebody to prosecute them when they were in the jail? The Government, or the department, must have treated the matter with entire indifference before these people were let go. Nevertheless the commissioner uses that as a pretext for the ignominious dismissal of this officer.

Mr. Scott says they were gypsies: I find nothing in the immigration regulations respecting gypsies; one of them, a well informed man, told me they were truck farmers and had negroes working for them down in the State of Georgia.

Mr. Scott says in his reply to Hon. Mr. Calder on the 12th September, 1918—you sent me a memo. asking that I ascertain whether F. H. Nesbitt, our officer at Snowflake, had been appointed customs officer. The Commissioner of Customs replied to say that Jas. Conner, sub-collecor of customs would not be acting for the Customs Service after the end of Sept. 1918, and that the Customs Dept. would utilize the services of F. H. Nesbitt and would pay $600 towards his salary. Now the question arises who recommended Jas. Conners' sudden dismissal from the Customs?

That is one of the questions I have been working on, and I have come to the conclusion that it was a little put-up job on the part of the understrappers and officials to get rid of this man and obtain the place for some favourite of their own.

Mr. Conner has just sent me this memo, with regard to the work he had to perform and his remuneration. He says:

On page 73, part 1, trade report, Department of Customs, 1917. Revenue collected (Man.) Snowflake—

[Mr. Richardson.]

Remember, Conner got a salary of only $600.

Revenue collected at Snowflake $2,066.33.

Now at Crystal City, which is supposed to be a much more important port the revenue collected was $1,398.30. Yet the collector at Crystal City received $1,000 a year salary from the Customs, and James Conner who collected far more revenue, received much less salary. The man at Crystal City who collected $1,398.30 received a salary of $1,000 from the Customs Department, whilst Jas. Connor, who collected at Snowflake $2,066, only received a salary of $600, and yet Connor is the man that is dismissed. It just looks to me, Mr. Speaker, that it is precious funny conduct to display to the most decent and efficient officer in that part of the country— to dismiss him on the ground of economy.

I was wondering if the Civil Service Commission had anything to do with a case of that kind. Is it possible that a little conspiracy can be hatched on the part of a few understrappers that the head of a decent man may roll into the basket because of this conspiracy and how are we to guard the interests of men of that type? I got no satisfaction last session when I brought this matter up. As in the case of the old Presbyterian minister the Government looked the difficulty squarely and savagely in the face and passed on. Therefore I have brought the case up again, and I want to know what is going to be done about this ignominious dismissal of Mr. Conner? Is this Union Government going to rest under the stigma of even being in existence when a man as decent as that is summarily dismissed without notice, without a thank you, and under such circumstances as I have described, or is he to be reinstated? I want to know if these things can be done in this year of grace 1919 and no redress forthcoming to this decent man? What incentive will any civil servant ever have to serve the Government faithfully if just because of that faithful service he is to be summarily dismissed without any notice being given him—in fact, Conner was dismissed and his salary stopped before he got his notice of dismissal. I would like a declaration from the right hon. gentleman (Sir George Foster) who is leading the House, a man to whom we all look up and who is the acme of wisdom, and I take it also of justice. I would just like him to tell the House what ought to be done in the

case of a man like Mr. Conner. Mr. Conner does not even know I am bringing up his case, but my sense of justice was outraged; I felt I would keep at this thing to find out whether justice could be obtained in a case of this kind. If the position had been given to a returned soldier, probably Mr. Conner would have been perfectly satisfied and so would I. I am not trying to get a job for him but simply to have some little consolation offered to him for the manner in which he has been treated. Now I pause for a declaration from the Government as to what it will do in this case.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I will try my very best to give a declaration after what the hon. gentleman has been good enough to say about me. I do not know the least thing about the case except that I have heard the story of my hon. friend. I am not impugning that at all; it is, I dare say, correct, but I think I will have to ask my hon. friend to await an answer from the responsible head of the department—it is very dangerous work mixing in with the business of colleagues. The papers in this case will be brought down in answer to the request of my hon. friend. I have no doubt at all that the interested ministers will give my hon. friend a fair answer and if injustice has been done they will take the proper steps to remedy it.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I would like to point out to the leader of the House that I was just as emphatic in my observations and presented the case just as perfectly last session. The responsible minister, Hon. Mr. Calder, did not propose any remedy or offer any suggestion, and I do not at present know whether or not any measure of justice will be accorded this dismissed officer.

If the right hon. leader of the House will say that when the papers come down, if he is leading the House at the end of the session, he will make a declaration, I will subside at once.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I can do that right away. A declaration will be made either by the responsible minister or by myself.

Mr. RICHARDSON: All right.

Motion agreed to.

DOMINION BY-ELECTIONS ACT—1919 AMENDMENT.

On motion of Sir George Foster, Bill No. 13, to amend the Dominion By-Elections Act, 1919, was read the third time and passed.

42½

CANADA GRAIN ACT, 1919—AMENDMENT.

On the motion of Sir George Foster the House went into Committee to consider the following proposed resolution; Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

That it is expedient to amend subsection seven of section ninety-five of The Canada Grain Act, as enacted by section three of Chapter forty of the Statutes of 1919, by providing that if in any year after the crop year ending on the thirty-first day of August, 1919, the total surplus of grain found in an elevator upon taking stock is in excess of one-quarter of one per cent of the gross amount of the grain received in the elevator during the crop year, such excess surplus shall be sold annually by the Board of Grain Commissioners and the proceeds thereof paid to the said Board. Such proceeds to be applied towards the cost of administration of The Canada Grain Act in such manner as the Governor in Council may direct.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Will the minister please explain the necessity of the amendment?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The purpose of this resolution is to found a Bill thereon amending an Act of the last session of Parliament in relation to the Grain Act. Hon. gentlemen will remember that last session a Bill amending the Grain Act provided that overages at terminal elevators should not exceed one quarter of one per cent. I had the direction of the measure during its passage through the House, and from the representations made to me at the time it was apparent that the intention was that the Bill should first be applicable to the present cereal year. The purpose of the proposed Bill therefore is to make it clear that the provisions of the Act of last session shall not apply to grain in terminal elevators at the end of the last cereal year.

Mr. McKENZIE: Will the hon. gentleman tell us briefly the number of elevators to which this law will apply, and how many of them are Government-owned elevators and where they are situated ?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: They are all terminal elevators at the head of the Lakes.

Mr. McKENZIE: All Government-owned?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Government and private-owned elevators situated at the head of the Lakes, the Georgian Bay ports, and Montreal.

Mr. McKENZIE: Are those the only elevators to which this law will apply?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: There are also three elevators in the interior to which this will apply. It does not apply to any

elevators in the Maritime Provinces—if that is what my hon. friend has in mind.

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not think there are any elevators there.

Mr. MAHARG: Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that this amendment does not apply to any elevators in the Maritime Provinces and west of the Great Lakes?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I said it applied to the terminal elevators, and that there were no such elevators in the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. MAHARG: Is there not one at St. John?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The question of overages would not arise there.

Mr. MAHARG: It has just as good an opportunity to arise there, I think, as at other points.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I do not think so. The question does not arise at Montreal.

Mr. MAHARG: Does the word "interior" bar them?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: It would apply to interior elevators.

Mr. MAHARG: And also on the Pacific coast?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes.

Resolution reported, and concurred in.

Sir George Foster thereupon moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 17 to amend the Canada Grain Act.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

CIVIL SERVICE RE-CLASSIFICATION.

On the motion of Hon. A. K. MACLEAN, the House went into committee to consider the following proposed resolution:

Resolved, That it is expedient to bring in a measure to amend The Civil Service Act, 1918, and therein to provide:—

That the provisions of the said Act relating to temporary employment, dismissals, resignations, hours of attendance, annual reports, regulations, examinations, classification, appointments, promotions, transfers, and compensation be amended, and that provision be made for reclassifying the Civil Service and for any additional expense which may result from such re-classification.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Mr. Chairman, after the very interesting discussion which we have had to-night as to the undesirability of unnecessary talking, I hope that the committee will not require any lengthy address from me at this stage of the measure. I am anxious to make progress in the matter, in the first place, in order that I may have the Bill introduced and printed and, in the second place, that I may be in a position to distribute the copies of the classification of the Civil Service, which is the principal matter referred to in this Bill.

The resolution, hon. gentlemen will remember, was under discussion during the last session, but for various reasons the consideration of the Bill based upon it was postponed until the present session. During recess some amendments have been made to the printed classification as presented to Parliament last session. I think that the classification as it now stands will be much more readily understood by hon. members because of the publication of a list of classes grouped by services and the division of various services into ranks. I hope the committee will allow me to proceed and have the Bill introduced so that I may have the copies of the classification distributed.

Mr. McKENZIE: I am told upon what I regard as fair authority that this Bill, which was before the House last session, and on which we made some progress, was submitted to a committee appointed by the Government for the purpose of considering it; that they had made a report and that some amendments and some reconstruction of the classification are proposed. It will be interesting to know what that report is and to ascertain wherein the Bill has been improved so that it may now be satisfactory to the Civil Service.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I assume that my hon. friend refers more particularly to the classification than to the Bill.

Mr. McKENZIE: Well, I believe that the Bill as submitted last session was entirely unworkable, and if the improvement in the classification or in the Bill is such as to make it workable and satisfactory to civil servants it will be a victory for the national policy, so to speak. We had in Ottawa for over a year gentlemen who were imported into this country from the United States who called themselves experts and to whom very large amounts of money were paid by the Government for the bringing about of this classification. I am told that they produced a piece of machinery so difficult of understanding, so complicated and so far beyond the comprehension of the Government and of the officials of the various departments that the thing was en-

tirely unworkable, and some ordinary minds had to go to work at it with a view to providing machinery that a very ordinary Government could understand. When I used the expression "national policy," I mean home talent, and I am glad indeed that this home talent, these men of our own who took hold of this Act, have apparently been able to put it in such shape that we shall be able to put it through. I hope that the minister, before he asks us to go very far with the Bill, will have this report printed and distributed, so that we may see exactly what changes were made and what recommendations are sent to us by this committee. I do hear a great many expressions of opinion to the effect that the Bill should go through this session. I trust that it is in such shape and that there is such accord on the subject among members of the Government themselves and their supporters that the Bill will become law during the present session.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I shall endeavour to give my hon. friend the information he desires. I think I shall have it in my possession on the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. CURRIE: I notice that this resolution is rather narrow. Will provision be made to enable us, when the Bill is brought down, to discuss the question of enlarging the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: It will be open to any hon. gentleman to propose an amendment.

Mr. CURRIE: But if an hon. member proposes an amendment to that effect, a reference to the resolution as adopted will show that no provision is made in it for the enlargement of the commission. The hon. gentleman will see that it does not provide money for that purpose.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The Bill as presented to the House last year made provision for the enlargement of the Civil Service Commission. At present, however, it is the view of the Government that there is no good ground for the extension of the personnel of the commission and the consequent increase in the cost of administering the Act. However, if the judgment of the House is otherwise, I am sure that the Government will not interpose any objection.

Resolution reported and concurred in.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN thereupon moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 18, to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918.

Mr. CURRIE: Explain the Bill.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: It is my intention to explain the Bill on the second reading. In the meantime, I propose to distribute the printed classification.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

On motion of Sir George Foster the House adjourned at 10 p.m.

Monday, September 30, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

NORTH EMPIRE FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.

On motion of Mr. M. R. Blake (North Winnipeg), rules 103 and 115 were suspended in reference to Bill No. 16, respecting the North Empire Fire Insurance Company.

MILITIA ACT AMENDMENT.

Major-General MEWBURN (Minister of Militia) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 19 to amend the Militia Act.

Mr. McKENZIE: Explain.

Major-General MEWBURN: The purport of this Bill is to repeal certain sections of the Militia Act which provide for the appointment of certain officers, such as the General Officer Commanding, the Chief of the General Staff, the Master General of the Ordnance, the Adjutant General, and the Quartermaster General. It is proposed to do away with certain of these offices and to try and reorganize the Militia on a different basis. It is in contemplation to do away with the Chief of the General Staff and the Master General of the Ordnance, and bring the Bill into conformity with some amendments that were passed last year leaving the appointment of officers to the Governor in Council. I may say that on the reorganization there will be no increase, and as far as expenditure is concerned it will only be such as was provided for in the Estimates last year.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Will the minister kindly explain what he means by "leaving the appointment of officers to the Governor in Council?" Is that power not invested in the Governor in Council now?

Major-General MEWBURN: No. The present Militia Act provides that there may be appointed an officer called the General Officer Commanding, and also that there

shall be an Inspector General. As a matter of fact there were two Inspectors General during the war. The Act further provides how the rates of pay of each of these officers shall be laid down, and declares there shall be an Adjutant General.

Sir SAM HUGHES: These officers are appointed by the Governor in Council at present.

Major-General MEWBURN: They are shall be an Inspector General. As a matter during the war. The Act further provides there may be a Master General of Ordnance at headquarters. The purport of this Bill is to leave the appointment of these officers and the fixing of their pay, to the Governor in Council in conformity with some amendments adopted last year.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

THE PROCEDURE UPON THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Verchères): I would like to draw the attention of the Minister of Railways and the Government to a most serious matter. With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I will read a few extracts from an article published in Jack Canuck of September 6.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member will not be in order in reading articles from Jack Canuck or any newspaper in order to base an attack upon the Government; he may not do that upon the Orders of the Day.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I put my questions in writing and I was not allowed,—

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. member would not be allowed under the rules to put his questions in writing, much less would he be permitted to put those questions on the Orders of the Day.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I understand, Mr. Speaker, that you have not given your decision on the question. It was the Clerk of the House who notified me that my questions could not be put.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member would not be in order in any case in submitting a question on the Orders of the Day which he had previously attempted to put upon the Order Paper in the ordinary course. The hon. gentleman may not proceed with his questions.

Mr. ARMSTRONG: The question deals with a matter which is most serious and urgent.

HUDSON BAY RAILWAY.

CONDITION OF THE ROADBED AND THE TERMINALS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JOHN A. MAHARG (Maple Creek): I wish to draw the attention of the Government to a despatch which appeared in the Ottawa Citizen yesterday morning. I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, that no reflection whatever is made on the Government, so I think there can be no objection on that score to bringing the matter up. I will not read the whole despatch, but simply confine myself to giving its effect. The article points out that the work done in connection with the terminals of the railway at Hudson Bay is falling into decay, and that unless some protection to the right of way is provided the ice this winter will in all probability ruin the whole of the improvements that have been carried out there. In view of the fact that this matter is of vital importance to western Canada, and that there has been some $20,000,000 spent at Hudson Bay already on terminals, I would like to know if the Government is aware of the condition of things alluded to, and if so what it intends to do in connection with the matter.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): I can say to my hon. friend that I also noticed the despatch to which he has alluded. The Minister of Railways is not at present in town, but I believe he will arrive to-day.

No doubt that matter has been drawn to the attention of that department. I will communicate with the minister as soon as he comes in and will give the hon. gentleman a reply to-morrow.

Mr. MAHARG: That is quite satisfactory.

CANADIAN RECONSTRUCTION ASSOCIATION.

Mr. MAHARG: Mr. Speaker, I also have another matter here that I would like to draw to the attention of the Government. It is rather a flashy advertisement sent out under the direction of the Canadian Reconstruction Association. It was received by a veteran in a letter sent to him from the——

Mr. SPEAKER: Is this a matter of such urgency that it would be detrimental to the public interest if the question were put upon the Order Paper in the ordinary way? Otherwise the hon. gentleman cannot proceed upon the Orders of the Day.

Mr. MAHARG: I would not dare to say that it would be detrimental to the public interest if it were not proceeded with, but it would be very interesting, indeed, to a large section of the public to have this cleared up.

Mr. SPEAKER: The only basis upon which the question could be submitted on the Orders of the Day and not placed upon the Order Paper is the element of urgency and widespread national importance. It does not seem to me that the question the hon. member purposes to submit is of that character. He should put his question upon the Order Paper in the ordinary way.

Mr. MAHARG: I bow to your ruling, of course, Mr. Speaker. But to my mind it is a matter of widespread importance to those who——

Mr. SPEAKER: The element to be considered is not so much that of importance as that of urgency, because the hon. member has his full remedy under the rules by putting his question on the Order Paper. Hon. members must bear in mind that upon the Orders of the Day there is no subject matter before the House, and it is only as a matter of courtesy that question are permitted where the element of urgency is present, and where the public interest might be interfered with if the usual notice has to be given.

PUBLIC WORKS AT PORT STANLEY.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. S. F. GLASS (Middlesex East): Mr. Speaker, I notice the Minister of Public Works is in his seat and I would like to ask him a question. On the 12th instant I placed on the Order Paper a certain question affecting the public works at Port Stanley, and on the 15th instant it was passed as an order for return. I would like to ask the Minister of Public Works if the order is being prepared and when we may expect to have it laid on the table of the House.

Hon. A. L. SIFTON (Minister of Public Works): The return is being prepared, Mr. Speaker, but as it involves going through considerable material I cannot say when it will be laid on the Table. However I can promise my hon. friend that it will be available as soon as possible.

LOBSTER REGULATIONS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Mr. Speaker, in answer to a question put to the Government on Friday last by the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) I promised to give him some further information, and I would now like to read the reply prepared by the Department of Marine and Fisheries in respect to the hon. gentleman's question.

Chapter 33, of the Statutes of 1917 provide that "Cans of lobster shall contain the following minimum amounts of dry lobster meat:—

A one-pound can, fourteen ounces, avoirdupois;

A three-quater-pound can, ten and one-half ounces, avoirdupois;

A half-pound can, seven ounces, avoirdupois;

A quarter-pound can, three and one-half ounces, avoirdupois;

No other size of can shall be packed unless the written permission of the minister has first been obtained."

This section came into effect December 15, 1918.

Strong objection was taken to these weights, and following a conference of lobster packers and fishermen held at Halifax in August, 1918, it was decided to introduce a Bill at the coming session to provide weights of 12 ounces, 9 ounces, 6 ounces and 3 ounces of dry lobster meat as legal weights for the above cans.

As the Bill could not be introduced in time for proper notice to be given for the season of 1919 the minister, acting on the power given him by the Act, authorized for that year only the use of the weights proposed in the Bill to be introduced in Parliament.

The Bill came before the House, was referred to the Committee on Marine and Fisheries, and was not approved by the committee. The legislation of 1917, therefore, stands and will be in force in the season of 1920, when the authority given by the minister for 1919 will have lapsed. The note in the Ottawa Journal, quoted by the member for Lunenburg, drew attention to this fact.

The department has notified the packers by circular and issued the information to the press, so that all concerned would have proper knowledge of the state of the law.

THE BOARD OF COMMERCE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. D. SUTHERLAND (Oxford South): I would like to ask the Government, Mr. Speaker, in regard to a matter that I have brought to their attention on several occasions. I refer to the reported order recently issued by the Board of Commerce regarding the fixing of the price of dairy products in the province of Ontario —a matter of extreme urgency in view of the fact that this is the last day of the month, and that the price of those products is fixed at the beginning of October, when an increase

usually takes place. I was informed by the leader of the House—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member has not laid any basis for the question. He is making an argument on the Orders of the Day, which he cannot do.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to make any argument; I was merely justifying the question for information which I was promised by the leader of the House on two different occasions.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister) Will my hon. friend repeat his question?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I would like to ask as to whether the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Commerce issued a ruling, as reported in the Toronto Globe and other papers on September 17, as follows:

This is not the time for an increase in prices. Prices should go down from now on. In this connection I wish to announce now that all vendors from the farmer who increase the price on milk or anything else will be guilty of an indictable offence punishable by a fine of $1,000 and two years' imprisonment.

is in effect, or whether that ruling has been revoked ?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: So far as I know, an order was issued by the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Commerce with reference to milk prices, prohibiting an increase for a period, I think, of forty days. That order, as I understand, has been rescinded, and the board has taken the matter up afresh. The board has had a session or two in the city of Toronto, and it will meet there again to-morrow, to investigate various matters, which will probably result in orders being issued. I am not quite sure just how those orders are to be communicated to the Government, but in some way or other they will come into our possession, and will be at the disposal of hon. members who wish for information with respect to them. My answer is definite with reference to milk prices, and that is all the information I can give as to whether orders have or have not been made.

With regard to the statement purported to have been made by the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Commerce, I do not think it is so much an order as it is an opinion, and I would imagine that he was probably notifying the public that orders of the board were meant to be obeyed, and that penalties would be imposed if they were not obeyed.

With reference to pork products, an order has been issued, which no doubt my hon. friend has seen, and which is the property of the House and the property of the public. Further investigations in respect to pork products are being taken up to-morrow by the board in connection with the interests that appertain thereto.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): With reference to the statement the hon. leader of the House has just made, might I ask for a further explanation, with your permission, Sir? My right hon. friend says that the order issued in connection with the price of milk has been rescinded. Does he mean that it was rescinded by the board themselves, or rescinded on appeal to the Government?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It was rescinded on the action of the board itself. There is no appeal to the Government.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (York South): Is it a fact that that milk order has been rescinded ?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I have seen an announcement in the press that a change in the price of milk has been arranged, or that the matter is being adjusted now.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: With reference to the orders of the Board of Commerce—a matter which is of great importance—in view of the difference of opinion that exists among members of this House who have been following the matter closely I would like to direct the attention of the House to articles which appear in the Mail and Empire and in the Toronto Globe of September 27.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member submitted a question—a doubtful question, I think, so far as its being within the rules is concerned, in view of the fact that the powers of the Board of Commerce are defined by statute. He has had an answer, and it is not competent for him to proceed now to carry on what is in the nature of an argument.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: My object was, in view of the fact that the public press of this country have not given the publicity to the rulings of the board that they have to other matters—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. minister cannot proceed with this discussion on the Orders of the Day.

Mr. MAHARG: Is this Order of the Board of Commerce with regard to milk applicable to all Canada, or only to Ontario?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: My impression is that it effects a section only, but I am not able to give definite information on that point. I will inquire and get the information.

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. FRASER: Has the Government any information with regard to the training of twenty-one young men on the Canadian National Railway between Toronto and Ottawa for employment as trainmen, conductors and brakemen, not one of whom is a returned soldier?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The question put by the hon. member should be placed on the Order Paper.

BOARD OF GRAIN SUPERVISORS.

CONTINUANCE OF POWERS, DUTIES AND RIGHTS—ALLIED PURCHASES OF WHEAT.

On motion of Right Hon. Sir George Foster (Minister of Trade and Commerce) the House went into Committee to consider the following proposed resolution, Mr. Boivin in the Chair:

Resolved, That it is expedient to provide,—

1. That the powers, duties and rights of the Board of Grain Supervisors of Canada appointed by the Governor in Council under the provisions of the Order in Council of the eleventh day of June, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen (P.C. No. 1604), as set forth in the said Order in Council and in the Order in Council of the twenty-third day of July, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen (P.C. No. 2014), the twelfth day of October, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen (P.C. No. 2867), and the fifth day of September, one thousand nine hundred and eighteen (P.C. No. 2153), in amendment thereof, and of the Executive Council, Chairman and members of the said Board, be continued in full force and effect in so far as it may be necessary or convenient for winding up and concluding the unsettled business arising therefrom; and

2. That the guarantee and undertaking given by the Governor in Council under the provisions of an Order in Council dated the fourteenth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and eighteen (P.C. No. 2001), undertaking and guaranteeing on behalf of His Majesty to all dealers in grain and banks carrying on business under the provisions of the Bank Act through duly authorized agents to accept from dealers in grain, or banks holding documents for such grain, all or any part of the 1918 wheat crop, making payment at the price fixed by the Board of Grain Supervisors for Canada plus carrying charges, in the event of the British or other overseas Allied Governments not arranging to purchase and to pay for such wheat when ready for delivery at lake ports or other customary points of delivery, be ratified and confirmed and continued in force.

Mr. ROBB: Will the minister explain the necessity for this resolution?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There might really have been no necessity for this legislation. The Board of Grain Supervisors was appointed in 1917 under the war power which the Government possessed. They have been carrying on their work during two grain seasons, but the active work of purchasing and receiving grain ceased on the 15th of August last. There are always ends of business to be looked after and settled up and it is quite probable that some transactions in the way of settlement or final disposition—not in the way of the purchase or reception of grain—will remain to be carried out by the board during the remaining months of this year and probably during a part of next year. The powers of the board are good and sufficient until the ratifications of peace have been effected, and it may be that these ratifications will not all be finally made until the board shall have completely finished its business. But the Government did not care to have them carry on further operations under their powers conferred by virtue of the War Measures Act after the war was practically over; they preferred to ask Parliament to confirm such of those powers as are necessary to enable the board to wind up the business with which they were entrusted and which they have been carrying on.

The resolution refers to certain Orders in Council. I am laying copies of these on the Table, and I am sending a copy to the leader of the Opposition. As no new powers are asked for and as it is necessary that the board retain such powers as will enable them to wind up the operations of 1917-1918 and 1918-1919, I imagine that there will be no objection to the resolution. Hon. gentlemen will be able to see the Orders in Council, and I shall be pleased to give any other information that may be desired on the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. ROBB: Is this the same board that is handling the wheat crop this year?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: No. I have stated that the active operations of the board in the selling or reception of grain of the crops of 1917-18 and 1918-19 ceased on the 15th of August last; they are now simply winding up that business. The business of this year is in the hands of the Canadian Wheat Board, which is a different organization.

Mr. ROBB: Does it consist of the same members?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Not necessarily. Some of the same members are on each board, but the organizations are different.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Is the Canadian Wheat Board a permanent organization?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: No, it is established simply for the purposes of this one year; but we will come to that a little later.

Mr. MAHARG: I am informed that during its operations this board accumulated a large sum of money through the collection of charges, and so on. In what way do they intend to dispose of that surplus? To what fund will it be applied?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The carrying and other charges which have been collected and which, as regards surplus, have accumulated after the costs and charges have been met, have been disposed of in part and will be disposed of as to the balance when accounts are adjusted. A very large proportion, in fact, almost the whole of the surplus, was devoted to the diminution of the price of the wheat which otherwise would have been charged to the British authorities who purchased it. I do not recollect just what the figures are, but I shall have the information when we come to the second reading of the Bill; but altogether the major portion was applied as above stated in diminishing the price to the buyers of the grain, and the surplus, whatever remains, will come into the Consolidated Revenue Fund and will become a portion of the revenues of the Dominion.

Mr. ROBB: If I understood the minister aright, the business of this year is carried on by the Canadian Wheat Board.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. ROBB: The resolution provides:

> that the powers, duties and rights of the Canadian Wheat Board appointed by the Governor in Council under the provisions of the Order in Council of the thirty-first day of July, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen,—

And so forth.

> —be continued in full force and effect for the period of eighteen months from the date of the passing of this legislation.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: What is my hon. friend reading from?

Mr. ROBB: Is not Resolution No. 6 under consideration?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: No, we are discussing Resolution No. 7.

Mr. ROBB: Is the minister going to consider the resolution from which I have just quoted in connection with the one under consideration? Is he going to take it up to-day?

[Sir George Foster.]

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I am going to take up Resolution No. 6 next.

Mr. McKENZIE: What I wish to bring to the notice of the minister is that, as I understand the provisions of the War Measures Act which was passed in 1915, it contains within itself all the powers that the parties acting under the minister would require for the winding up of the business. We had that question under discussion here the other day, and if I properly understood the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), he quoted the provisions of the War Measures Act when read together with the Interpretation Act of the Revised Statutes of Canada as containing in themselves sufficient power to enable any board or any person who has started the transaction of any business under an Order in Council to finish that business regardless of whether a declaration of peace is made or not. We had that matter under discussion last session when the then Minister of Finance (Sir Thomas White) introduced a Bill for the continuance of powers in connection with an inquiry that was in the hands of a commission as to the business existing between the pulp mills and the newspapers. We passed that Bill, but the then Minister of Finance, as a lawyer, agreed with me that there was sufficient power in the Act itself. I am not raising any objection to this, but there are many Orders in Council and a large volume of business outstanding that was instituted under those Orders in Council and that must be carried to completion. If the Department of Justice thinks that there is in the War Measures Act itself ample power to carry forward those transactions, a great deal of time and labour would be saved if proceedings were continued under the terms of that Act, thus avoiding the necessity of coming here for a special Bill for every matter that may arise under the various Orders in Council. I bring this matter more particularly to the notice of the Minister of Justice, because, if we can avoid multiplicity of Bills and arrive at the same result, that would be desirable.

Mr. DOHERTY: We went through the Orders in Council with a view to determining which of them it might be desirable to continue in force. We arrived at the conclusion that there were, after all, but comparatively few with regard to which it might be desirable to make clear beyond peradventure that they continue in force. Among the latter are those that are now being dealt with in order that there may be no question about the power of the board. We thought it more desirable that, even though the war

be still continuing because peace has not been ratified, when what might be described as war conditions have ceased, so far as that might be possible, any operation that would be deemed necessary to be carried on should be carried on under appropriate legislation not depending for its effect upon the War Measures Act. I quite conceive that there may be some of these Orders in Council under which power may be exercised, where the public convenience may necessarily require that such power should be exercised under them so long as they continue in force in virtue of the War Measures Act. But where that could conveniently be done, it seemed to us desirable that we should make it quite clear that any power that was being exercised was being exercised under direct authority of Parliament. It is to make that quite clear with regard to these particular orders that this legislation was introduced.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: The Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) referred to certain operations that were carried on and stated that they had resulted in a surplus and that there was a proposal for the disposal of that surplus. Did that surplus accrue under ordinary operations in connection with grain? If that be so, that establishes the contention of the farmers that they are paying rather excessive charges for the handling of grain in this country. If those charges are excessive and produce a surplus, they are worthy of reconsideration and revision.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: My hon. friend must remember this, that in normal times the cost and charges of handling grain from the primary station to the place of consumption must always be incurred and must always be paid for by somebody. They are never, I imagine, paid out of the pockets and fortunes of the grain dealers themselves, but they are really taken in the shape of profits or surplus charges on the grain, sufficient in the mind of the dealer to bring him out square. Therefore, we must always take into account that somebody has to pay the charges of the whole handling of the grain from the initial station until it gets to the point of consumption. This was undertaken and carried out entirely by the Board of Grain Supervisors, and consequently costs and charges were provided for, for that body alone. I have not the least doubt that, if an investigation could really be carried out—and it is difficult to do it—if it were a matter of an alternative between the handling of grain as it was done by the Board of Grain Supervisors and the handling of grain in normal times, when those cost and charges were deducted with profits by the different handlers and purveyors of grain, the balance would be in point of economy to the handling of grain by the supervisors. The Board of Grain Supervisors were not speculators. They did not have to make any arrangements for profits. Handling grain in normal times contemplates not only charges for transportation, storage, freight, insurance, interest and everything of that kind, but it must also be loaded by a certain amount for profit to the handler, because these things are not simply done out of a benevolent spirit. So looking at it in the light to which my hon. friend has drawn attention, if you take it for granted that the farmers' wheat has to pay these costs and charges, the cost to the farmers was less under the Board of Grain Supervisors than under the dealers.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Therefore, if there was a national handling of this grain the service would be cheaper, and the farmer might get a little more profit.

Mr. MAHARG: I had not intended to follow the matter up any further, but, as the minister has intimated, no doubt the charges had to be borne by the grain. That would lead me to believe that there has been a very large amount of money accumulated, which in all fairness should be allowed to the farmers by way of rebate, because they have been charged more for handling the grain than was necessary to cover the cost. If that is the situation, I think that the surplus, instead of going into Consolidated Revenue, should go back to the men who were charged over and above the necessary amount to defray the costs.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: If there is this improved method of handling grain in the manner referred to by the minister, then I think it is well worthy of consideration, not so much from the point of view that there ought to be a rebate, but that this new system ought to obtain in the handling of wheat. I only threw out the suggestion and I find I am more or less corroborated by what my hon. friend (Mr. Maharg) has said. I think the new Grain Board should consider the matter and see if they cannot make some saving in the handling of our wheat. I imagine the business has become somewhat of a monopoly in the West.

Mr. HENDERS: Some of us in the West have contended during the last few years that while the charge has to be carried

back and the producer really pays all the overhead charges until the grain is delivered in terminal elevators, it is not fair that the amount received from overcharge against the grain should go into the Consolidated Revenue. Our contention is that if there is an overcharge this year on a certain line of work and a surplus accumulates, the surplus should be retained in the hands of the Government, who are carrying on the work, and be applied in the way of a reduction of the charges next year. Then the producer would be paying the full charge, and no more, for delivering the grain to the terminal elevator. It certainly is not fair that the money should go into consolidated revenue. You cannot distribute it back for the past year, so it should be used for the benefit of those who sell to the board next year.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Why not have a surplus like that every year under this improved method?

Mr. ROBB: The system of handling grain from the producer to the consumer, whether in Canada or foreign countries, is not the work of governments. It is the work of long business experience in every country where wheat is a commodity of exchange. So far as I can judge, the experience of this country has not been that governments can handle wheat to better advantage or more cheaply than can commercial bodies who have been trained in that work. The first year the Government handled the crop—and this is proved by the legislation which the minister will bring down by a subsequent resolution—there was a tax of three cents a bushel which had to be paid not only by the man who sold wheat, but also by the Eastern farmer who grew only sufficient wheat for the requirements of his own family. A miller was liable to a penalty for grinding a farmer's grist unless he collected a tax of three cents a bushel. Whatever may have been the experience in handling the last crop, the Canadian Grain Corporation, which is going to handle this year's crop, have decided that three cents a bushel is not sufficient, and they have notified every miller in Canada that he will be penalized for grinding the wheat of any farmer, whether or not it is required only for his own family —and in Eastern Canada there are many farmers who grow sufficient only for their own family needs, unless he taxes him fifteen cents a bushel. It seems to me that should convince the minister, who is of an economical turn of mind, that this system of handling the wheat does not appeal to the Eastern farmer. The result is that many millers throughout Eastern Canada to-day, having been advised of the amount of red tape that has to be gone through, have decided not to bother with the farmer's grist. Any of them in a position to do commercial work prefer that to bothering with the intricacies of the cumbersome system provided by the Canadian Grain Corporation for handling this year's crop.

Another feature of the Government system of handling the grain of this country that is having a disturbing effect throughout Canada is the preference that the Grain Corporation give to the exportation of grain rather than the products of grain. Now if there is one industry that is natural to this country it is the milling industry, and everything goes to show that this Government are doing everything possible to throttle and destroy that industry in this country. I think I shall be able to convince the minister of that. It is quite true that in the early days of the war the millers made enormous profits; they could not help it, for whatever they paid for wheat to-day it was worth more to-morrow, the governments of Europe were scrambling for it and running the price up on themselves. Any miller with a stock on hand to-day naturally benefited if the price went up to-morrow, but on the whole it has been shown that when the Government took over the business and dictated the millers' profits, the profits of the millers of Canada on the business done was very much less than the profits on the turnover of other industries in this country. In July of this year the Government, through their grain agents, made a large sale of wheat to Greece. After the sale had been arranged the Government discovered that they could not get the wheat, that it was not in the country, except in the hands of the millers; so the Government commandeered one-half the stock in all the millers' hands in Canada. What was the result of that?

The grain was shipped out, the mills were shut down and consequently the price of bran and shorts went up because they were scarce. Notwithstanding the howl there is throughout the country and the palliative statements of the Board of Commerce that the price of bran and shorts must come down, the real problem to-day is not a matter of price, but of obtaining a sufficient supply for the demand. There is not a supply of bran and shorts commensurate with the demands of the trade, particularly for the feeding of stock, and that is why the

price of these commodities is high. It seems to me that if the Government had stood aside and allowed the business to take its natural course; if, instead of shipping out our raw material, the manufacturers had been allowed to mill wheat in Canada; if the Government had said to Greece: "We cannot sell you wheat, but you may have flour," then we should have had bran and shorts for our own stock, and there would not have been a dissatisfied protest throughout the country at the price of milk and pork.

The minister can see very well that it would be much better for us to manufacture our own products in Canada, for we should not only have the offal, which is essential for the dairy and stock-raising industry, but we would have the immense advantage accruing from the necessary labour. The labour involved in the manufacture of a barrel of flour represents a certain monetary advantage to this country, and it must therefore be obvious that if we manufacture our own wheat into flour in Canada rather than export the grain to Greece and Roumania to be manufactured by the native there we shall be benefiting our own people. The same conditions are prevalent now as obtained in August. The Grain Corporation is selling wheat; no flour is being sold for export to-day by Canadian mills. I do not know where the screw is loose—if I may use a vernacular expression—but statistics show that the United States millers are making large sales in the export of flour, and we know that wheat to-day is worth more across the border than in Canada. Now, while these two resolutions are due for consideration, I may express the hope that the minister will make a statement of policy in regard to the handling of this year's crop. I should be pleased to know whether the Government will favour the policy of exporting wheat, or will encourage the manufacturing of wheat in our own country, so that we may have the advantage of the labour, and the use of the offal or by-products of the wheat to build up our stock and dairy industry. I should like a statement also as to how the 15 cents a bushel tax on the handling of the crop will operate. Will the grain corporation insist that a farmer taking wheat to the mill to be ground for exclusively private use—for the purposes of his family and not with a view to commercial profit—shall pay 15 cents on every bushel that goes to the mill; and, if he pays the 15 cents per bushel—which in the aggregate, as has been pointed out by previous speakers, will amount to a considerable sum—what will be done with the money at the end of the cereal year?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I would ask the hon. member to leave that question until we come to the next resolution. When the matter comes up germanely I shall have something to say. In the meantime, I think it is better not to mix the two resolutions.

Mr. ROBB: Very well. If I should happen to be absent will the minister be good enough to make a statement which I may see in Hansard?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Subsection 2 of the resolution indicates that certain monetary obligations or guarantees have been assumed by the Government, and I am sure the committee is anxious to have an explanation of the nature or extent of those obligations, and what moneys the country had to pay out in respect of them. Have we received back any moneys that we may have expended in connection with the matter, and did the exchequer finally square up in regard to the obligations assumed under the Orders in Council set forth in subsection 2 of the resolution? Further, are there still outstanding any business obligations? The minister will understand that if any obligations of this character were in the form of a statute—I am not now complaining of the Orders in Council—hon. members would be able to see for themselves the terms of the statute and would know precisely what the obligations were. But the mere fact of an Order in Council being laid upon the table of the House does not afford busy members sufficient opportunity to secure any desired information, because the average member is unable, through pressure of time, to search documents in order to get at the gist of them. For that reason I am not personally as conversant as I should like to be with the terms of the Order in Council referred to in subsection 2 of the resolution, nor do I know just what has been done under them. I am sure the minister is anxious that the Canadian people should be advised as to every business proposition which the Government submits, and I think that the committee is entitled to some explanation as to what is involved in subsection 2 of the resolution.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I can satisfy my hon. friend to this extent, that such necessary guarantees as were made by the Government have not involved in any respect

the payment of any moneys by the Government. The expenditures have been made by the Board of Grain Supervisors. All the costs and charges have been met, and a very considerable surplus was left over, so that there was no call upon the Government to pay monetary guarantees in any shape or form. On the second reading of the Bill I shall be able to give more details, but I think that this answer satisfies my hon. friend on the general question.

Resolution reported and concurred in.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER thereupon moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 20, to continue in force the powers of the Board of Grain Supervisors of Canada so that it may conclude its business and to continue in force a guarantee given by the Governor in Council with respect to the 1918 wheat crop.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD.

On motion of Sir George Foster (Minister of Trade and Commerce), the House went into Committee to consider the following proposed resolution; Mr. Boivin in the Chair:

That it is expedient to provide that the powers, duties and rights of the Canadian Wheat Board appointed by the Governor in Council under the provisions of the Order in Council of the thirty-first day of July, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, P.C. No. 1589, as set forth in the said Order in Council and in the Orders in Council of the seventh day of August, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, P.C. 1659, and the eighteenth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, P.C. No. 1741, and the Executive Committee, Chairman and members of the said Board and of the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada, be continued in full force and effect for the period of eighteen months from the date of the passing of this legislation, and that the Governor in Council shall have power during such period to fill any vacancies in the chairmanship or membership of the said board, and to make any regulations that he may deem necessary or convenient for the extension, conduct or management of the business of the said board.

Mr. ROBB: Will the minister be good enough to give the Committee some explanation on this?

Sir GEORGE E. FOSTER: I am going to ask the House to pass this resolution in committee, if it can see its way clear to do so, and reserve certain information, which I have not at my hand just now, for use when we come to the second reading of the Bill. This is a board which assumes duties similar to and largely cognate with duties which were assumed by the Board of Grain Supervisors for the two preceding years. The powers that have been vested in it have been vested by virtue of the War Measures Act, and are practically similar powers to those that were exercised by the Board of Grain Supervisors.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Is it a permanent proposition?

Sir GEORGE E. FOSTER: I may as well set that point at rest at first. It is not a permanent proposition. It is simply effective for this year. The Government would have been very much better pleased if, in the two preceding years, as well as during this year, the grain trade could have taken its normal and usual methods. My hon. friend opposite, who has just spoken, is quite right in calling the attention of the House to the fact that there has been, there is, and we hope there shall continue to be, a prosperous, thriving and well ordered system of disposing of the crop of cereals which are raised by the farmers until they find their way into the homes of the consumers. Several businesses combine, co-operate and lend their efforts one to the other in that whole business of great and growing importance. There is the producing interest, the farmer himself. He is primarily interested in getting rid of his wheat as early as he possibly can, and at the best price that he can possibly get. Millers may come and millers may go; transport companies may exist or they may go to pieces. The farmer is interested in these to a certain extent but his primary interest is, as I said, to get rid of his wheat at the earliest possible opportunity and at the best price that he can get. The millers come in as a secondary and subsidiary operation, and they provide for the domestic requirements of this country, absorbing such grain as is necessary from the producers of grain, putting it in shape for the consumers of the country, and carry on besides a more or less large and thriving trade. It has its vicissitudes, of course, in what we call export business. Its aim, after supplying and whilst supplying the domestic interests of the country, is to sell as much of its product as it possibly can and at the very best possible rates to outside countries who wish it and who are able to pay for it. It is a legitimate industry, has been long established, and will be a very large and important industry in our country, I hope, as long as our country exists. Then there are numbers of people whom we may designate as the handlers of grain—those who buy the crop

from the farmer at different points and at different stages of the transit of grain, see to its transport and finance its cost and its charges, and in the exercise of their wisdom and shrewdness put upon this grain about what they think is necessary in order to give them an immunity of loss and a fair and reasonable profit for the work that they do. That is a large, a distinct, and a very important interest; and if you take by and large these three interests connected with the grain trade, they all have very great importance; and I am one who believes that in their co-operation and free existence, one with the other and in the general interest, you will get probably the best solution of the grain business and the food business problem of this country in so far as that business is derived from cereals. Over and above that, there is the supervising interest which the Government has undertaken in its system of investigation, of examination, of certification, and of storage; and under the Canada Grain Act a system has grown up which, whilst it may have its faults, still, I think, has gone on from good to better from year to year and has established itself as a useful, and I am inclined to think necessary, factor in the general economy of the grain trade of the country. Now it may be that these interests clash one with another to a certain extent, and it may be that all of these interests in abnormal times are not able to function as they would like and to the extent that they would like, and as they do in normal times. The experience has come to us in these last four or five years; and I think we all—whether we are producers or handlers of grain or whether we are millers and exporters of grain, whatever we are—have been taught that in these abnormal, times all these interests could not have just the play and just the extension that they would have liked for their own individual advantage and gain. Now my hon. friend in criticising—but before I go further let me say this, and it is something in answer to the hon. gentleman who questioned me a moment ago: That the Government would very much have preferred if during 1917-18 and 1918-19 the ordinary and normal methods of conducting the grain business in this country could have been followed. The operations which were carried on under the Orders in Council for the grain supervisors, as also which are being carried on under the Orders in Council for the Canadian Wheat Board, with respect to the crop of those years are organizations and methods which the Government, after careful consideration, thought were necessary under the present abnormal conditions; but it is not the wish and not the intention of the Government to carry out those systems outside of the emergency period which we limit to the present crop year of 1919. These different interests—particularly the handlers and the exporters of grain—had their legitimate, their lawful, and their proper business largely interfered with during the years 1917-18 and 1918-19. All of these different interests bemoaned the necessity for the measures taken, but they submitted, I think, in a truly patriotic and reasonable way, to what was dictated by the necessities of the times.

This year a peculiar situation confronted the Government and the grain interests of our country—a situation that prevails all over the world—not only with reference to the methods of handling the grain, but with reference very particularly to the financing of the grain, to the providing of the credits which are necessary where the cash cannot be found. And it was with that peculiar situation confronting it, which, as I said, is not peculiar to Canada, but is world wide, that the Government decided, after mature consideration, to give the management of the present year's crop into the hands of a board consisting of practical and approved men. Therefore the Canadian Wheat Board was instituted. Its membership is known to the House and to the public. What the Government tried to do was to get practical men, those who had had the experience and who were trusted and approved as business men in their different capacities, to handle this business as a board, and I think we were successful in getting together a board which has the general approval of the country, provided it be agreed that the business should be handled by a board at all. The producing interest is well represented on the board, as are also the transporting interest, the consuming interest and the milling interest, and it is the representatives of those four great interests who are carrying on this business under approved principles

My hon. friend puts to me certain questions as to why they do this and why they do that. I am not able to answer his questions. The Government is not managing this business. The Government has put the business into the hands of the board, and the board must be trusted to carry out its work in the most practical, the most economical and the most efficient way. That,

I believe, it is trying to do. But any information that my hon. friend asks for, and that I can get by communicating with the board, I shall be only too glad to give to him and to the House, because I am sure the board would desire that such information so far as it is possible to be given should be given.

Now, I want just discursively to mention one or two things that were brought to my attention by my hon. friend, because I am not arguing this question on any set plan. He says: "You are doing a wrong to the milling interests and to a certain extent to the live stock interests of this country, because what is best for those interests is that every bushel of wheat raised by the farmers shall be milled in this country, and that this country shall get the added profit upon the milling from the country to which we export over and above what is necessary for our own domestic consumption, and that there shall be the largest possible quantity of bran and shorts available for distribution among our live stock interests." I agree that it would be on all those grounds a very excellent thing if the 200,000,000 bushels, or whatever it is, of surplus grain over and above what is necessary for our own consumption could be milled in this country and disposed of in foreign countries in the milled form so that we would have the benefit of the subsidiary products. Yes, that would be a good thing, but this year it is an absolute impossibility for this country to accomplish it. It is a thing which in any year is probably impossible of accomplishment in completeness, but this year it is an impossibility. My hon. friend has instanced one example, and it happens to be an example with which I am familiar. He says: "This board, or the Government, instead of selling flour to the Greeks and keeping these subsidiary advantages in Canada, has actually sold to them some 12,000,000 bushels of wheat. Now, they should not have done that, for it is against the milling interests and the live stock interests of this country." All I have to say to him in answer to that is this. I know as a matter of fact that neither he nor the whole Dominion of Canada could have sold to the Greeks one single barrel of flour of that 12,000,000 bushles of wheat. The Greeks wanted wheat, and wheat only. If they do afterwards want flour, then they will negotiate for it. But it was an absolute condition of that sale that it was to be made in the shape of wheat or it could not be made at all.

Now I come back to the farmer, and I put him alongside the miller and let them argue it out. I am sure of the conclusion that a third party would make, that under those circumstances, the Government, through its commission, had nothing else to do but to see that the farmers got rid of that 12,000,000 bushels of wheat, even though it did not filter through the subsidiary and fructifying processes of the millers of Canada in their different operations. Am I not right absolutely in that respect? My hon. friend would be right if it had been possible to make that sale to the Greeks in the shape of flour; it was not. And I may go further than that, I may say that the very same difficulty arises with reference to the other European Powers who are negotiating for our products. Go to Great Britain and study the conditions there. My hon. friend whom I have in my eye now understands those conditions thoroughly; so do others of our friends sitting in this House. If any country in the wide world has a famine for food for its live stock, it is Great Britain to-day. Look at the prices she is paying when she wants a bit of feed for stock which is being raised for the market. The price is almost fabulous. Great Britain has also flour mills. Her interest is twofold; she wants to get the offal in order to sustain her live stock industry; she wants to get the grain in order that her mills may grind it and give her that food. And neither my hon. friend, nor all his friends alongside him who belong to the milling interests, can go into Great Britain to-day and dictate the purchase of our cereals, as to whether it shall be in the shape of flour or in the shape of the grain itself. That decision is for Great Britain to make for herself. She will buy all the wheat she can for these subsidiary benefits that I spoke of just a moment ago. She is justified in doing it. Canada would do the same thing if she were in the same position. Consequently Great Britain's interests must be borne in mind. But that does not imply that Great Britain is not also going to buy flour from our millers. She will do so. There is not the least doubt about it. But we cannot dictate to her or to any other European Power that any of them shall take the wheat product and shall not get from us the grain itself out of which the products are made for the sustenance of their people.

Now, I happen to know those circumstances, because I was in the negotiations which led up to the purchase of the grain by the Greeks, and these are conditions, without labouring the subject any further, that obtain outside, and Canada must not feel, as I am sure she does not feel,

that she is the only and the supreme arbiter as to how our cereals shall go out to the countries that have borne the bloody burdens of an exhaustive war, and whose people in their homes and in their activities are put to it as never before to reconstruct themselves into comparative happiness and comparative prosperity.

We cannot leave that side of the question out of our thoughts when we are talking about what we would like to have done.

My hon. friend has said that the United States is paying more for wheat than we are here. The United States fixed the price of the crop for this season at $2.26 a bushel. The initial payment made by the Canada Wheat Board to the farmer the moment that he brings his wheat to the station is $2.15 a bushel. Whatever may happen as a surplus when the wheat is finally disposed of, after costs and charges have been accounted for, is divided among the original sellers of the grain. If the wheat nets $2.26 the original sellers will get $2.26; if it nets $2.30 they will get $2.30; if it nets $2 they will still get their $2.15, and the Government will pay the difference. They get what a competent wheat-selling board gets for the product on the markets of the world, less costs and charges. On the other hand, the seller in the United States gets $2.26, no more and no less. If the surplus is sold at $2.50 he gets no more for the grain than $2.26. That is a fair statement of the case as between the two systems.

The question of finance was really the governing question in the Government's reaching a decision as to the medium through which the purchase and disposition of the grain should be made this year. I am not going very fully into the matter at this moment; questions will probably be asked and we may discuss it later. The farmer could not sell his wheat unless there was somebody to buy it, and that somebody could not buy it unless he had the cash to pay for it. It was that idea and that consideration which determined the Government to adopt the method it did in order to provide that the very moment the farmer got his wheat to the station—no matter whether it was the last of August, the last of September, the middle of October, or any other time—he would get $2.15 as a basic price. The market was made absolutely certain, and the price was made absolutely certain up to $2.15. Thus governments have to do with governments, and finance was provided for.

Now, I do not want to go into the matter any more fully at this time. I am not able to give all the whys and wherefores as to what the Canada Wheat Board is doing; it is doing that business, not the Government. But I shall be quite glad to give all proper information that may be asked for when we come to the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. ROBB: With the personnel of the Canada Wheat Board I have no fault to find. I hope that later the minister will make some statement with regard to the reason for the fifteen cent tax and what is going to be done with that money at the end of the year.

Now, the minister has made an excellent plea on behalf of the exportation of Canadian products in the raw state—raw material—and of the manufacture of our products in other countries. The minister points out that Greece would not buy one pound of flour; she would buy wheat. Very well, if Greece would not buy flour, Finland would. The minister contends that the real object of the Government was to help the farmer to get rid of his wheat and to get paid for it. But the farmer had already got rid of the wheat that was sold to Greece; that wheat had been paid for and was held by the Canadian millers who were prepared to mill it and take chances on what they would do with the product.

Mr. MAHARG: How much wheat did the Government commandeer from the millers at that time?

Mr. ROBB: They commandeered just fifty per cent of the wheat stocks in millers' hands; I understood the total to be about 12,000,000 bushels. I suppose my hon. friend will not contradict that in view of the assertion just made by the minister that 12,000,000 bushels were sold to Greece.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: But that 12,000,000 bushels sold to Greece runs over the year.

Mr. ROBB: We will not argue about the number of bushels; the fact remains that the Government took away from the millers one-half of the wheat that they then had in stock. The minister will not dispute that assertion.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: No. But let me put the thing to my hon. friend from a humanitarian as well as from a patriotic point of view. Suppose we had an opportunity to sell 12,000,000 bushels of wheat to Greece provided we could get the millers to give us a portion of their surplus wheat

to fill the first order. If we put it to the millers whether they should keep more than they really required rather than give us a certain quantity which they could make good by future purchases, should not the milk of human kindness cause the millers to say: We do not want you to miss that good offer. We have a surplus here; you take half of it and we will make it up afterwards?

Mr. ROBB: We are not discussing the humanitarian point of it.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: We are all human.

Mr. ROBB: What I am trying to point out is that the minister is reversing the policy he preached for years.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Not at all.

Mr. ROBB: To-day he is encouraging the exportation of raw material. I can prove that he has reversed his own policy. This Government did decide that this country should have an open market, and there was an open market for six days. It was contended at that time that if there was an open market the price of wheat might go down. There was an estimate in those days—late in June or early in July—that the crop in the United States would run up to a billion and a quarter bushels and that the Canadian crop would run over 300,000,000 bushels.

But the drouth occurred and the crop deteriorated, and it was estimated that in those two weeks the wheat crop of the United States shrank about 400,000,000 bushels and the Canadian crop about 150,000,000 bushels. Then there was an idea that the price of wheat was going to go high, and during the six days when the market was open and the trade was handled by the men who had been handling it for years, the men who built up the business in this country just as other businesses were built up, not by governments, but by personal initiative, work and industry and the experience of years, the price of wheat on the Winnipeg Exchange went up to $2.45. There were sales made on that basis. It was then that the Government stepped in and closed the market.

Mr. McKENZIE: Were actual sales of wheat made at that price?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: And to what extent?

Mr. ROBB: I have not before me the figures as to the extent, but there was trading and wheat sold at $2.45, and it was bought and sold by the men who had been buying and selling for years, by the same men to whom my hon. friend (Mr. Henders) sold his wheat before he was able to sell it to this Government, and, I imagine, sold it at just as great a profit.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It was to a limited extent that sales were made, and the wheat was bought in some instances, maybe in the major part of instances by brokers or parties on the other side of the line who had no entry into the United States for Canadian grain to the extent of a single peck. The United States has a surplus of grain; it fixed the price at $2.26 for its own farmers; it, therefore, had to put around its border an absolute prohibition of wheat going into that country to interfere with its own national operations.

Mr. ROBB: The United States fixed a minimum price of $2.26.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Oh, no, an absolute price.

Mr. ROBB: I hold in my hand the Winnipeg Free Press of September 27, and these are the quotations in Minneapolis for cash wheat:

No. 1 dark Northern, $2.65, $2.95.
No. 1 Northern, $2.60, $2.70.

Everybody along the line knows to-day that Canadian farmers who are adjacent to the international line are taking their wheat into the United States and getting more money for it than they are getting in Canada. Will any western man dispute that statement right now?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Will my hon. friend be perfectly frank about the matter and inform the committee about what proportion of the total crop of Canada that is marketable is allowed into the United States under those conditions?

Mr. ROBB: If the promise made to the farmers of Western Canada by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) is of any good at all, the whole crop can go into the United States, because the Government represented to the western farmers that there is reciprocity in wheat, and with loud acclaim they told the farmers they had all the advantage of the American market.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Without going back to musty arguments, will my hon. friend answer my question? What proportion of the grain of Canada which is to be sold and is looking for a market is allowed to go in on farmers' wagons? Never mind

what old theories have been or anything of that kind.

Mr. ROBB: The Minister of Trade and Commerce apparently wants to run away from the argument.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I think there is another man that wants to run away. He is getting his seven-leagued boots on.

Mr. ROBB: I will be quite frank with the Minister of Trade and Commerce. There is a very limited portion going in.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. ROBB: The farmers are doing only a retail business, a peddling business, and why? Because the board appointed by my hon. friend have passed certain regulations, and they are working in harmony with the board in the United States; they are allowing in wagon-loads; a farmer can draw his wagon-load into the United States and sell it, but he cannot ship a carload as that is prohibited by the regulations. As I am not familiar with the inside history, I do not know whether it is the United States that is prohibiting the shipment of carloads or whether it is the Canadian Government; but I know and I make this statement—and if I am not right, I want the minister to correct me—that wagon-loads of wheat are going into the United States all along the Canadian border and that carloads cannot be shipped into that country.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: My hon. friend is absolutely right. How many wagon-loads are going in, I cannot tell, but even those are under regulation. But Uncle Sam appears to be big enough to say: Whilst I have an absolute policy for my great grain production, I am not so bigoted but that I will allow a poor Canadian farmer that lives within a few miles of the border to take his wagon-load over, and I will say nothing about it; but he is not allowing the importation of Canadian grain into the United States, not on your life.

Mr. ROBB: But he is allowing all that the farmers can draw in on wagons. Where does the Canadian Government come in as regards that? Does the Canadian Government permit this traffic to go on without protesting when it sees a man, say fifty miles from the line, at a disadvantage of fifty cents a bushel as compared with his Canadian brother farmer who lives nearer to the line?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: He has the advantage of geographical position. This, the first protest I have heard against this comes from a miller in Eastern Canada and not from a farmer in the West.

Mr. ROBB: My hon. friend is endeavouring to place a mis-construction upon my words. My protest is that the Government prevents all the farmers of Western Canada from taking advantage of that market.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There is an assertion, that the Government of Canada prevents all the farmers of the West from taking advantage of the American market in this year 1919. I deny that absolutely, and I challenge my hon. friend to the proof. It is patent to any man that when you have a country which has fixed an absolute price which it will pay for the surplus grain in the United States to its own producers, the Government of that country is not going to allow hundreds of millions of bushels to be imported into the United States and the seller to get the same advantage as the men who are citizens of that country itself have. It must protect its own surplus. This is not to be thrown as a fault upon the present Government or upon any Canadian Government. It is absolutely the policy of the United States, and not a barrel of flour nor a bushel of grain under that policy in the large is allowed to entrench upon that United States' market.

Mr. ROBB: I have not, under my hand to-day, the proof of what this Government are doing, but I have under my hand proof of what this Government were doing only a few months after they introduced reciprocity by Order in Council and advertised throughout all the West that they were going to give the farmers of Western Canada the advantage of the United States' market. I have here a letter dated February 11, 1918, from the Canadian Food Control regarding the exportation of flour. It states:

> I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th instant and beg to inform you that the exportation of flour in quantities of 25 barrels or over is absolutely prohibited to the United States, as per memorandum No. 2147 B enclosed herewith.

That was an Order in Council of the Government. They were the people who then stopped the information. I do not know who is stopping it to-day. Let us get on with this story.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It is a story.

Mr. ROBB: I told the House a few moments ago that the Government policy early in July was for an open market, and that

as a matter of fact they did have an open market. When it was announced to the trade in Canada that there was to be an open market, the Winnipeg Grain Exchange sent to England Professor Magill whom, I am sure, the Minister of Trade and Commerce will acknowledge as an expert in his particular line of business, no matter what others may say of him. It was my hon. friend himself who selected Professor Magill as the head of the grain handling business of Canada. Subsequently, he left that work and became associated with the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. After his return from England he made a report to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, in which he says:

I was one of those who believed (and I still believe it) that the sooner we could get back to commercial methods in handling our business, the better it would be for our country, ourselves and everybody concerned.

Now let us see what he says of conditions as he found them in England. The Canadian High Commissioner and Doctor Robertson took the matter up with the British authorities. Professor Magill says:

They had an interview with the Royal Wheat Commission on June 13th. I want to speak of that interview for a moment. There were present on behalf of the Government of Canada, Sir George Perley and his secretary, Mr. Griffith, and Dr. Robertson, and on the other hand the Royal Wheat Commission. I was not asked to be there; I had no right to be there. That interview was on June 13th. What happened? Mr. Griffith sent me a letter stating what happened. I will read it to you.

I shall put this letter on Hansard so that all members of the House may have this statement from the man who was handling the grain business over there at that time. The letter is as follows:

Dear Dr. Magill: Following the conference with the Wheat Commission a letter has been received from the secretary stating that it is impossible at present to outline any specific buying policy, partly owing to the crop situation in both consuming and producing countries still being subject to large variations, and partly because it is not yet known how far the responsibility of the Royal Commission may extend in making purchases on behalf of the Allies. The Royal Commission, therefore, is unable to state what proportion of the new Dominion crop it will desire to buy, but as the Commission is alive to the fact that the Wheat Export Company was necessarily a hindrance to the normal conduct of the export trade during the war, and they desire to revive the activity of commercial enterprise, they propose to liquidate the Wheat Export Company (Winnipeg) as a trading concern so that complete freedom may be restored to the Dominion grain trade to sell its produce in the simplest manner without restriction of destination, during the ensuing year.

It is added that the Commission, as at present advised, will probably make its purchases on an f.o.b. basis as and when stocks are wanted, and it will probably prove advisable to establish an office at the Canadian seaboard to ensure promptness in the correspondence which must take place between London and Canada. The Commission believes that an early announcement that the Wheat Export Company (Winnipeg) will cease to operate and that trade will be able to resume some normal courses, will remove the element of uncertainty which we deprecated.

Yours faithfully,

W. N. Griffith.

Referring to this letter, Professor Magill goes on to say:

That is from the High Commissioner's office. What does it mean? It means that the Royal Wheat Commission on behalf of the British Government undertook to buy our crop from the Canadian Grain Trade at the Atlantic seaboard f.o.b.....They said in substance "We will buy it in quantities as we need it. As we need it, we will furnish the ships and pay for it f.o.b. We will not interfere with your selling to neutral countries—sell to them on a commercial basis." These neutral countries have their own tonnage and they are wealthy. They have money to pay for wheat without credits, and Germany is said to be buying through them. That was the proposal of the Commission—that we should sell to neutral and enemy countries direct and to the Royal Wheat Commission at the Canadian seaboard f.o.b.

I think the minister will accept the statement of Professor Magill that he did not anticipate any trouble in selling or financing the crop. My complaint with the minister to-day is that the Government, through their methods, are not helping the trade, but are rather injuring it. If the Western farmers who live along the border are able to sell a portion of their grain to the United States at 50 or 60 cents a bushel above our prices, what is to hinder them from carrying that wheat to within five miles of the international boundary and hauling it over as fast as they can by teams? Is there anything to hinder them?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: They would very soon have a customs officer after them.

Mr. ROBB: We have not noticed any of that yet. I hope the minister will make a clear statement and tell us that we are going to be rid of this government control of industry. It is not good for the country. I am sure the minister himself must be bothered night and day with these restrictions. I think it is better that the trade should be open. Let us get down to sound business principles. That is the only way to build up any industry and build up the country.

Mr. PROULX: I wanted to say a word about the fifteen cent tax. The farmers have to pay this tax on the wheat they bring to

the grist mill for gristing. The millers in my constituency have made representations to me. They object to this tax. The farmers also object to it very much. These farmers do not sell their wheat to the millers; they only bring it to the grist mill for gristing. If they sold it, I understand from the minister, that they could be given a participation receipt for this fifteen cents a bushel that they have to pay, and they would get the balance later on. When they bring their wheat to the mill for gristing they want the flour and the offal back. It is a disadvantage to the miller to have to charge this fifteen cent tax, and I hope the minister will make representations to the Wheat Board with a view to having this tax abolished as far as gristing is concerned.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I will have it looked into. I will take it up later.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I am sure we all have a distinct recollection of the agitation throughout the country by those interested in the growing of wheat of a few months ago before the Wheat Board was appointed. After the board was appointed and a minimum price fixed a great many of these same people were dissatisfied that the Government had moved in the matter. I can readily understand how much easier and more agreeable it would have been for the Government to have let business follow its usual channels rather than undertake the difficult problem of handling the wheat for the farmers of Canada.

There is a mistaken idea, I believe, on the part of many people that a tax is being levied on wheat, particularly where grists are taken to the local mills, and even where wheat is purchased in small quantities for feed purposes. I hope that when the minister speaks on this point to the committee his statement will reach everybody throughout the country. It is essential for the farmers of Canada to grow wheat, and to find a market for their wheat abroad. We are all prone to lose sight of the fact that success in agriculture demands the application of scientific methods, as well as industry and skill, and is not a mere mechanical process. Agriculture is undoubtedly the greatest industry in Canada, and it is not by raising grain or some other such product and disposing of it in its crude unmanufactured state that we shall reap the maximum profits. When it is borne in mind that a large part of Canada is comparatively new agriculturally, and that for centuries there has been stored up in its soil richness and fertility, which in many sections has for years been exploited, it requires no great stretch of imagination to picture the result if the present practice that obtains in many parts of the country is continued. In the district in which I lived when I was a young lad, there were in all the small towns grain warehouses, one after the other in succession, all along the railway siding. These warehouses were provided for the storage and shipment of grain, but to-day not a bushel of grain is shipped from any of those towns in that district. On the contrary, thousands of tons of feed are purchased and fed on the farms. By the application of scientific methods, and in the manufacturing of raw materials and shipping finished products such as live stock and dairy produce we achieve our greatest success. The fertility of our soil cannot be maintained under the system which generally prevails at present—and I am particularly referring to western Canada, because the system now in vogue there no longer exists in the older provinces. My hon. friend from Huntingdon has referred to the question of the disposal of by-products of wheat and in view of the statement of the minister that the demand abroad is for our wheat and not for our flour, I think I may deal with this matter for a moment. I believe that the transportation charges have a good deal to do with the present state of affairs. Reference has been made to the farmers of Great Britain and some other countries, I believe that there are in Great Britain a class of farmers who are superior to those in any other part of the world. They have developed their business on strictly scientific principles, and are able to produce to-day crops such as they were never able to grow in years gone by. In the old country the fertility and productivity of the soil is being increased rather than depleted, as a result of the development of the livestock industry, which has been cultivated to a remarkable degree. Our greatest handicap consists in the method by which we dispose of the produce of our farms in many districts. I admit that no effective remedy can be undertaken as regards the present crop. The matter presents a problem which has to be worked out, and I believe that this discussion this afternoon will be one of the most valuable contributions of Parliament if it will serve to stimulate a real interest in the question of transportation charges on wheat and flour. I hope I shall live to see the day when every bushel of wheat in the country will be manufactured

into flour, and the bran and shorts or by-products fed to the live stock in Canada. When we reach that condition we may rest assured of a prosperous agricultural community. Until then, we shall be far short of the acme of our industrial attainments; and ruined lands will be the portion of those who persist in the present practice. The difficulties are largely attributable to the cost of transportation. Wheat is a convenient ballast for steamships, and I think a preference in transportation charges is given in its favour over flour. If it were necessary, I believe it would be in the interests of this country to secure enough ocean carriers to take the crop overseas and place it on the markets, so that there might be no discrimination as a result of charges, and there might be a preference in the carrying of flour as against wheat. I think that the day is not far distant when Canada, in its own interests, will adopt such a policy. The member for Huntingdon said that the by-product of wheat is hardly obtainable in this country, and that some of the wheat in the millers' hands had been commandeered by shipment to Greece. The minister has pointed out that only a very small proportion of the twelve million bushels has so far been shipped, so that it appears that this has not affected to any great extent the supply of mill feed in Canada. It is a fact, however, that bran is practically unobtainable in the part of the province from which I come. There is a greater demand at present than has existed before in many years, but strange to say you can purchase any quantity of shorts, and as a matter of fact there is a difference of ten dollars per ton between the prices of bran and shorts. Shorts to-day is simply bran ground fine. The millers do not want to sell plain bran but they are delighted to sell it in the shape of shorts as long as they can get ten dollars a ton more for it. This is one of the things that have a very important bearing on some of the questions that are agitating the minds of the people to-day—the high cost of living.

Mr. ROBB: Who fixed the price?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I hope the hon. member will discover the person who fixed the price and have him held up before the public gaze, if such a price as I have referred to has been fixed.

Mr. CAHILL: There is the price fixer right in front of you.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Let me say that whoever is responsible for the difference in price between bran and shorts must see what a harmful effect it has. To-day the millers are grinding the screenings, which contain a small proportion of cracked wheat, and mixing it with bran in order to bring it up to the requisite standard. That is precisely what is being done with regard to bran and shorts. The quantity of weed seeds that are being ground up and mixed with bran and shorts represents to the farmers of the country tens, yes, hundreds of thousands of dollars annually through the poison that is being sent out in this way, to say nothing of weed seeds that are being scattered throughout the land.

Mr. MAHARG: Do you purchase shorts at all? Don't you buy everything under the name of middlings?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: It is really a distinction without a difference. There was a time when we considered shorts as shorts, but to-day there is another by-product of wheat which is commonly called "red dog" or low grade flour, which is really the old form of shorts which the farmers were able to purchase a few years ago and which is commanding a very high price to-day. Bran and shorts are scoured to-day to such an extent that it will not come up to the standard required, and in order to make this possible, wild buckwheat and screenings containing small bits of cracked wheat are ground up. There is sufficient of this cracked wheat and buckwheat included to bring of the bran and shorts up to the standard called for. This is quite obvious to every one engaged in stock-raising in Canada. Bran and shorts are essential food stuffs required by those engaged in the breeding and producing of stock and for dairy produce. Take up the newspapers and see what prices are quoted for mill feeds at the present time. You will find that corn meal is now quoted at from $80 to $82 per ton or a trifle over 4 cents per pound. Now what is the effect of the high price of feed? It is this: that in many parts of the older provinces, at least, wheat is being ground up by the farmer and fed to the stock rather than take the chance of buying some of the dirty, foul, poisonous mill feed, bran and shorts, that are being sold off by the millers Thousands of animals are dying yearly as the result of being fed on this stuff. Yet under the laws of the country the millers are permitted to engage in the sale of this adulterated product and do it from year to year. I have a Bill before the House dealing with that subject and I am not going to refer to what I hope the House

will consider or do with regard to it; but let me remind the hon. gentleman (Mr. Robb) that the millers of this country have justly earned for themselves the censure—I was going to use a harsher expression than that—but they certainly are deserving of the censure of the people for the policy which they have pursued in the adulteration of these two important by-products of wheat.

Mr. ROBB: Why not expropriate them along with the railways?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I am one who believes in competition. I think that governments have quite enough to do without interfering in matters that can much better be conducted by the people themselves—

Mr. McMASTER: Hear, hear.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: —and if we have public ownership of railways in Canada I do not think anybody will say that it has been from a desire or any particular effort on the part of the Canadian people; it has come as a result of existing conditions and we have it whether we want it or not.

Now I do not intend to say anything further on this subject more than this: The agitation that was carried on before the Wheat Board was appointed, and the dissatisfaction expressed after that board's appointment, is somewhat significant and remarkable. Strange to say, it is very largely the same people who were agitating and objecting in both cases, which goes to show that it is absolutely impossible for the Government to try to please all the people—that is out of the question. However, I do want to emphasize the need for the Government to exercise great care with regard to this matter because wheat is the one commodity above all others—above even gold, which regulates the standard of living and prices in Canada as well as any other country. I do not think there is any getting away from that, it is conceded by every one who has studied the question; and I am not too sure even yet, in view of the fact that the wheat crop of Canada is not likely to be anything nearly as great as it would have been under more favourable conditions, whether it would not be advisable to let this cereal reach the consumer through the usual channel.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I would like to say two or three words in connection with this discussion. The first is that under these unusual conditions in regard to the supply of wheat and of flour, and the measures that have had to be taken by the Government on the other side and the Government here, one outstanding feature was the elimination of speculation in wheat from the Chicago market and from our Canadian markets. I think that was a good thing for the farmers of Canada and I do hope that lesson will in some way be continued. We have had better prices for wheat during the war, of course there was another reason for it, but without speculation in wheat by reason of the exchanges in Chicago and Winnipeg. That has been beneficial and if an advantage has been derived from it, let us continue the practice. Another thing has come out in this debate and that is that in these times—while speculation has been stopped as far as the grain exchange is concerned—there have been enormous profits made by the millers of this country in grinding. Now, are we watching those profits? Are we, in these times of stress and of great need of money for carrying on the business and the affairs of the country, watching those profits of the Canadian millers, and are we getting our fair share in the way of a profit tax? I think that should be looked into. My hon. friend (Mr. Sutherland) referred to another thing and that is the price of mill feed. That is a matter that I have had farmers come to see me about. Only on Friday last I had a long talk with a farmer whose main grievance was the high price of mill feed. He is also a milk producer and he referred to the Board of Commerce then sitting in Toronto dealing with the price of milk. He inquired: "Why does not the Board of Commerce which is regulating the price of our milk see we get mill feed at a fair price, and also get real bran and shorts," as pointed out by my friend from Oxford "and not some adulterated feed"? The farmers have grievances in all these matters and those grievances ought to be removed. We ought to so arrange our national policy that if it be possible to sell the flour and keep the bran and shorts in our country for the live stock industry we ought to do it. I agree with the Minister of Trade and Commerce that in connection with this sale to Greece we could not do that, perhaps it could not be financed in that way; but the national policy of Canada ought to be as the member for Oxford said, on the line of encouraging the shipment of flour in preference to wheat, and in that way have the benefit of the mill feed for our own country so as to encourage the Canadian live stock industry which is a great source of revenue to our farmers. Of course you cannot always dictate to the buyer what

he must take. That brings up another question, which was also referred to by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland), that we can develop our railways just as much as we like, we can spend all the money we like in creating a national system of railways, but unless we have steamships under our own control in connection with our national railways, we will never be able to get the best advantage and dictate to the greatest extent the character of the export of our grain, whether it shall go as wheat or whether it shall go as flour. All this is on the line of national policy; I hope that the policy of the Government, the policy of this Wheat Board, and the policy of this Board of Commerce, will have in view on every occasion the securing of such prices and such handling of the profit as will be for the advantage of the country, and will see to it that the making of a great business out of speculating in wheat in this country shall not continue. Furthermore, if the millers are to make large profits out of the handling of our grain, reasonable taxes on those profits should be taken for the benefit of the treasury of the country. I hope that the Board of Commerce which is now fixing prices will see that when it is fixing the price for the farmers' milk—and the board is telling the farmers that they must not sell their milk beyond a certain figure—will also see to it that the millers are regulated in the prices they charge for mill feed, and that mill feed shall be of some kind of guaranteed quality.

If that is done it will be a benefit to the whole farming industry of this country. I quite agree with the minister that he has put forward a very fair case to justify the creation of this Board. I am not at all of the belief though that is to be the end of control of grain and other food products. The best security for the farming business of this country will be a constant regulation of the price of wheat, I believe, and, connected with that, an averaging of the price by years. I believe that a real substantial uplift will be given to farming, and especially to the production of wheat, when we can keep three crops of wheat in store, if that is found to be feasible—and I believe we can do it—coupled with a fixed price, and "valorizing," if I may use that word, in connection with such fixed price. If we can do that it will result in a real benefit for the country at large. We must also see to it that speculation is eliminated and that no unfair profits are made by the milling interests, but that the man who raises the wheat shall get every cent he ought to get out of his industry as a grain grower.

Mr. MOLLOY: Mr. Chairman, I wish to say a word on this matter. On the 21st day of July the Government opened the market; a few days later they closed it. The day the market was closed wheat on the American Grain Exchange went up, as stated by my hon. friend from Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) to $2.45 a bushel; on the Minneapolis market it went up to $3.50 a bushel for No. 1 Northern; Red Durham wheat, which is a soft variety, was sold on the American market at $2.35. The hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon quoted from Professor Magill's report to the Grain Exchange, and on the last page of that report I find he asked this question:

Why did the Canadian Government close the market?

Every farmer in Western Canada is asking that question: Why did the Government close the market? Those farmers contend that had the market gone down below what is now practically, as the minister told us to-day, the guaranteed price of $2.15—and I may say by the way that no farmer in Western Canada that I have ever spoken to ever expected more than $2.15; as to the price going up to $2.30, with transportation and other charges paid, why, the farmers are not looking for anything more than $2.15—what they contend is that if the price of grain had gone below $2.15, or below $2, or even if it had been descending in the direction of $1 40, by way of illustration, the Government could not have stepped in and protected the farmer as against the consumer. I would like to ask what Professor Magill has asked: Why did the Government close the market when they found the market ascending, and close it within a few days after they opened it?

So far as the cost of living is concerned, the price of wheat does not affect it very much. An average family will consume about ten hundred of flour, we will say. Before the war that was bought at $3 a hundred, and to-day it costs $5.25 a hundred. That means only a difference of $20 to $25 so far as the cost of living of that family is concerned in the purchase of flour and bread. As has been stated here, the majority of us—and I know it to be true—spend more money for cigars than we do for bread. Therefore to say that the price of wheat is at the base of the cost of living is not true and cannot be borne out on investigation. Again, I would like to ask for an answer to the question: Why

the Government closed the market when it was an ascending market?

Mr. SEXSMITH: This has developed into a very important discussion, Mr. Chairman. Apart altogether from setting the price of wheat, whether it sells at $2.10 a bushel or $2.50 a bushel, I think a very important point was brought out by my hon. friend the member for South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) in his very excellent speech, namely, that tens of thousands, yes, I believe hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of stock has been poisoned by the action of the millers in mixing poisoned seeds in the stock feed they have sold throughout the country within the last few years. Last year a number of farmers brought to my attention the loss of their hogs from some mysterious complaint. One of them, after he had lost several hogs, had a sample of the feed sent down to the department here for analysis, and he received a very comforting reply to the effect that they did find poisoned seed in the sample, but they would not say that it was sufficient to kill a hog.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: They did not know the hogs tenacity of life.

Mr. SEXSMITH: Every farmer handling feed put on the market, particularly during the last five or six years, has been paying for so-called shorts which was only ground bran, oat-hulls and every kind of dirt which the miller could add to the mixture and sell it as shorts. I do not know, but perhaps the millers also mix straw in what they sell as shorts, but they undoubtedly mix oat-hulls, corn cobs, with a sprinkling perhaps of corn, and many other things, with a trifle of cotton seed oil or oil cake to give the feed on analysis a showing of protein, and so practically rob the farmers. It is a very serious condition of affairs, Mr. Chairman. I do not like to charge the millers with the intention of deliberately going out to rob their patrons, but I will say that they deliberately deceive the people when they pretend to sell a commodity that is not at all up to the standard which the purchasers might reasonably hope to expect.

Six or eight years ago I introduced a Bill and it was placed on the Statute Book, which required the miller to put on the outside of the bag or other container an analysis of mixed feed. That regulation was observed to a certain extent, but not as rigidly as it should have been, and it seems to me that it is important that something should be done in the near future to absolutely prevent the sale of these mixed fraudulent feeds, and above all to prevent the sale of any feed containing a percentage of poisonous seeds. There is no reason under heaven why a miller should be allowed to mix in his stock feed seeds that are poisonous. Therefore I would like to ask the minister to take this into serious consideration and see if something cannot be done to prevent such a practice in the future.

Mr. McCOIG: I agree with much that has been said by gentlemen who have spoken this afternoon, and have no doubt that the discussion will be productive of good effects. I am glad that the minister is paying so much attention to the complaints that are being made with regard to these matters. Complaints are heard from all parts of the country concerning the class of feed that is being sold at large prices throughout Canada, and anything that can be done to remedy that condition will meet with the general approval of producers of stock.

It is complained by the farmers in many rural sections that they have been unable to sell their wheat. In my section of the country we are receiving $1.94 for our wheat, but in many cases the farmers are unable to get a market for it. The present regulations seem to be having the effect of closing the elevators in the smaller centres; only in the large centres will the millers or grain buyers purchase wheat. If the operations of the Wheat Board are having any bad effect in this regard the minister should direct their attention to the matter and see that this unfortunate state of affairs is remedied. Would it not be advisable for this board—which, no doubt, will be a great expense to the people—to take into consideration the advisability of regulating the prices of agricultural implements that are absolutely necessary in the production of wheat? If the board would go thoroughly into this matter the farmers would be better satisfied, because they would feel that they were not the only class of the community whose products were being regulated as to price by Government or by a commission.

Mr. BOYCE: As one who has occasion to purchase considerable quantities of cattle feed, I wish to express my approval of some of the remarks that have been made this afternoon with regard to these feeds. I do not think that some of the millers are as bad as they have been depicted, but I know

that sometimes they have been pretty bad. Three years ago we paid $20 a ton for bran; now we pay $50. If it was good feed, I would not object so much, but I have actually got bags of some kind of seed from this bran. I do not know what kind of seed it was, but I know that it was very bad indeed. There is no question about its being poisonous; I have seen hogs refuse to eat it. Of course, the cattle have to eat it because it is mixed with ensilage and such other feeds, but as food for hogs it is poison of the worst description. Cattle are very expensive; you cannot get a cow for less than $150 or $200, and anything so valuable as that should not be fed with stuff that is apt to injure it. The Government, therefore, ought to investigate this matter and prevent such rubbish from being put on the market, at the same time fining the offenders so heavily that it will be a lesson to others not to repeat the offence. The sooner this state of affairs is done away with the better for all concerned. The cost of everything is high now, and the farmers cannot afford to throw away their money in the purchase of stuff that is of no use to them.

Mr. HENDERS: The member for Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) raised a question with regard to the milling in this country of all our own wheat. I wish to point out that Great Britain takes an average of 75,000,000 bushels of our wheat yearly. She has a large population to feed. She grows a large quantity of wheat, but it is of a type that does not make the quality of bread that the British people want to eat. Britain, therefore, has to go to some other country for a wheat to blend with her own in order to bring the flour up to the standard required by her people. She has discovered that Canada is a producer of the kind of wheat that she requires. Other countries produce the same type of wheat; Siberia produces it, and so does Northern Russia. The price paid by Great Britain for the surplus wheat that she requires regulates in large measure the price of wheat on our own market—in fact, in the markets of the world. If Great Britain, therefore, because of our adopting the policy of grinding all our wheat in this country and selling simply the flour, is prevented from securing in Canada the wheat which she requires she will go to Russia or Siberia for that wheat. That would mean that each year we would have this 75,000,000 bushels of wheat on our hands without a market. Furthermore, it would take out of our hands the very commodity that fixes the price we secure for the rest of our crop.

[Mr. Boyce.]

Can we afford to let that happen? Britain must have that type of wheat. We ought to be the very first to see to it that we secure that market for our wheat.

Some hon. members who have spoken this afternoon have made reference to the kind of work that is being done by the millers and the kind of offal that they are sending out. Suppose we force the millers to grind that 75,000,000 bushels of wheat yearly that ordinarily goes over to the Old Country, and they have to find a market in the Old Country for the offal from this 75,000,000 bushels of wheat. If they supply to the Old Country the same kind of offal that they supply to our own trade, what effect would that have upon our market in the Old Country? Not a very good effect, I am sure. But my main point is that the wheat that we send from this country is a determining factor in fixing the price that we receive for the whole of our crop. We must keep production in this country in a healthy condition; otherwise we may put ourselves in such a position that we will have to go out of wheat production.

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not think that we should depart from what is a good policy for this country simply because the people of some other country require some of our wheat.

If we in this country are the sole producers of an article that must be had in other parts of the world, if other nations must have our goods, we must not, to the detriment of our own people, and to the extent of causing the production of poison for the hogs of this country, send wheat out of Canada. The minister is very sympathetic for men in Greece who may want wheat and for the cows in Greece that may want by-products. I do not see why his heart should be so tender for the Greek cow as against the Canadian cow.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: As a matter of fact, it was a British cow.

Mr. McKENZIE: The Canadian people who use the products of the cow require the by-products in this country, and if a Canadian is able to buy that by-product and if he has the money to pay for it at a reasonable price, I do not see why it should be put beyond his reach and sold to a man who cannot buy it at all, we ourselves being obliged to come to the fore and to furnish the money to the Greek who wants to buy the wheat and who takes it out of this country. By this process, we put the price away up in the clouds in this country for our own people; in fact, we put ourselves

in such a position that we have not the article at all, and I do not understand that to be good business. When the people of any country produce an article and there is in that country a fair price for that article under fair competition, I do not think it is the duty of a Government to interfere and to furnish money to a foreign country to buy that article and, by so doing, put the price beyond the normal and to make it difficult for our own people to exist. That is not good business, and that procedure should not be allowed to exist in this country; but that is what has been done, not only in wheat, but in clothing and various other articles. We find in this country clothing exceedingly high in price and difficult to buy, because every shred of cloth that could be available in Canada is bought up, made into garments and sent out of the country, bought up by the money of the Canadian people. That is a policy which for the last few months I have been protesting against as much as I can, but my protests are of no avail, and we are dealing with ourselves and sending the result of our purchases out of the country and bringing no advantage whatever to the Canadian people.

I wish particularly to refer to this charge of fifteen cents that appears to be imposed upon grain in parts of Canada where we may say there is no grain trade at all. In the province from which I come the farmers raise for their own use what may be regarded as a fair quantity of food, but such a thing as exporting grain or flour or selling grain to any noticeable extent, is not known to our people at all. Within the last few years there have been established in Nova Scotia a few mills for the grinding of wheat, just as good mills and producing just as good flour as mills in the West or in Ontario. That has brought about the growing of more wheat, so that many farmers in Nova Scotia to-day produce sufficient wheat to furnish their own flour. There are only two or three of those mills in that province, and the farmers go to those mills with that wheat and have it ground; but I confess I never heard before of this impost of fifteen cents on every bushel that every farmer in Antigonish or Victoria or any other county in Nova Scotia may bring to a mill for the purpose of furnishing flour for his own family, and, by the way, getting the by-product of that for his stock. I wish as emphatically as I can to protest against any tax of that kind. Whatever benefits may inure to the farmer who is in this trade in the far West and who sells grain and gets the benefit of this tax because it is necessary for sending his wheat to market, that does not in any way touch the farmer who may have a small quantity of wheat which he brings to a mill and has ground for his own purposes. He does not tax the railway; he does not tax the elevators; he has not the benefits of any of the machinery that is set up for the purpose of handling the larger quantity of grain. The minister should differentiate between the man whose business or living is the handling of grain and the farmer who raises a few bushels and who handles them entirely and exclusively for his own purposes and not with a view to entering into competition with anybody who is in the business of raising wheat or other grain for the purpose of selling for export or otherwise. If this tax is applied now, or if it is being collected now at the mills in my province or in the other Maritime Provinces where they have no grain worth speaking of to sell, steps should be taken to differentiate in the matter and to see to it that the tax is no longer collected.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I will have that looked into and will give my hon. friend the information. Might I ask the committee to pass the resolution and to let me have my Bill introduced, and the discussion can be taken up and continued on the second reading of the Bill? I have not replied to several questions which have been put to me, because I want a little fuller information before I endeavour to give to the House just what is involved in some of these technical alternatives that they are making in the course of procedure.

Mr. CAHILL: Will the minister when he is making his explanations, be good enough to remember what the hon. member for Oxford South (Mr. Sutherland) said regarding the spread in price between bran and shorts?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I have a note of that.

Resolution reported, and concurred in.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER thereupon moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 21, respecting the Canadian Wheat Board.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

BOARD OF COMMERCE—SALARIES OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved the second reading of Bill No. 12, to amend the Board of Commerce Act.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: In view of the prominence that has been given to the actions of the board during the past few days, I think it is very important that we should have some further information with regard to the effect of their attitude and what their policy is going to be before we consent to pass this Bill. The Board of Commerce have been given very wide powers indeed under the Act, and efforts have been made on a number of occasions during the past week to ascertain what the members of the board are doing. Apparently, members of this House here in session are not in a position to advise those who have sent us here as to the extent and effect of the rulings that are being made by this board. Some one may say that I have been rather too persistent in attempting to obtain information during the past week as to the Board of Commerce reported rulings on milk, etc., but I come from a county that is affected possibly to a greater degree than any other county in Canada, and I was endeavouring to look after the interests of my constituents. The ruling was made by a member of the board —by the vice-chairman, I understand, though I am not sure, and he seems to deny it—but we have an admission by the leader of the Government (Sir George Foster) this afternoon that the order was rescinded. It affected, as I have already pointed out, an industry that is highly developed, particularly in South Oxford—an industry of about five million dollars per annum for that county alone, and one that is rapidly growing. The province of Ontario to which the ruling applied produces more than one half of the total dairy products of the Dominion of Canada, which amounted in 1917, the last year for which we have the figures, to somewhere in the neighbourhood of $100,000,000. At the time when we have a Bill before the House fixing the salaries of the members of this board who are given such extensive powers, we have a member of the board meeting the people in a glib and flippant way and making a ruling on which we are unable to obtain any definite information. I should like to read a statement which appeared in the Toronto papers, and I believe in other papers throughout the country, on September 27, as follows:

> That Man O'Connor Ties His Own Hands.
>
> Issues Reply to Critics and will let it go at that.
>
> The sarcastic criticism to which he was subjected a few days ago from members in the House of Commons called forth an answering statement from Vice-Chairman W. F. O'Connor, K.C., of the Board of Commerce, at yesterday morning's sitting of the board at the City Hall. He emphatically declared that the speakers to whom he referred had dealt with "things that were not so."
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> The statement was as follows:
>
> "Some days ago in the House of Commons certain observations were made affecting myself as to my character, disposition, attainments and otherwise. Certain of those who made these references to myself of the peculiar personal touch mentioned thought they were making them of a judge. This is a court, but not of judges, although these observations were made by those thinking the members were judges and therefore could not answer, as a judge is not allowed, nor is it considered proper for him to make any observations.
>
> "To this board are given functions of an administrative and judicial nature combined. As to the observations regarding myself as to the things I have said or I have done, I say the things that I have been alleged to have said, I have not said, and those things that I have been said to have done, I have not done.
>
> "The statements that the newspapers have published certain things that I have been alleged to have said or done is wrong. No paper ever published them. From the beginning to end every speaker dealt with things that were not so. But if everything was said which had been said, and if everything was done which I was alleged to have done, I would have an absolute and perfect right to do that thing.
>
> "With respect to the gentleman who exhibited knowledge as to my earnings, and with peculiar appropriateness I mention him last, my earnings previous to 1914 were larger than they are now. If I chose to go out into the world my earnings would be larger than they are in the position I now fill, and which I refused four times before accepting it on the fifth. While I am here I intend to do my duty and pay no more attention to any of these remarks.
>
> "Those who wish to make any remarks like this in the future are making them of a man who has tied his own hands, and not of one whose hands are tied by either law or custom."

Well, if his hands are tied, he has shown the people of this country that his tongue, at all events, is not tied. He does not give out very much edifying information in this statement which he is alleged to have made in the city of Toronto a few days ago.

I picked up The Toronto Globe on Saturday morning and noticed in the middle of the third page a small paragraph of four lines which intimated that the Board of Commerce had passed a ruling of some kind which would be found in another column. I searched the paper carefully, page by page, but was unable to locate the ruling. I went over it again, but failed to locate the ruling, although I noticed a statement that the Board of Commerce had met and an account of what they had done, but there was no reference whatever to the order that had been issued at Hamilton, when Mr. O'Connor, according to newspaper reports,

threatened to fine and imprison any one who would dare to increase the price of farm produce during the next forty days. After going over the paper a couple of times, column by column, I found on the social page under a large half-inch type heading "What Women are Doing," in a column at the top of which was a prayer, Lord make it fit the article, but after reading it I was unable to understand what change the board had made, and that was the reason why I was anxious, if possible, to have an answer this afternoon to the question I was justly entitled to put to the leader of the Government. We now have the admission that the order has been rescinded.

Mr. PEDLOW: Was that in answer to the prayer at the head of the column?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I presume it was; however, this is the condition of affairs. Now, I regret exceedingly that the press of this country has given as much prominence as it has to certain things that have been done or are alleged to have been done by these gentlemen—and not publish the fact that the injunction had been rescinded. I was rather amused to see in some of the papers a photograph of the two commissioners coming down the steps of a building—I think it was in Montreal—with large calabash pipes in their mouths and satchels in their hands, beneath the picture being the terse allegation: "Nothing to do." They had evidently straightened out all the trouble in connection with the cost of living; there was nothing else for them to do; and apparently they were two of the most contented men one could imagine.

An hon. MEMBER: They were in Montreal.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I believe that is where the picture was taken, but they were not in the district where the vice chairman, Mr. O'Connor's ruling applied. His ruling applied only to the province of Ontario. Right across the river from here you find a different condition entirely. I believe that in the city of Ottawa milk is selling higher than it has been in almost any other part of Ontario. Why have the board singled out one particular province, and what is the real condition of affairs to-day? These are questions which I think this House should know or have some definite information on in regard to the operations of the board, and a statement should be made concerning what they intend to do. We desire to know something as to the effect of their ruling in connection with dairy produce in this country. Any one who knows anything about agriculture realizes that at the end of the summer season, when the pastures are dried up, when the cold weather approaches and stock have to be stabled, feed is much more expensive than it is under other conditions. That is the situation now, and you will find in almost every section of Canada that there is an increase in prices at the beginning of October. Yet one of these commissioners threatens to tie up this industry which, as I have pointed out, amounts to about fifty millions of dollars in this province. They threaten to take this drastic step regardless of the effects it will have on production in Canada, which is pre-eminently the panacea for our present chaotic difficulties. It is not by ill-considered restrictions issued without due consideration as to its effect by a well paid Board of Commerce that you will reduce the cost of living, for such restrictions will only tend to put an end to production.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (resuming): When the House rose at six o'clock I was referring to the possibility of the object sought for when the Board of Commerce was appointed being defeated by reason of the course that members of the Board are pursuing. I feel very strongly that, whatever be the aim of the board, the course they have followed during the past week is likely to have that result. I think the opinion of the country was unanimously in favour of the purpose sought to be accomplished when the Bill creating the Board was passed. It was the desire of the people of Canada to see that profiteers, those who were charging undue prices, should not be permitted to continue to do so. That, I think, was clearly Parliament's object when the board was appointed. I made some reference before six o'clock to what the board have been doing during the past two weeks—particularly to the operations of the vice-chairman of the board, and the ruling which he is alleged to have recently made—and to the lack of information before this House as to what the board are really doing. I also referred to the fact that in order to overcome the difficulties with which we are faced, and in order to meet the obligations that have to be met by this country, it is important and absolutely essential that the production of Canadian exports should be very greatly increased rather than curtailed in any way. That, I think, is quite

evident to every one who has looked at this question seriously and who sincerely desires that we should be placed in the best possible position.

Now, the situation is one which makes it necessary to deal with personal matters, which is not a very pleasant thing to do namely, the salaries of the men who have been appointed to the board, this being the subject dealt with by the Bill now before the committee. I would not say the salaries in question were too large if we had the right men to conduct this work; but we have had what I believe to be absolutely convincing evidence that the members of the board have made a wrong start, that they are not following the lines that Parliament desired they should follow, and that they are not likely to accomplish the purpose contemplated when the statute in question was enacted. That being the case, Mr. Speaker, I want to refer more particularly to a ruling which is alleged to have been made by Mr. O'Connor either in Hamilton or Toronto. In order to do so, let me quote from what the newspapers have published on the subject, and up to now that is all the evidence in the matter that this House has before it. In the Toronto newspapers of September 17, I find the following:

Stop Upward Move.

This is not the time for an increase in prices. Prices should go down from now on. In this connection I wish to announce now that all vendors, from the farmer who increases prices on milk or anything else, will be guilty of an indictable offence punishable by a fine of $1,000 and two years' imprisonment."—W. F. O'Connor at Hamilton.

Mr. Speaker, these are very heavy penalties to impose on any one who might think he was carrying on a legitimate business and endeavouring to do so at a very reasonable profit and it might be at a loss. An order, or injunction, is issued and a threat implieed that if the parties concerned do not comply with it the penalties mentioned will be enforced. Now, I would like to know from the minister who is leading the House whether this board has the power to impose any such penalties or not? I think it would be in the interest of all concerned to know whether we have placed such absolute powers in the hands of the board. If it is true, then instead of passing the present Bill I think we should certainly see that the measure does not proceed any further.

Mr. DOHERTY: The power of the board is not for the imposing of punishment on their own authority. When they make an inquiry and find that a person in their judgment has been guilty of unduly enhancing prices, or has committed the offences set out in the Act, it will then become their duty to make a finding. A report of that finding would be submitted to the Attorney General of the province and a proceeding might be instituted, but the punishment would finally be imposed by a court.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: What about the penalty?

Mr. DOHERTY: At the moment I have not got the Criminal Code before me and the precise penalty to which a man may be liable for an offence committed under the Act I am not prepared to state; but it does not belong to the board to impose a penalty for an offence of that kind. The result of their report, following any inquiry, would be that, the matter being so referred, a prosecution might be instituted, and the court before whom the trial would take place would fix the penalty to be imposed for such an offence. Perhaps I might suggest that if it is a matter of giving information—and I am most anxious to give that information as far as it lies in my power—we could deal with that feature of the subject more conveniently in Committee than would be the case at present by interrupting the hon. member's speech.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I can hardly understand a responsible commissioner making a statement of that kind, and I hope that is one of the statements that Mr. O'Connor will deny having uttered. I notice in the papers to-day that the board has also decided to fix the price of pork and pork products at the level at which they stood a year ago. It will be remembered that about a year and a half ago Mr. O'Connor, who was then on the Cost of Living Commission, made a statement with regard to the profits that certain packing houses were making, and as to how they should be regulated. Well, as a result of the ruling that has been made in Toronto with regard to the price of pork and pork products it will be found that it will not be the packers who will suffer, but that it will again be the producers.

Now, I would ask those hon. members who have an intimate knowledge of conditions throughout the rural districts during the past twenty-five years whether there has not been a continual movement from those districts to the urban centres? Is it not a fact that the greatest difficulty we have to contend with as the years pass is how to prevent the young people and the middle-aged leaving the farms and going

into the towns and cities? If you go through the old-settled districts, Mr. Speaker, you will find empty houses everywhere. During the debate on the advisability of the Government doing something to solve the housing problem, I often thought that we have in the rural districts ample housing accommodation to take care of a great many more people than are in those districts to-day. I believe that the rulings the Board of Commerce are now making will have a tendency to further aggravate that situation. As I mentioned this afternoon, I believe in competition, and I further believe that where you eliminate competition and fix prices, you are doing something that is not in the public interest, something that is bound to defeat the very object you have in view. If you once start out to fix the prices of certain commodities it will become absolutely necessary to fix prices all along the line. That is the difficulty I see with regard to fixing an eight-hour day and a minimum wage scale, for once you do that you have to carry that out in every branch of industry, and it can not be done in agriculture.

Now, what has been the result with regard to the very industry that this Board of Commerce ruled on in Toronto but a few weeks ago?—I refer to the dairy industry. During the war it is well known that as a result of the difficulty in securing shipping facilities the price of our cheese was fixed by the British Food Control Board, and practically exists to-day. The result of that price-fixing is that in the old districts where cheese factories have been established for fifty or sixty years they are closing up one after another. In order to bring that home a little more forcibly I want to refer to a statement which I noticed in the local press of Oxford a few days ago. A statement, made by a well known cheese buyer in the city of Woodstock, who a few years ago came there from one of the adjoining counties, was as follows:

> The cheese industry will soon be a thing of the past in the province of Ontario. In the vicinity of Woodstock alone during the past few years thirty cheese factories have been closed up, and in the district from which I come——

——which, I believe, was St. Thomas, in the county of Elgin——

> over one hundred cheese factories have been closed up during the past few years.

That is one of the things we have to face largely as a result of the fixing of prices and the low price of cheese. The price of cheese is not keeping pace with the price of other dairy products. The same remark applies to butter. In fact, the majority of dairymen in the county from which I come buy their butter; they do not make it for the simple reason that they are selling their milk to better advantage.

It is now proposed to step in and to close up some of the channels or avenues of trade that have been developed and are proving profitable. You would be surprised to know, Sir, the millions of dollars that are being invested in this country by what is known as the American Milk Produce Company. Large condenseries are being established here by the parent firms in the United States with branches scattered all over the country. Some of the British firms are also establishing factories in this country. As a matter of fact, this is one of the most profitable branches of dairying that we have to-day. And that is the reason why I was so anxious that we should have some announcement from the Government as to whether the order passed by the Board of Commerce on the 16th instant was to apply to all dairy products, because prices are fixed at about the 25th of the month to apply on the following month. I am not very clear even yet as to the effect of that ruling, and I think that is one of the unsatisfactory features of having a commission doing the things that ought to be done by Parliament itself. I am absolutely opposed to delegating to irresponsible commissioners the duties that ought to be performed by the people's representatives and by the Government. To me it does not seem to be in keeping with responsible Government because in the final analysis I will be held responsible by the people who sent me here for the absolutely irresponsible acts of these men whose salaries we are asked to provide in this Bill.

Mr. GAUVREAU: A sensible speech.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I want to say further, Mr. Speaker, that I have evidence that another branch of this industry, the butter branch, is being adversely affected by the Board of Commerce. It is not very long ago that we permitted oleomargarine to be imported and to be manufactured in this country and to incorporate butter into it to deceive people so that it would give the grease or tallow that the packers were manufacturing into oleomargarine the flavour of butter. As a result of that action, I believe, we have done much to destroy a branch of the dairying industry; and now we propose to permit a board such as I have

referred to to destroy another branch. Evidence was given by the packing interests before the Cost of Living Committee appointed at the last session of this House, and the general manager of one of the packing companies—I believe it was the Davies Company, but I am not sure as to that—stated when questioned as to the quantity of butter they held in cold storage, "Why, we buy up all the June butter that we possibly can." "Why June butter?" he was asked, "Because it is so highly coloured that it will colour oleomargarine and make it look and taste like butter," he replied. That is what the packers are doing. By Act of Parliament we provided that they must not put any colouring into their margarine, and in order to get over that difficulty they buy highly coloured butter and incorporate it with tallow, thereby accomplishing their purpose and defeating the very object we had in view when framing the law, that of preventing colouring being added.

I referred to the fact that the population in the rural districts was gradually being reduced and I want to make some further reference to that, because I regard this as a very serious matter. You may say that the farmers are reaping undue profits at the present time; I say that there never was a greater feeling of unrest in the rural dictricts of Canada than there is to-day. Why is that the case? Not because they are not getting pretty fair remuneration for their labours but by reason of the fact that they have to do more work than should be necessary on the part of any one, for labour is not to be had. By working long hours, early in the morning and late at night, they have been able to carry on, but they have in many instances come to the conclusion that the game is not worth the candle. They have got tired of it. We have passed, or permitted to go into effect, what is known as Daylight Saving which has further aggravated the situation. Agriculture to-day requires not only industry but the application of scientific principles. You who have made a study of what the successful agriculturists of this country are doing will readily appreciate that. There are many who, knowing little or nothing about what the farmers are doing or what they have to contend with, think it is merely a matter of sowing the seed in the spring, taking off the harvest in the fall and then sitting around all winter and waiting until springtime comes round again. That is not the case. I believe a prosperous, contented and happy people is the nation's greatest asset, for if there is one lesson taught by history it is that the permanent greatness of any country must ultimately depend more upon the character of its country population than upon anything else; no growth of cities, no growth of wealth, can make up for a loss in either the number or the character of the farming population. It would be a calamity to have our farms occupied by a lower class of people than the hard-working, self-respecting, independent and manly men and women who first settled in this country.

The words I have just spoken are not wholly my own; they are quoted from recollection from a speech of the late Theodore Roosevelt. He was speaking of the United States, but his words, unfortunately, apply equally to Canada, and not to Canada only but practically to every country in the world. We ought to be very careful indeed to see that we do not do anything, or permit any commission which has been appointed by this House to do anything that will further aggravate the situation. If you look over this country with its vast extent of nearly four thousand miles from ocean to ocean and realize its enormous agricultural resources, and possibilities you can come to no other conclusion than that the very foundation upon which we must build for the future and to meet our obligations is the agricultural industry. Yet you permit this industry to be attacked by this commission at the very outset. Why did they not go after those people who, it is claimed, have been profiteers? Mr. O'Connor alluded to the packing industries of this country. Why does he not get after them if they are the profiteers he alleges they are in place of going after the producers?

Mr. CAHILL: Because the Government will not let him.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I think the hon. gentleman will agree with me that the Government have not very much control over them, and that is the reason why I want this House to be very careful indeed before they pass this Bill to fix the salaries of men, one of whom at least it is apparent is unfit to carry on the duties that we have entrusted to him. I do not blame the Government altogether in this matter. There was a clamour throughout the length and breadth of the country that Mr. O'Connor had been removed from office by the Government as the result of certain things which he said about Sir Joseph Flavelle and the Davies Packing Company. That feeling was quite evident. It was general throughout the county from which I come,

and I have no doubt that hon. gentlemen have been bombarded from all quarters to have this man O'Connor reinstated. I want to put on record a letter I received from the County Council of Oxford under date of April 24, 1918:

> The following is a copy of a resolution passed by the County Council at a special session held on the 22nd day of April, 1918:
>
> Moved by Councillor Lillico, seconded by Councillor Denton, and resolved:—"That this Council desire to express their regret that Mr. O'Connor, Cost of Living Commissioner, should have resigned and that his resignation should have been accepted.
>
> "Mr. W. F. O'Connor has shown himself an independent and fearless official, and we are of the opinion that when found, such a man should be retained in the service of the country: and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the representatives of the county in the Federal House."
>
> Carried unanimously by a standing vote.
>
> Certified,
>
> N. E. Birtch,
> County Clerk.

I am not going to say to the House what the opinion of some of these people is in regard to Mr. O'Connor to-day. He has trod on their toes a little sooner, evidently, than they had expected. If there are profiteers to be found among the farmers or any other class in this country I hope they will be shown up and punished. As soon as the chairman of the commission arrives here and consults with his colleague there is a stay of proceedings and the ruling or injunction assured by Mr. O'Connor is not put into effect. It appears that the order has been rescinded and that a very substantial increase in the price of milk has already taken place. The price of milk in some of the cities—in Toronto at least—for an eight-gallon can, containing 80 pounds was $2.55. Since the new ruling has been made, I understand, the price has been increased to $3.10 per eight-gallon can, or $3.87½ per hundred. There is absolute proof that this man, O'Connor, issued the first order without giving any consideration as to the merits of the case and without evidence. The fact that a substantial increase has taken place condemns the attitude, actions and threats of that commissioner. In the face of that condemnation by the chairman, as well as by himself, are you going to say that he is worth $8,000 a year to this country? If that conduct is pursued it is going to cost this country hundreds of millions of dollars instead of being a benefit to the country. There is no getting away from that.

I thought at the time, and I still think, that we have, or ought to have, in the various departments of the Government the machinery to put into effect all that we are expecting this board to do, and we could then hold the departments or the Government responsible for what they were doing. I still think that would be much better than the course which we are pursuing.

I do not wish to take up any more of the time of the House with regard to this matter, but I want to place myself on record as being absolutely opposed to paying the salary of a man, or the salaries of men who, I am satisfied, will, as a result of their unfitness for the position of carrying on the work which we intended they should do, cost this country millions of dollars.

Mr. CAHILL: Before the hon. member takes his seat, I should like to ask him a question. If his speech is to any purpose, I think he should move an amendment, to give this measure the six months' hoist.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member has submitted no question whatever.

Mr. SAMUEL F. GLASS (Middlesex East): Mr. Speaker, I am sure the House and the country will feel indebted to the hon. member for South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) for having presented this matter in the form he has to the House. The Bill before the House has to do with a proposed increase in the allowance or salary which shall be paid to each of the members of the commission who in their proper sphere have very important functions to perform. We would naturally think that the first important requirement would be for the men who were appointed to that commission to have given some demonstration of their efficiency for their important duties. It may not be fair for me generally to criticise the fitness of the members of this commission, and I do not intend to imply that I am criticising their fitness, because I believe, from what I have heard of the gentlemen who occupy positions on that commission, that they are men of ability. As the hon. member for South Oxford has pointed out, from all parts of this country came the call to this Government to recognize the outstanding fitness of Mr. O'Connor for just such an appointment. But it might have been well had that commission had on it some outstanding figure representative of the great agricultural productive interest of this country, so that he might have been a stay and a guide to them in considering the important matter of production.

This is not a new thing in this country. There is an ample reason for the condition

in which we find ourselves to-day, and the same condition exists in all parts of the world. If there be one thing that is more important than another, and the importance of which is realized by other countries, it is that if we are to get down to lower levels, that can be accomplished ultimately only by a greater production from the resources of the soil. The hon. member for South Oxford has referred to the importance and the stability of rural life, to the splendid men who have been raised on the farms of this country. He has well and rightly said so. The quotation he gave from remarks of the late President Theodore Roosevelt, was appropriately duplicated by Mr. Lloyd George in July last when, meeting a deputation of the Agricultural Committee of the House of Commons, he said:

> I do not think there is an industry in this land which is as important to its life, to its health, to its strength. It is the place to grow men. The mines of South Wales would have been derelict, they would have had to be worked by black labour, if it had not been for the big, brawny men brought up in the agricultural districts of Wales and Somerset and the Western Counties. This nation has been living on its capital in more way than was imagined. It has been living on its capital in strength. These people brought from the agricultural districts are its capital in vitality; and that has been eaten up by the industrial life of the country without anything being put into the bank again. On the contrary, it has been drained and drained and drained; and unless we put our backs into this I think the prospect will be a serious one, and it will show we are not a nation which can understand a lesson when it is taught us, when it is written by the finger of Providence clearly for us, even in the blood of our own children.

Proceeding, Mr. Lloyd George made this important statement:

> Therefore I think it is important that we should, during the next year or two, immediately put our minds on the best methods of developing the agricultural resources of this country, and bringing the population back. I can see in France what a difference it makes now; it gives them a sense of security. When you talk about Bolshevism, M. Clemenceau says, you must remember half our population is on the land. You cannot make a Bolshevist on the soil; it is not the place to make him, especially if you give him some sort of an interest in it. Therefore I think it is right, and as far as I am concerned I need no convincing about the overwhelming importance of this problem, but it has got to be done thoroughly; and I am very sanguine, from my experience of those who are on the land, that they are going to look at it from a patriotic point of view.

We know that what Mr. Lloyd George said on that occasion is equally true in this country of ours, namely, that the farms have been drained, not only through the war, but through decades past. The very best of our life-blood has been drawn into the cities to engage in industrial pursuits of various kinds, and we are not giving back to the soil, to the farm, any of that brawn and sinew which have been the strength of our agriculture in years past. This country must face that situation. We cannot get on; we cannot meet the enormous responsibilities of this nation nor solve the problem of the enormous debt we have to face unless some unusual effort is put forth to stimulate production on the farm. How are we going to do that? It seems to be one of those problems that, even during the war, it was impossible to solve. During the war we induced our industrial community, our town life and our city life, to get out on to the soil; we interested the women, and they responded nobly in their efforts to assist in production in this country; but just as sure as the night follows the day, unless we can solve this problem of greater production, we are not going to solve the problem of cheaper living. And we are not going to do this by commissions such as we have if they commence by striking right at the very base of production. If a commission were appointed, or if sober men were to set themselves to a consideration of the important problem of how best to stimulate production, how best to carry on that propaganda which was so effective during the long years of the war, the result might be a much earlier reduction in the prices of the necessities of life. There are functions for this commission to perform in connection with that.

I am of opinion that one of the greatest difficulties, and one of the greatest causes of unrest and increased cost, is the inordinate greed of the distributor. There are, of course, different kinds of middlemen. There is the middleman who, at an opportune time, when production seems to be short and when the prospect of prices ascending seems certain, corners supplies of food stuffs and holds them in cold storage to await the higher values that are bound to come. These are illegitimate middlemen who should not be allowed to exist, and wherever in this country there are cold storage plants holding large supplies of food for higher prices, there is a root of evil at which this board can well strike and eradicate altogether. The man who is engaged in trade as his regular calling in life is in a different position, but nevertheless it is just as necessary that he should be carefully watched and not be allowed to extort exorbitant prices from the people of this country.

The price of milk has been under discussion this evening, and the case has been well put before the House by my hon. friend from South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland). I am glad that at last he had the opportunity of putting this matter squarely before the House, because I have observed that during the past few weeks he has been consistently thwarted in his efforts to get some information on this important subject. A high price for milk is not peculiar to this country; it is the same all over the United States and Great Britain. I have in my hand a copy of The London Times of September 12 last, and these are the words of Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., Food Controller:

> Fears and apprehensions had been expressed by many persons as to the future price of milk. He had been advised that he must not allow milk to reach a certain figure, otherwise there would be universal discontent. On the other hand he was told that unless he largely exceeded that figure, no milk would be produced. For a month or two past he had been going through all sorts of reports from all standpoints, and he could say that the cost of producing milk was three times that before the war.
>
> He had reluctantly, therefore, come to the conclusion that the price of milk this winter must be three times the pre-war cost.
>
> That was to him a very alarming prospect, for it might place milk beyond the reach of large sections of the poorer people. Yet, if milk could not be produced and sold at a reasonable profit below a certain figure, then that figure had to be granted. He wished to emphasize that the prices issued by the Ministry were maximum prices and they could be modified in many districts.

The report says further:

> The Director of Milk Supplies has written a letter to Mr. Harry Binner, of the Industrial Reconstruction Council, in reference to a statement by Mr. Binner that there was no excuse for the high price of milk, if supplies were sufficient to permit of "strapping male adults" drinking large glasses of milk in the tea shops. He states:—
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> "Milk is an extremely valuable food, not only for children, but for adults, and at times when there is an adequate supply for everyone there can be no objection to adults consuming milk. Even at the present high prices, milk is a relatively cheap food."

In Great Britain they made an effort to conserve their cream by forbidding it to be used for any other purpose than that of making butter. The fixing of milk prices in Great Britain brought out its production cost, and the Commission that was appointed to investigate the matter came to the conclusion that the cost of producing a gallon of milk in the summer time was 1s. 4½d., that is, 33 cents. I cannot conceive on what grounds we could assume that the cost of producing milk in this country is less than in Great Britain, where they have splendid pastures and the cows give heavy milking. The foodstuffs for cattle there do not cost any more, I presume, than here, and therefore in view of the ascertained cost of producing milk in Great Britain can any one say that the price of milk in this country has been inordinately high? Let me point out—I am speaking more particularly of the western part of Ontario—what has been the factor that has regulated the price of milk there during recent years. It has been the price that the condensing factories or the evaporated milk factories could afford to pay the farmer for his supply. If the condensing factory finds that it can raise the price of milk to $3.25 a hundred pounds, it must necessarily follow that if the farmer has to choose between selling his milk to the distributor in the city at $2.50 or $2.75 a hundred pounds, or to the condensing factory at $3.25, he is going to sell his milk to the condensing factory. And if you are going to put a board between that man and his market, what is going to happen? He is not going to produce for that lower price. He is going to shut off production at once. The effect of the board's action will be a largely decreased production of milk.

I find by the last issue of the London Times received here that they have fixed the price of milk in Great Britain for the coming winter. How did they do it? They did not set a fixed price for the whole winter, but graded the price according to the season and the varying possibility of production. They fixed the price to the consumer for a quart of milk as follows: October, 11d., or 22 cents; November, December, January, February and March, 1s., or 24 cents. With the return of spring in April and the possibility of pasturage, milk drops back to 11d. No regulations are made covering the following months. The wholesale price per gallon from the producer is fixed at 2s. 2d. Our price here is fixed at 39 cents. Even after paying the exorbitant price to the profiteer-farmer, as they have called him, 39 cents is away under the price authorized to be paid to the producers in Great Britain. The wholesale price to the producer in Great Britain has been fixed as follows, per gallon: October, 2s. 2d., November 2s. 8d., December January and February, 3s. 3d.; March, 3s. 0d.; April, 2s. 2d. When we compare those prices with the prices here I do not think there is any reason why this board should endeavour to undermine at its very base the milk supply of this country.

My hon. friend (Mr. Sutherland) has also referred to the fixing of the price of cheese. I do not understand that exactly in the way he does, that a price has been fixed for cheese. I understand that the British Government said to our Government: "We are prepared to pay you 25 cents a pound for cheese f.o.b Montreal. That is the best price we can pay." Let me point out what occurred in Great Britain.

Great Britain had fixed the cost of production of cheese at 2 shillings, or 48 cents, per pound. It fixed the price at which the retailer should sell at 1 shilling 6 pence, or 36 cents, and the price of the Government to the wholesaler—that is, the man who has to distribute—was 1 shilling 3½ pence, or 31 cents, a margin of 5 cents. Now, Great Britain was paying her producers 48 cents to produce cheese and was fixing the price to the consumer at 36 cents. How was it to be done? "Well," they argued, "we will fix prices in the Dominions, where we can obtain our supplies; and the price will be put so low that, although our product represents twenty-five per cent of the total production, if we can get seventy-five per cent of cheap stuff over there, with the twenty-five per cent of high-priced product for which we pay our producers here, the average cost will be low enough to permit us to sell to the wholesaler at 31 cents." I mention this fact not with any intention of criticising the British Government; for what they have done in this respect is a matter of their own concern. I understand that they found they could buy cheese in Australia and New Zealand at prices even below ours, and the price that they fixed for Canadian cheese was the Australian price plus the difference in freight and charges from that point to Great Britain. That was their own business. But when we speak of the price of cheese in this country as being high and designate the farmer as a profiteer, I say that we do not know what we are talking about. Great Britain has shown clearly what the cost of production amounts to. I do not speak with positive knowledge on this point, but, on the authority of the board over there, it takes one gallon of milk to produce one pound of cheese.

Mr. BOYCE: It takes more than that.

Mr. GLASS: If that be so, then I presume we make better cheese and the percentage of butter fat is greater in our milk. But, even assuming my hon. friend to be correct, it shows that the cost of production of cheese in Great Britain is around 40 cents a pound.

[Mr. Glass.]

I am safe in saying, however, that it must cost considerably more than that because the price the Government pays the producer is 48 cents a pound. On the other hand, our farmers here are offered 25 cents a pound, and the purchasing of New Zealand and Australian cheese makes it possible to bring the average cost down so that the British Government can sell to the wholesaler at 31 cents a pound.

I think these facts clearly indicate the disadvantage of the farmer here as compared with producers in Great Britain. A careful and scientific study has been made of the cost of production by men who know, and if it costs 40 cents to produce a pound of cheese in Great Britain I do not see how there can be excessive profit in production in this country at 25 cents a pound. The farmers have said all along that these prices for dairy products do not give an adequate return and reasonable encouragement, and in addition to this unfavourable condition the farmer is confronted with the element of uncertainty in regard to his market. My hon. friend from South Oxford referred to the large reduction in the production of cheese. This is due to some extent to the uncertainty of the market, and also, in a measure, to the fact that the condensing factories can afford to pay a higher price for milk than the cheese maker can in order to sell cheese at the world's market prices. We have to meet this situation, and at this juncture I might refer to the comments made in the Farmers' Advocate of Saturday last. The Farmers' Advocate has observed the movements of this commission, and it says:

> The logical place to begin is at the beginning, and trace an article through the various channels of production and distribution to its ultimate destination, the consumer.

No one will deny the truth of this statement.

> Already the agitation amongst consumers has given rise to a whole series of investigations by governmental agencies. Great Britain, the United States and Canada are each making strong efforts to reduce the costs of food-stuffs, and the effects are already noticeable. The man who noticed them first, however, is the farmer; just as he is the last to gain by any increases in values. When hogs took a sudden drop in the United States market, due to a combination of consumer, government and packer, it was some time before a reduction of price was noticeable in retail stores.

History repeats itself and right in this country we are experiencing that condition at the present time.

> Nevertheless, the price has stayed down for the farmer in spite of the same exceptionally

high cost of production. This phenomenon is being repeated in Canada, where, due to a combination of circumstances to which United States and Great Britain have contributed, prices of hogs have suddenly and seriously declined. Here is where the Board of Commerce, which has such full powers, might do some permanent good in the interests of the consumer and producer alike. Last year, with bran and shorts around $40 to $45 a ton, oil-cake in the neighbourhood of $70, and prepared hog feeds in the vicinity of $60 per ton there was not enough difference between market prices for live hogs and the cost of production to encourage farmers to increase their output. Bran and shorts, since then, have risen to about the $60 plane, oil-cake is in the neighbourhood of $85 when it can be obtained, oats are worth between $2.80 and $3 per hundred, depending upon whether they are new or old, and prepared hog feeds have been climbing up towards $70 per ton. . . . . .

A more complete analysis of the situation reveals several important facts. A combination of these feeds, such as have just been mentioned, will range around 3¼c. per pound, and it requires about five pounds of grain to make a pound of gain. It will, therefore, cost in the neighbourhood of 16c. per pound for feed alone to produce hogs; but it has been demonstrated at the Central Experimental Farm, that the feed cost is only 67 per cent of the total cost of production, so that on the basis of these figures, hogs should sell for $20 and over.

The farmer says that at present prices there is no encouragement to increase production of hogs, and I think that this view is only in accordance with the truth and the facts as they have been clearly demonstrated. In view of the present high prices of food stuffs he will not be justified, with the falling price of hogs, in increasing his production. The markets of Great Britain are glutted with bacon, some of which is spoiling on the wharfs and in cold storages by reason of difficulties in transportation and so sorth. At present there is a cessation of importation from this country, and as a result the farmer who has produced hogs on high-priced food stuffs now finds himself bound to sell in a depressed market. If we are to have a satisfactory and stable production we must have a steady fixed prices. Great Britain is fixing the prices of wheat for next year, and it has also fixed the prices for many other commodities. No country has more fully realized the need of increased production to the limit of possibility than Great Britain has done during these serious years of war, and she is not relaxing her endeavours at present. By various means she is encouraging production for next year, and has appointed a commission with a view to ascertaining how best agriculture may be stimulated. During the war the Department of Agriculture in this country issued to the farmers a pamphlet which was brimful of patriotism. It presented the situation that prevailed throughout the world and eloquently pictured the urgent need there was for a miximum of production. Even in our towns and cities, by means of back gardens and otherwise, an effort was made by local committees with the result that there was an enormous production. What happened last year? As soon as the Armistice was signed the farmer, unable to gauge world conditions as was possible in countries where a minimum price was guaranted by the Government, had no encouragement and necessarily became pessimistic. He was afraid there would be a reaction in prices which might drop to such a level that he could not produce at a profit.

Sir, I say now, as I said a few nights ago, I think it was incumbent on the Government at a time like that to give leadership. The Department of Agriculture of this country were pretty well aware of what the conditions were, and if that same effort to stimulate production had gone on amongst the people in the rural parts last year we would now have had a much larger production than has been the case. I point this out, although not so much in criticism of what was done last year, in view of the opinion of the world's statesmen, such as Lloyd George and other men who thoroughly understand the situation, that the duty incumbent upon the Federal Department of Agriculture, and of the Department of Agriculture of every province in Canada for the next year is to get at the very root of the matter and see by what means and by what efforts they can best stimulate the greatest production of foodstuffs in the coming year. Talk as they may, and appoint commissions as they may to regulate matters, the law of supply and demand is going to count in the matter of the prices of food. And, Sir, all the commissions this Government can employ or can appoint will not, by any system of reasoning or argument, or by any orders which they may promulgate, encourage the farmer to greater production by limiting his prices. As I have said before, the farmers of Canada at their meetings throughout the country have declared: "Leave us alone. We are willing to take our chances on the world's market." Great Britain does not take that attitude, but that is because Great Britain needs a big production at home in order to conserve her tonnage. The more foodstuffs she can produce there the less she has to import and the less shipping she has to provide. But our farmers say: "Leave us alone. We will take the world's prices, we will take our chances. Do not hamper us and throw

restrictions around us and impose conditions not only that are distasteful but that make it impossible for us to increase our production." I have before me a quotation, clipped from the London Times, giving some remarks by C. A. McCurdy, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food there. Speaking at a meeting of the Consumers' Council on the 3rd September last, with reference to the demand made to eliminate a large part of the profits made by the middleman, he said:

> That there were two classes of middlemen. 1st. The class that came into existence when there was any rise in prices, and the opportunity was offered to step in and further enhance prices for its own profit. We propose taking drastic steps by a system of licenses in certain trades which ensures that no person not legitimately interested in the trade shall be allowed to come in and make a profit. We propose to eliminate the speculator altogether. The cause of present prices is world-wide and not local.

He then enumerates conditions which are consistent with the conditions which we find here:

> 1st. A rise in the Continental demand, also the increase in money wages. These can only be considered in connection with another factor, that is diminished production of all essential commodities at the present time. We are living in a very vicious circle in this country in which continued increase in wages is followed as an inevitable result by increase in the cost of production and the cost of living. Then the increased cost of living is, in its turn, made the occasion for further demand of increased wages. If we would think in terms of commodities instead of in terms of money we would have a much clearer view. There is only one way out of our present troubles and that is to increase the world's stocks of all essential commodities, which can only be done by work.

Now, with all the difficulties the farmer has surrounding him, with all the difficulties the agriculturist has experienced in this country, he has been caught in two ways. The high wages paid by the munition factories in all parts of the country have attracted the young men into the cities and towns where by engaging in industry, they could earn their $6 and $8 a day. We know, Mr. Speaker, that the man who has tasted the sweets of that high earning power never can be got back to the soil, and he is in the city to-day crowding and congesting the industrial population there; and were it not for the extraordinary activity in industry and in building trades and otherwise, the condition to-day would be much worse than it is. How many of these men, who were attracted to the city by the war-time wages do we find returning to the farm? I cannot find in the district from which I come, Sir, that any have returned. The farms have been depleted of labour to an extent that we have never before known in the history of the country, and the end is not yet. If the farmer could secure from the city even experienced labour for the farm at a price he could afford to pay, men who were willing and capable to work, then there would be some alleviation of the difficulties he had to contend with. But that is not the case; the farmer cannot get men for any kind of labour, and as my hon. friend has pointed out, the farmer can only figure out to crop his land to such an extent as he knows he will be able, by his own personal efforts and the efforts of his family, working thirteen and sixteen hours of the day, to take off in the harvest season. No matter how great the demand may be in the world for food products, no matter what the prices may be for those products, no matter how insistent the call may be on the ground of patriotism, or any other reason, that farmer is bound to-day, I think my hon. friend will admit, to regulate his operations more by the supply of labour at his command than by any other cause. I say I do not know how to propose a remedy. But the condition exists and we have got to face it and take steps, if it be at all possible, to lend some effort to solve the problem of labour. That could be done, to some extent, and has been done, by the perfecting and improving of machinery.

I regret that the Government has not been just as active as I would like to see it in stimulating the production of flax by means of that flax pulling machine I have been speaking of for so long. The flax industry is getting to be an important thing, and, notwithstanding the large production of dairy products, if I were allowed to include the flax products of the great West and the fibre products of Ontario and the East, we have a production that is worth in the neighbourhood of $80,000,000 this year. Sir, in a year when we want to produce wealth, a new fund of wealth, I submit that as being a very important thing. My hon. friends from the province of Quebec, I understand, do not realize what a great source of potential wealth they have got in the production of flax fibre in that province, and they are all asleep about it. Let me tell the House what I was informed the other day with respect to a man in the county of Chambly-Verchères named Larose. The habitants in the days gone by have always engaged in the production of flax in a small way, but this man Larose has a power mill with scutching machinery there for the scutching of flax. The farmers in that neighbourhood would

bring their little production of an acre or two acres of flax to the scutching mill, and Mr. Larose would scutch it for them and deliver the fibre. They took the fibre back to their homes and there with their old loom and hand spinning-wheel made it into linen. I am told that the farmers down there spin a very nice quality of linen which is used for cloaks for the clergy and for other purposes. Now, Sir, this man in connection with scutching—and this is the part I wish to emphasize to show how much native wealth is lying idle—had accumulated four tons of what we call tow, that is the waste when they are getting the shell from the straw and extracting the fibre. In years gone by it was used mostly for upholstering furniture. This man had not been able to find a market for it, but the flax expert of the experimental farm, Mr. Hutchinson, who happened to be down that way and had seen the quality of flax, asked why he did not market all this good tow. The man replied, "I do not know where to sell it." Mr. Hutchison said to him, "Give me a sample and I will find you a market for it." He took a sample, and in a week got an offer of 28 cents a pound, $560 a ton, or $2,240 for the four tons of waste lying in the man's barn, its value not appreciated. Of course, at present high prices the value of that tow would be very much greater. My friends in the province of Quebec grow as good flax as anywhere in the world. Why don't they get going down there, why don't they get up steam and show us what they can do in the way of greater flax production? I hope to be able to aid in such a way that we may give them that protection which they are so fond of and encourage them to develop this industry. I am told that already in the province of Quebec there are three thousand acres under contract for the production of flax next year.

Mr. JACOBS: What about the price of milk?

Mr. GLASS: Well, I got away from milk.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. GLASS: I am rather inclined to agree though with every word of my hon. friend from South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland). I am of opinion that the present prices of milk are not inordinately high. I cannot say whether those prices give a decent profit to the farmer, but I do say this, Sir, that it is an extraordinary thing, that notwithstanding the statemens that have been made on behalf of the farmers in the dairy districts, unless they have cows of the highest producing capacity they are giving up their herds, and unless a cow produces more than 4,000 pounds of milk her owner cannot afford to keep her at the present prices of feed.

I do not take the position my hon. friend did and say that these commissioners are not worthy of their hire, or that the salaries we purpose to give them are inordinately high. They are men of outstanding capacity, Mr. O'Connor is a man of peculiar fitness as an accountant and for ferreting into facts and figures, and I believe he will prove a useful member of the commission. But I think, Sir, the discussion in this House may have, indeed, I believe it has already had, its effect in leading the commissioners to believe that they were working along unsound lines when they commenced to attack the producer. Therefore I hope that as a result of what has been said in this House, and with the little experience the commissioners have had, they will desist from taking any further action against the producer, and instead will try to solve correctly the problem of increasing production.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Springfield): Mr. Speaker, I wish to make one or two observations on this subject, and I promise not to take more than two or three minutes. It does seem to me that this discussion has wandered very far from the Bill before the House. I cannot help thinking that our good friends the member for South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) and the member for East Middlesex (Mr. Glass) have become unduly exercised and are labouring to make out a case in favour of the farmer. So far as I can see no blow has been struck at the farmer by this Board of Commerce. It is perfectly true that an order was talked about or passed by one of the members of the board, but the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) informed the House this afternoon that that order has been rescinded. As a matter of fact, that is the only evidence, if it be evidence, that can be brought against the board by those hon. gentlemen, who probably are making a laudable effort to stand pat with their farmer constituents. I represent a great many farmers in my constituency, but I would dislike to take the position that a farmer should not bear his burden as well as any other member of the community.

Now, let us glance at this matter for a minute. All our people were clamouring, practically unanimously, against the high cost of living and demanding that the Government should make some effort to control

prices or to limit profits, and even threatening that certain things might happen if it did not make such an effort. Yielding to public opinion the Government appointed this Board of Commerce. For myself—and I think my opinion was shared by the majority—I never thought that this board could control prices, I never thought it was desirable that it should make the attempt to control prices; but I believed it could be effective in limiting profits, and I am satisfied that the great majority of the people also believed that the board could be effective in limiting profits, and that it ought to be effective in doing so.

The next question was, who should constitute this Board? When the matter was before the House I took very strong ground against the appointment of too many lawyers. However, when the name of Judge Robson was suggested I said that he was exactly the man we should have.

Mr. JACOBS: Is he a lawyer?

Mr. RICHARDSON: I have known Judge Robson for a great many years. He rendered magnificient service to the Province of Manitoba as Public Utilities Commissioner. He is a man, in my judgment, whose heart burns to serve the people, and when his name was proposed I did all I could to secure his appointment. While I am on that subject I may refer to his salary. Judge Robson, I understand, was drawing $15,000. a year when he agreed to accept this position. He gave up that great salary in order that he might be of real service to the people. So you can see he is the identical man for the office. With regard to Mr. O'Connor, I had my own reservations; I feared that he lacked the necessary discretion and ballast; but I believe that if the people had been polled as to who should occupy the position of Vice-Chairman on that Board, Mr. W. F. O'Connor would have received a great majority of the votes. I was pleased to hear my honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) pay tribute to Mr. W. F. O'Connor the other night when he spoke of him as a worthy and efficient man. I happen to know that Mr. O'Connor made the statement that he was earning a larger amount of money annually than is provided for in this Bill. It is true that Mr. O'Connor was charged with making statements in Toronto as Vice-Chairman of the Board, and when they were published I believe the general opinion was that they were indiscreet. I happened to meet him about a week ago, and he absolutely denied that he had made the statements that were attributed to him in the newspapers. But I do not think we are going to cavil as to whether he made them or did not make them. Let us admit that he might have been indiscreet in that one particular. But, he has come under the influence of Judge Robson, they are now sitting as a united board, and I will venture the guess that you will not find that W. F. O'Connor will be indiscreet in the future. I think he is a man who would like to be of service to the public, and, while I would not probably have appointed him myself, I am hopeful that he will make a satisfactory member of the board.

Let me take one instance. I notice that the board has made an order that, as I read it, the price of bacon be reduced on an average of from two to six cents a pound. Well, that at least is something. If you take the consumption of bacon in Canada and take an average reduction of three cents a pound, you will find that it will be a very considerable saving to the public. I did not hear our hon. friends from South Oxford and East Middlesex denounce this regulation in regard to the reduction on bacon because one would at least expect them to say that this interferes with the price to the farmer.

Mr. SMITH: It does.

Mr. RICHARDSON: Our hon. friend (Mr. Smith), one of the dumb philosophers of the House, says that it does interfere with the price. I would rather think not, because bacon in the city from which I come was selling as high as 70 cents a pound, and if the farmer was only getting 17, 18 or 20 cents a pound for his pork, I should think those who made the profit were the manufacturers of bacon—the pork packers. I believe that the order of the board is not aimed at the producer of pork, but at the profiteer and the manufacturer. Anyway, somebody's ox is sure to be gored, and no matter what this Board of Commerce may do, it is sure to be criticised. There is a quotation that I frequently make, and it seems to apply in this case.

> You'll be damned if you do,
> You'll be damned if you don't.

But we have a board, I believe, that will prove eminently satisfactory to the people of Canada. I think they ought to be given a chance. I do not think that every time they make an order, be it small or great, the members of the Parliament of Canada should rise up and denounce them. How are you going to get service from anybody

if you are going to keep on harping upon their acts, criticising, and tearing them down? Surely the people's representatives should stand by something! Let us be constructive, let us make some progress, let us support these men.

I believe that if you ask the people of Manitoba they will be a unit in saying that Judge Robson is the very highest type of man. He will give the very best service he can, and if you want a commission of the highest efficiency, he is the best man that could have been selected to conduct its work. Then, in Heaven's name, let us support him loyally. If this board does something absolutely wrong and inimical to the public interests, it will be time enough to criticise it. But this House has got into the habit of criticising and carping at everything that is done, and if we keep on we are going to rock the boat and it will go under. If there is one thing that is needed in Canada more than another at the present time it is to try and prevent rocking the boat. With our enormous commitments and responsibilities, if this policy is continued, ultimately the ship of State is bound to be wrecked. It is only, in my judgment, by the most careful steering, by pursuing the most judicious course, by husbanding our resources and by endeavouring to stand by what appeals to the best judgment of the people as being right and in the best interests of Canada, that we can succeed in saving the ship at all.

Mr. S. W. JACOBS (George Etienne Cartier): Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the debate has wandered very far from the question before the House, which is the fixing of the salaries of the members of the Board of Commerce. That is the matter which should engage the attention of the House, and nothing further. I have very little sympathy with the Government which is responsible for bringing on this debate. There was no necessity to have brought this matter before the House. The Government was given power at the last session, when the Bill was before the House originally, to fix the salaries of the commissioners. The Governor in Council had the power to fix the salaries, and why we are now called upon to discuss this whole question again is something that passes my poor understanding.

I must deplore the criticism which has been levelled at the Board of Commerce by the members seated on your right, Mr. Speaker. With the exception of the hon. member who has just resumed his seat (Mr. Richardson), and who condemned the board with faint praise, there was not a single member on the Government side who had a good word to say about the Board of Commerce. I was not very much enamoured of this board when the question was first mooted in the House but I was willing that it should be given a chance. To-day we have a number of gentlemen representing the farming community who, finding that possibly the actions of the board may interfere with there profits, are furiously attacking the personnel or membership of the board. I think it is highly improper on the part of members in the House to criticize the composition of the board in the way that they have done. This is not the proper place to discuss milk prices and agricultural economics. The proper place to do it is before the Board of Commerce, before Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Justice Robson. But here we are discussing before this House a matter ex-parte with no one on the other side to say a word in defence of the board. I have no sympathy at all with the Government who find themselves in the position of having a quarrel in their own family, inasmuch as it was not necessary for them to bring this matter before the House at all.

I would like to say a word or two in regard to a matter which was brought before the House by one of the members when discussing the effect of the rulings of the board upon agriculture. I would like to relieve his mind, if I can, as to any fears which he may have that the rulings of the board are going to affect his particular business. If he will refer to the Act itself, he will find that the board has practically no power at all. The Government has surrounded the board with barbed wire entanglements and made it impossible for the board to do anything. The Government has seen to that. If hon. gentlemen will refer to section 41 of the Act, they will notice that:

> The Governor in Council may, in his discretion, either upon petition of any person interested, lodged within one month after the making of the order, decision, rule or regulation, or within such further time as the board under special circumstances may allow, or of his own motion, at any time, and without any petition or application, vary or rescind any order, decision, rule or regulation of the board.

That is to say, the Government itelf may, without any complaint whatsoever, rescind any order of the board. The board really has no power at all. Its claws were drawn before it was brought into existence.

Furthermore, we find that when any order is made by the board, nothing can be done by that board beyond making the order, they are impotent. The board send the order to the Attorney General of the province in which the alleged offence was committed, and it is for the Attorney General to pigeonhole it or not just as he thinks fit, but the matter at once falls into the jurisdiction of the Attorney General of the province. Therefore, hon. gentlemen have no reason to be frightened; nothing is to be done to their business; they can charge any price they like for their milk, cheese, butter, beef or any other commodity, so that all this talk is really to no purpose at all. And, when I listened to one hon. gentleman after another taking up the time of the House, I was rather inclined to agree with the resolution introduced here last night by the hon. member for Qu'Appelle (Mr. Levi Thomson) who stated that most of the speakers in this House developed into public nuisances. I do not wish to attach any such expression to the hon. gentlemen who have spoken to-day; I do not think they are public nuisances. For instance, I was rather interested in the remarks which fell from the lips of the hon. member for East Middlesex (Mr. Glass) who regaled us with an interesting speech upon the price of milk in Great Britain and the price of flax in Quebec. I find that every time I come into this House I learn something from hon. gentlemen who talk with so much intelligence upon every subject that comes before us.

The hon. member for Springfield (Mr. Richardson) paid a very high tribute to Mr. Justice Robson, with which tribute I wish to associate myself. I am very glad that Mr. Justice Robson's ability has been brought before the House in such a striking manner, and I am sure the Government ought to be congratulated on the appointment of Mr. Justice Robson to this high and important position. Everything the hon. member said about him I can heartily endorse. I was, however, rather sorry to think that the hon. member should have stopped there. He said that there ought to have been no criticism of the board; that they should have been given a chance; that their efficiency is going to be affected throughout the country if we criticise them in the way in which we have done. Then in the same breadth he told us that he did not know anything about Mr. W. F. OfConnor, but he rather thought he was an indiscreet gentleman, but under the influence of Mr. Justice Robson, for I do not know how long, he might perhaps develop into a useful official. Then we were told that the board talks too much. I wonder what the opinion of the board is with regard to members of Parliament, whether they reciprocate that view or not.

We have already appointed to this board three gentlemen, one of whom is merely a locum tenens. When the Bill, creating the board was introduced into this House at the last session, I raised the question that it was highly necessary and proper that a French-speaking man should be appointed as a third member of this Board of Commerce, and I still make that pretension. I took the view that in this country, where more than twenty-five per cent of our people are French-speaking, who do not understand the English language as they do their own language, it is essential that the third member of the board should be a French-speaking man. It may be, of course, that the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) and the Government feel that the whole province of Quebec is so free from profiteering and from excessive charges in matter of products that there is no necessity at all for having any sittings in that province; but perhaps there is another view, and I think it would be a safe thing at all events, to appoint some person from Quebec who would be conversant with the French tongue and at the same time would render useful service to the board by his ability to speak the English language.

What makes me believe that the Board of Commerce is at present rendering useful work to the community and to the country is the fact that we have such a chorus of disapproval in this House from members representing the farming community. You know, Sir, the old saying that when you throw a brick down a dark lane at night and you hear a howl, you know you have struck something. That is the view which I think the community generally will take. I think the board is doing excellent work in investigating everything, not only the farming community, but the pork-packers and others. Every interest ought to be investigated by this board, and I trust they will be. The farming community who are not yet affected by any order of the board should wait before they lay their complaints before the House. One gentleman went so far as to say that he felt that the—

Mr. McCREA: Would you investigate the lawyers?

Mr. JACOBS: I do not think the lawyers require investigating. I think it will be

found in the case of most lawyers that, when they come to give up the ghost either their estates are insolvent or their relatives accept the estates under the benefit of inventory. That is the best proof that they are not profiteers. In any event, I think the hon. member for Sherbrooke (Mr. McCrea) would prevent them from becoming profiteers, even if they wanted to be, at his expense.

One hon. member—I do not remember from what constituency he hails—said that this discussion ought to do good, as it would teach the men who are on the board just what their duties should be and should not be. I cannot take that view at all. It seems to me that those men who are appointed to the board should proceed with their work in no manner affected by any views to which expression may be given in this House. We know that, in our courts of justice, any attempt made to affect the views of a court or a judge is treated as contempt of court and punished accordingly, and we in this House have no more right in that respect as members of Parliament than we would have as private members of the community going about our daily avocations.

I ran across Mr. O'Connor on Sparks street to-day, and he assured me that, as a result of the operations of the board, they have already caused a reduction in the price of beef of ten or twelve cents per pound. I have not yet felt the effect of that myself, but I hope I shall in due time. He also told me about the price of pork, but for obvious reasons I was not interested. So far as I am concerned, I only hope the price of that article is put up to a prohibitive degree in order that the members of the community may not be permitted to eat of the unclean animal.

I trust that we shall hear nothing further about the conduct and action of this Board of Commerce. Let them continue on their way. Let us see what they are able to do, and if, at the next session, we find that we have made a mistake in creating this board the same body—the Parliament of Canada—that brought this court unto existence can give it its coup de grace. But I bespeak for it the support, not only of the members of this House, but of the whole of the country, and let us see if something cannot be done towards reducing the cost of living, a consummation devoutly to be wished by every one of us.

Mr. JOHN ALBERT SEXSMITH (East Peterborough): Mr. Speaker, I do not think any hon. member can class me as one of those who take up the time of the House with long speeches, and I invite them to look over the pages of Hansard for the last ten or twelve years and see how the record bears out my statement. I was very much interested in the remarks of the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs), who was loud in his condemnation of the hon. members for South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) and East Middlesex (Mr. Glass), who, as he put it, were voicing the sentiments of their constituents and of the farmers of this great country.

I ask the House to think of the remarks of the hon. member (Mr. Jacobs) and ask themselves if he was not voicing the sentiments of his own constitutuents as loudly as any other hon. member did this afternoon.

Mr. JACOBS: Only on the pork question.

Mr. SEXSMITH: His whole speech was a condemnation of the farmer and the price of foods stuffs. Why, in every paper you picked up during the last few months you saw the price of eggs and of butter and of bacon complained of, and the Government was bombarded to appoint a commission to bring down the high cost of living. The high cost of what? Boots and shoes and clothing? No, of butter and eggs and food stuffs generally. If we are to judge by the reports that have appeared in the papers the last day or so, this is no Board of Commerce at all, but a board to control the price of food. I have nothing to say against the personnel of the Board, but I do say that the great agricultural interests of his country should be represented on the Board by at least one member. From forty to fifty per cent of the people of this country live on the farm, and are producing the stuff that is going to pay the war debt of this country if ever it is paid, and yet a board is appointed to look after the interests of the consumer, and the forty to fifty per cent of the people of this country who are producing and upon whom the consumer is dependent for his very life, have no representative on the Board. That is what I protest against. I also protest against the members from the great cities and urban centres crying down the farmer and saying that he is the man who should be throttled. I say to those hon. members that this is a broad and vast country, nearly four thousand miles across, with millions of acres of virgin soil. Go and tell your constituents who are shouting about the high cost of living, "Canada has millions of acres of virgin soil. Go and produce for yourself the eggs, the butter the cheese

and the milk that you need". If they did that, there would be no cause for complaint about the high cost of living. But hon. members from the city will not tell them that, and a board is appointed to fix the price of food. Why, to my mind, it is the most absurd thing under Heaven. I was amazed to hear my hon. friend from Springfield (Mr. Richardson) say that he did not know that fixing the price of bacon influenced the price of hogs. Has he read the market reports for the last few weeks?

Mr. RICHARDSON: Sure.

Mr. SEXSMITH: Then he must have seen that the price of live hogs has gone down from 5 to 7 cents a pound. Has he not seen the papers from the great city of Montreal announcing, sometimes under big headlines, what this board has accomplished?

Mr. RICHARDSON: The hon. member would not say that the fall in the price of hogs was due to regulating the profits of the manufacturer.

Mr. SEXSMITH: I would not say it was due to regulation, because I do not believe any bacon should sell at 70 cents a pound. I am not here to protect the profiteer, but I am here to protect the honest producer, in his interest and the interest of Canada. When I was home a week ago I had farmers ask me "What are the prospects for the prices of hogs next spring?" I said "Do not ask me. Ask some one with a greater knowledge of those things than I have." I have been a producer of hogs for forty years, and I say that if you set the price at 15 cents live weight, you cannot make anything at it to-day with the present price of wheat and other cereals, and if that price is fixed, instead of having $40,000,000 or $50,000,000 of bacon to export you will have the same condition we had a few years ago with regard to butter and mutton and lamb, and the like,—we shall be bringing these things in from New Zealand, and eggs from China, and all the rest of it.

Mr. RICHARDSON: My hon. friend admits that 70 cents for bacon is an outlandish price. If the board set the price at 60 cents, does my hon. friend say that that would mean the price of hogs would be 15 cents? The board is not setting the price of pork at all.

Mr. SEXSMITH: When you fix the price for the product of the hog you set the price for the whole hog.

[Mr. Sexsmith.]

Mr. RICHARDSON: Then you would justify 70 cents a pound for bacon?

Mr. SEXSMITH: No. I know that price has been often quoted. I might say that for a little piece of Windsor bacon $1.50 might not be out of the way. Let me explain. It is only a very small part of the hog that sells at 70 cents, but judging by the papers you would think every part is sold at that figure. You do not have to pay 70 cents a pound for the shank or many other parts. When you get a choice piece of bacon specially cured with all the bone taken out, the rind taken of, and cut in slices one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness, done up in a quarter-pound package and delivered at your house, do you think 70 cents a pound is too much for that? I repeat, it is only a small part of the back that sells for that figure, but the whole hog is held up to scorn on account of that price. Foodstuffs are not the only element in the high cost of living, and if this Board has been appointed especially for the purpose of bringing down the price of foodstuffs and is going to act along these lines alone, it will strike at the very foundations of the greatest industry of this country.

When I have gone up and down the country I have tried to point out to the people that the only thing for us to do is to produce more. Before the war Russia was producing about one-third of the world's wheat supply, running over 1,000,000,000 bushels every year. The world's consumption of wheat was a little over 3,000,000,000 bushels a year, and up to 1911 no country in the world had come near Russia's production. But in 1911 or 1912 Providence provided a bounteous harvest in the United States, and for the first time in her history she equalled Russia's production of wheat. Russia also produced 700,000,000 bushels of rye, over 52 per cent of the world's production. Eggs and butter from Siberia were pouring into Great Britain, and other parts of Europe. That supply has all been cut off. Belgium and France and other parts of Europe have been laid waste for five years by the most dastardly war the world has ever seen. A starving Europe looks to this Continent for bacon, butter, eggs and other foodstuffs. Only two years ago practically every school teacher, clergyman, and member of Parliament in this country was out on the side lines and back lanes begging people, even the boys at school, to own a pig and produce bacon. "Produce, produce, produce!" was the cry; "give us bacon to feed our armies." The farmers rose to the

occasion. Did we not export some $52,000,000 worth of bacon during one year of the war? And now the hon. member from Montreal, because he represents a city riding, is clamouring to have the screw put on and prices kept down.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I would give this advice to the members of the great city ridings of Canada: If your food is too dear and your people are clamouring, tell them that God has provided a great and bounteous land for them, with millions of acres between the Atlantic and the Pacific, on which they can make a living honestly and uprightly, and bring up their families under God's open heaven far better than they can in any slum in the city—land on which their children may grow up to be men and women eminently fit to bring Canada to the forefront and make her a nation whose name will be glorious throughout the world.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (York South): I am in favour of a commission of this kind for the purpose of regulating the cost of living which has been bearing heavily upon the people not only of Canada but of Great Britain and the United States. The authorities have regulated the prices of foodstuffs in Britain with some success, and in the United States an active campaign has been launched. Here also we are taking steps to reduce the cost of living, and I sincerely trust that our efforts will meet with appreciable success. I agree with my friend from East Peterborough (Mr. Sexsmith) in the view that the cost of food is not the only matter that needs to be regulated; it is necessary also to regulate the prices of manufactured goods, including clothing, boots, etc., and I hope the Commission will pay due attention to this matter. In considering the high cost of living we naturally ask ourselves the question: What is the justification of commissions such as these and of investigations? Well, the justification lies in this, that publicity is given as to the conditions that exist and facts are brought out on which reasonable action may be based. Let us take the question of milk which we were discussing this afternoon, and which is one of importance to the city of Toronto and to the farmers who live in the townships I happen to represent. It has been revealed that the farmer at best receives 7 cents a quart for his milk. Milk produced in the neighbourhood of Toronto is sold wholesale by the farmer to the milk dealer at 7 cents, whereas the city dweller pays 14 cents for it. In other words, there is an astounding spread. All the investigations that have taken place in Europe, in the United States and in Canada are bringing various facts to light, and the great economic fact is that the matter for gravest complaint in Canada on the part of those who live in cities is the difference between the price paid the producer and that which the consumer is charged when the product finally reaches him. I do not think that we ought to pay 14 cents for our milk in the city if the farmer gets only 7 cents, and it is obvious that there is an economic difficulty of some kind that demands a remedy. This spread in prices exists to a greater extent in connection with hog products. Hogs run from 20 cents to 25 cents a pound live weight, and bacon and ham and pork have gone from 40 cents to 60 cents a pound. Such a discrepancy in prices should not exist; there is a profiteer somewhere who ought to be curbed. I do not say it is the farmer, but it is in the interests of the public that all these facts should be established, and if there is anything wrong—and certainly there is, so far as the people in the cities are concerned—an effective remedy should be applied. I think, therefore, that a board of this kind is necessary. While perhaps they may have made mistakes at first, they are bringing out facts and getting results; and the predominant fact with which the people of this country and those of the United States are now acquainted, as a result of investigations into the cost of living, is that there is an injustifiable difference between the price which the producer of the food receives and that which is paid by the consumer. As a result of investigations in the United States the farmer is not being hurt, but the profiteer is being haled before the bar of public justice and made to reduce his profits, with the result that prices are going lower. That is one phase of the operations which justify the board in the United States, and I believe that similar proceedings have been taken in Great Britain. We must find a way in Canada of dealing with this exorbitant spread between the producer's price and the consumer's. This matter is worthy of the attention of Parliament. It is worthy of the attention of a high court of some kind, and it should receive the support of the Government and of every member of this House. In doing what it has done Parliament has in a measure responded to a great public demand.

In regard to the personnel of the Commission I agree that the farming element ought to be represented. The farmers know a great deal about the production of the

necessities of life, and the board should include a representative of agriculture, as is the case in connection with the Board of Commerce in the United States. I should like to deal with some other questions to-night, but time does not permit. But the disclosures that have been made in the United States have justified the investigations that have taken place there. The public have obtained better treatment, and we must see that similar results are attained here.

The only other criticism I would pass upon the board, and it is a strong one from my point of view, is the fact, as the hon. member for Montreal said, that there is not a real enforcement of our law as in the United States. There they have a federal enforcement of a federal law. I have spoken already on this matter in the House, and I believe that the Government differ considerably from me in that respect. But if we have a strong commission and a proper enforcement of the regulations that are made, we shall have better results. As was said this afternoon, we want some one in the House who can be held responsible for the enforcement of these regulations. We ought to make the Government responsible for the enforcement of the law, and I have said before that the Attorney General ought to be the responsible official. He should be able to employ various assistants, attorneys and special agents to investigate the matter of prices, and should have at his disposal proper experts to advise him. Let there be accountants to ascertain whether there is or is not an unfair spread; and if there is unfair profiteering let us take adequate steps to eliminate both these elements. It will not be done in a day.

Mr. LALOR: Have you any information as to the prices of hog products in the United States as compared with Canada?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: There is a very substantial reduction of prices in the United States.

Mr. LALOR: That is not the question. Are our prices higher than in the United States?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Yes.

Mr. LALOR: I doubt it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. MACLEAN: Live pork is cheaper in the United States to-day than in Canada.

Mr. COWAN: Live pork?

[Mr. W. F. Maclean.]

Mr. MACLEAN: Yes. The price of live pork is higher in Toronto than in any other place in America. It has been so for several years, and the price of meat products has been higher in Canada generally. The great fact that has been brought out by the investigations in the United States is that there is a substantial reduction in the cost of living, the benefit of which the people are feeling. There are two large classes in this country, those who work on the farms and those who work in the cities; and between them there is a third class who do not produce but sell to the consumer. These are the packers, and in the United States and Canada this class of the community is under public investigation. The general opinion is that their prices are altogether unfair, and the net result of this Commission will be, I trust, some relief to the public.

In the same way there are unfair charges on manufactured goods in this country by reason of combines and organizations of that kind, and these must be investigated; it is not quite fair to the farmer that his products should be the only products to be investigated. I have been charged with being a protectionist. Perhaps I am, perhaps I am not, but what I wish to say is that you cannot justify the exorbitant profits that have been made in connection with manufacturing industries in this country; you cannot justify the prices of clothing in some cases, or of boots, or of many other manufactured articles. Take the building trade and it will be found that the prices in Canada to-day are so high for builders' hardware that notwithstanding the duty, it pays to import these goods from the United States. Now a protective tariff is not justified in that case. We want investigation into all these matters; we do not want them set aside and the clamour of the people not attended to; we have got to have an investigation, we have got to bring out the facts and ascertain if there is any such spread in prices and any such profiteering as we believe there is in many lines. My objection to the Board of Commerce is that it has not enough members and they are not directing their energies in a sufficient number of directions, unless they go into the high cost of manufactured goods.

Mr. KEEFER: During the days of the Food Board was not the spread of prices regulated?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I do not know whether it was or not, perhaps the hon.

gentleman can tell us, but the fact I am pointing out is that the people of Canada are up in arms against the high cost of living, and against this unjust spread in prices and this unjust profiteering; they are not against the farmers, but they want fair treatment in this matter. Let me point out what happened in the United States. President Wilson has just returned to Washington, more or less ill, after an effort that he made to explain to his fellow-countrymen the meaning of the League of Nations and the Treaty of Peace. Before he went out on that expedition he sent a friend of his to swing round the circle and advise him as to whether it was advisable or not for him to take this discussion to the people. But before he went out he was advised by his friend, and his friend, I think was a good judge, "Never mind the League of Nations; devote your energy to a reduction of the cost of living." The president has undertaken the two things, and he has put the whole resources of the United States Government behind an investigation into the high cost of living. And he has got results. A good deal of money has been spent in connection with it. but there is a very powerful commission at work over there. The Government has strengthened that commission; they have put any number of attorneys, prosecuting lawyers and experts to work on the investigation, and, as I say, they are getting results. The question for the people in the United States is the high cost of living just as it is here; and we must have a commission that will bring out the facts, that will bring out the amount of this spread—as it is called—between what the producer gets and what the consumer pays, and if it is unfair there has got to be Government regulation in some respects, especially in war time, or in the times that follow war. There is one economic condition that exists at the present time and more or less interferes with the situation, and it is this: If the high cost of living is increased unnecessarily, there is an increasing demand for wages and as the hon. gentleman (Mr. Glass) quoted from an English authority, it is a case of just going round in a vicious circle; first, it is a case of raising wages, then it is a case of raising the cost of living —the cost keeps going up and no relief is afforded. Therefore, we must have these investigations. You are not going to improve the conditions of labour unless you reduce the cost of living, so that we have to reduce both the high cost of living and exorbitant profits.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Why not investigate the cost of high living?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I do not object to that. Let the cost of high living be investigated for there is a good deal of it in this country. If my hon. friend will start a movement in that direction, or if he will lay information against the high livers, perhaps Mr. O'Connor will take the matter up and some facts will be disclosed in regard to it. But the great fact is that we have got to deal with public opinion here. Public opinion is crying out against the high cost of living, and expects Parliament to do something. The Government are doing something, they have made a start. They have not gone as far as I would like to see them go, but inasmuch as they have made a start I have no object to the passage of this Bill. I would not only make the remuneration to the members of the board adequate, but I would make the board still more efficient by legislation that would strengthen their usefulness and achieved the desired results. What they should achieve, and what I think they will achieve later on, is a substantial reduction in the high cost of living.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH (South Ontario): It is true that I do not worry the House very much, but I have had a fairly long parliamentary experience and I have had time to think over two or three things since I was accused of being a "dumb philosopher." One of the things that I thought of occurred during the session of 1918 when a certain honourable gentleman coming from the riding of Springfield (Mr. Richardson) made a speech and in half an hour apologized for doing so.

In connection with the present Bill it is possible that an extreme view may be taken. In some respects I might hold that it was unnecessary to appoint a Board of Commerce, but considering what we have passed through during the past four or five years it was possibly a wise course for the Government to take. Having appointed such a Board they certainly were justified in having on it the very best men they could find in Canada. As far as the two members of that board are concerned, I do not think any exception can be taken to them, although it is true that some of my friends of this side have objected particularly to Mr. O'Connor. I notice in the press to-day that a suggestion has been thrown out that a returned soldier from Montreal shall be appointed as a third member. Now, I agree entirely with every-

thing the honourable gentleman (Mr. Sexsmith) has said that upon the Board of Commerce there should be at least one farmer. Upon that point I might say—and I make the statement for the information of the Government—in the case of all the commissions that have been appointed the farmers have been practically overlooked. From my knowledge of agriculturists—living and working amongst them as I do, because I happen to be a farmer myself—it occurs to me that surely in all common sense the Government might have been able to find, throughout this broad land, one farmer qualified to sit upon that commission. If we appoint good men on the Board of Commerce, I think it is only fair that they shall be well paid for their services—I do not object in any particular to that. The point is being made in connection with the Board of Commerce that they can regulate if they can do nothing else.

The farmers of Canada during the last three of four years have been told that they must produce and keep on producing. What was the object of that advice? It was in order that increased production might lower prices to those living in cities and towns. But unfortunately, and I say this with full knowledge, many of those living in the cities and towns are trying to-day to increase wages and shorten the hours of labour. The result is that the price of manufactured articles must necessarily go up, and what the farmer has to use for production is thereby greatly enhanced in price. Now there come in between the producer and the customer those who are retailing,—and take my word for it, their profits never vary; they are as large on the last day of December as they were on the first day of January—they never in any shape or form decrease. The hon. gentleman from Springfield (Mr. Richardson) surely must know that if the prices of bacon and of live hogs go down, it necessarily follows that the farmer does not get as much for his work I need not labour that point, because it is only common sense. To-day we farmers think that we can run our business to suit ourselves, and we realize that we are perhaps not very far from a crisis. Labour cost has not gone down—it cannot very well go down for a considerable time—and the result necessarily follows that the profits of the farmer must be less.

We hear a great deal to-day about the farmers not only in the province of Ontario but in the other provinces. And for the life of me I cannot see what they want to unite for to-day with the prices we have had for the last four years. The farmers of Canada never had four such years as they have had since 1914. But if the farmers of Canada had heard the discussion this afternoon and to-night they certainly would think it unnecessary to have this House composed of actual farmers. If there is one thing I am proud of, Mr. Speaker, it is that I am a farmer, but even if with that feeling of pride I have to act the part of a "dumb philosopher"; when the interests of the farmers are at stake, it is possible that my voice may be raised in their defence.

Mr. F. H. KEEFER (Port Arthur and Kenora): As representing not a farmer's constituency but a city constituency, Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with those representing rural constituencies in the criticism of this Bill, against any talk about fixation of prices, be it of farm products or anything else. It is rather interesting to listen to the discussion that has taken place from time to time on this question, and then to remember the slams, to use a slang expression, that the poor old Food Board got during its short regime. Hon. members will remember that when the late Mr. Hanna was appointed to the position of Food Controller the cry went over the country: What don't you fix the prices? Everywhere that was thrown at him. Fortunately he was a man of parts who was not going to be misled by the hue and cry and the first thing he did was that which has been advocated by the hon. member for York (Mr. Maclean) and by other members, he gathered around him business men who had experience in these subjects, and his investigations soon convinced him of the impossibility of fixing prices. As soon as the cry went out that the price of milk was to be fixed by the present Board of Commerce telegrams came down from my constituency protesting against it, and rightly so, when it was pointed out what was the price for bran and shorts. How could you expect the farmer, Sir, to produce the milk and have his price fixed if you did not fix the price of the feed that went to make the milk, and so forth?

Price fixation is as old as the hills; there is nothing new in it. In the olden days trading was merely a case of barter and exchange with no price. That was found inconvenient and the Romans introduced the piece of money "Praetium"—something that passed between. How absurd it is to attempt to tie one end of that piece of money and leave untied the other end! It cannot be done without causing econo-

mic disorder. The very fixation of the price of wheat resulted in this, that we were informed on the Food Board that it was cheaper for the farmer because wheat was fixed at $2.20, which was thought to be a very high price, at the time to feed his wheat to the hogs and sell at good prices his oats or say his flax at $4.50 a bushel, and we had therefore to pass an order prohibiting the feeding of wheat to hogs. That simply shows the futility of trying to fix the price of one article unless you fix the price of all other articles, and I do hope that this Board of Commerce will endeavour to profit by the experience of men like the late Hon. Mr. Hanna, or Mr. H. B. Thompson, who gave long study to this question and gathered the best practical men around them to arrive at a satisfactory solution.

Take the price of milk; that is no new question. The Canada Food Board called in the milk dealers from all over the country and had them in session here several days, with the result that a report was issued on the milk question which is practically a classic on that subject, citing one of the western towns as an example to follow, that town having lowered the price of milk to the consumers during the war and yet increased the price to the farmer. It is largely a question of distribution. It was shown that in the city of Toronto, for instance, on Spadina avenue there were probably fifteen or sixteen milkmen delivering milk—fifteen or sixteen overhead charges for drivers and wagons. It was shown that here in the city of Ottawa milk was cheaper. Why? Because one company has practically almost a monopoly, and that company said, "Give us the whole city and we will even lower the price again." It was the cost of distribution, not the cost to the farmer.

I sincerely hope that we will have less of these scare headlines. There is a member of the Board of Commerce who fairly revels in publicity; he thrives on it. And what is the effect? It is simply stirring up the unthinking people, and it is very hard to get them to again look at things correctly. If we are going to have a Board of Commerce let them try to get down to the kernel of the matter and not go off on these side questions. With regard to what the hon. member for York (Mr. Maclean) advocates, that the Government should administer these laws, that is not correct. The popular idea is that the Minister of Justice is the policeman of the country. That is not correct.

Sir SAM HUGHES: He was at the time of the Military Service Act.

Mr. KEEFER: The Attorney General of each province is the policeman of his province. One attorney general made the remark: "I am not a policeman." He was. It was his duty to enforce the law. The provinces draw their subsidies for the civil administration. Our criminal law is a Dominion statute, but it is enforced by the provincial authorities. We had that same difficulty up in the Food Board. There the ground was taken that these Orders in Council should not be enforced by the provinces, but by the Dominion. At once we saw that if we attempted that we would have an army of men from one end of the country to the other, a lot of new officers in conflict with existing officers and consequent confusion of authority. We came to the conclusion that it was most inadvisable to promulgate such a doctrine, and instead of that Mr. Thompson wisely called in the chiefs of police of the different parts of the country for a conference. After that conference they stood loyally behind the Board, they did their work well. To remunerate them we put through an Order in Council saying that all the fines should go to those instituting the proceedings. If they were municipal, the municipality profited; if they were provincial, the province profited. These things might be solved in that way should difficulties in enforcement arise.

Then, as regards the question of spread, as my hon. friend from South York (Mr. W. F. Maclean) indicates, that is the keynote of the whole problem. I asked him the question: "Was that spread fixed?" It was. The food board did not advertise, it did not have scare headlines, but all the time, after Mr. Thompson was chairman, and during the war up to the Armistice, we had the spread in Canada fixed; the wholesalers' spread was so much, the retailers' spread was so much. We did not have to prosecute. There was a remedy. How? We made each dealer take out a little license to do business and required him to pay a trifling fee of a couple of dollars. With these fees we paid the whole of the board's expenses, and we had a surplus when we got through of $37,000, which was paid into the Receiver General of Canada. That license was the key to the situation. If we found a dealer violating the spread, we simply notified him that if it occurred again we would have to cancel his license.

He lived up to the transaction after that. But we did not have any scare headlines.

You remember the prices of food during the war—we were only regulating the prices of food. But the same system might have been applicable to clothing, and so on, if such also had been under the board. The prices of food were much lower during the war in Canada than they were in United States with the exception of four or five articles that were peculiar to the United States. We regulated the spread, we controlled the number of transactions for the benefit of the community and yet we were criticised and condemned in this House from A to Z. One reason for that was that we did not make public everything we did. We kept right on with the work and we got no thanks for it. But we are getting our thanks now. The criticism that is now being heard through the country is the best commendation of the work which the Board did.

Why were prices rising? That is not difficult to ascertain. During the war the Allies—not the neutrals—came seeking our products. They wanted our cheese. France was bidding against England for our cheese, Italy was bidding against France for our condensed milk, and prices started to climb. We said: "You are acting against your own interests and against ours; you must stop competing in our markets for goods; form an Allied purchasing commission amongst yourselves so that this Allied Purchasing Commission can buy all this produce and distribute it amongst yourselves; you will get your produce cheaper and there will not be any unnecessarily enhanced prices." We did our best to increase the supply, with the result that people went up and down the side lines just as a previous speaker said—including boys and teachers—every one preaching the gospel of increased production. We spent considerable money advocating increased production with the result that farm products increased two-fold or from about $300,000,000 to $600,000,000.

Sir SAM HUGHES: How about the quantities?

Mr. KEEFER: And the quantities also. The price did not vary so much, with the exception of that of wheat. The reason why they did not vary was that we held control through the Allied Purchasing Commission.

Then came the Armistice. The old countries wanted at once to get away from these restrictions and they said: "We will go back to normal conditions." They dissolved their Allied Commission, and this Government saw fit to abandon any further food control in view of the unjust criticism of the board. What was the result? Immediately these allied nations began bidding against one another and the prices started to climb. What was the next result? Neutrals who, prior to the Armistice, could not purchase, entered the field upon the signing of the Armistice and prices climbed higher. Then, under peace conditions came the enemy aliens who also are starved for leather, clothes and goods of whatever class was lacking. So long as this bidding goes on outside of the country; so long as the production of this country is insufficient to meet the demand, prices have got to climb until you get to the apex. We may talk until we are black in the face in this House but we cannot regulate prices unless we dislocate the entire economic conditions of the country.

Furthermore, you cannot properly bring down prices unless you do one of two things—either make some arrangement among the nations to do their buying collectively or increase our production to such an extent that the demand is less than the supply. If we do not do either of these, prices are bound to rise. I think it is high time for all of us to do our best to inculcate in the minds of the people the real causes of these increased prices and to point out that they are not due so much to profiteering and all that sort of thing as to economic laws. There is a small amount of profiteering which may be controlled by regulating the spread. Mr. Thompson and his associates on the Food Board did that. I had the pleasure, during the war, of receiving from one of the largest milling concerns a cheque for over $9,000, representing undue profits which that company had made on bran and shorts and which amount they were obliged to pay into the Treasury of Canada.

You might control the profits by regulating the spread, and this the Board of Commerce has power to do.

Now, as to this Bill providing for the salaries of the Commissioners, let us pay them a decent salary, let us see that they do their work, and if they do not, then let us put other men in their places who will.

Mr. McKENZIE: Mr. Speaker, there is one thing that I would wish to point out to the minister, and possibly it would not be amiss at this stage. There seems to be considerable confusion about the orders that are made, and perhaps might have been made by this board. I think the minister

will see the necessity of having these orders filled somewhere. I do not know that any one department more than another has to do with this board. I presume that it is supposed to be absolutely independent of any department of the Government. Nevertheless, I think there should be some connection between this board and some department—possibly the Department of Labour or the Department of Justice. It is not for me to say, but I think there should be some department of the Government in which the orders made by this board should be filled so that the farmers, the manufacturers and others who are concerned in the orders made and the decisions reached will know where to find them.

Motion agreed to, and the House went into Committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—salaries of Chief Commissioner and other commissioners.

Mr. PROULX: Is it the intention of the Government in the near future to appoint a third member of the board?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, I think in a day or two there will probably be an announcement of appointment.

Mr. PROULX: I suppose the recommendation made by the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) that a French speaking gentleman be appointed to the board, will be taken into consideration by the minister.

Mr. DOHERTY: When the organization is completed, I think it will be seen that the necessity for the French language being thoroughly understood has been given consideration and has been provided for.

Mr. PEDLOW: This clause fixes the salaries of the commissioners. How has the Government arrived at a salary of $10,000 for the chairman and salaries of $8,000 for the other commissioners? I know other employees of the Government in other departments holding very responsible positions and performing very valuable services who are being paid very much lower salaries than are named in this clause. I do not understand why there should be this difference.

Mr. DOHERTY: It is difficult to lay down an exact basis upon which one fixes a salary of $10,000 or $8,000; but with regard, for instance, to the Chairman of the Commission, we had to press him to abandon a larger income. We wanted a gentleman whom we could regard as being most highly competent, and we found that most highly competent gentlemen, to take one instance, earning more than $10,000, and I think the hon. gentleman himself will hardly doubt that a man competent to perform the duties of this very important office, where he is called upon to deal with the most difficult as well as the most important problems, is in view of what similar salaries are paid in other walks of life, not overpaid at $10,000. I cannot go into a comparison with all the other salaries in the whole Civil Service and endeavour to say why one ought to be lower or ought to be higher. The nature of the work that is to be done and the capacity that ought to be brought to the doing of it, in the judgment of the Government fully justified the fixing of the salaries as proposed, and I do not think I can go more into detail than that.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: In the original Act as it was passed in July of this year, section 9, which is amended by the present Bill, provided that the chief commissioner should be paid such annual salary, and each of the other commissioners such annual salaries, as might be determined by the Governor in Council. I do not, therefore, see that we are justified in passing the present Bill as the matter of fixing salaries was left entirely in the hands of the Governor in Council under that Act. It might be easier to get rid of some of these men if they should not discharge their duties as they ought to do if the Act were left as we passed it in July. I do not want to criticise the chairman of the commission at all. From all that I learn and hear and from the attitude of the other commissioners since the chairman came back from the West, I have good reason to believe his judgment is sound, and we shall not be entertained with some of those freak judgments or injunctions that we have been treated to during the past few weeks, and that have agitated and upset the business of the country to a greater degree than possibly most members of this House realize. I personally would imagine that the matter would be quite safe in the hands of the Governor in Council, it being left exactly as it was in the original Act.

Mr. DOHERTY: I might just say that there was in the Governor in Council power to fix the salaries, and in the view of the Governor in Council, these salaries would have been proper salaries to fix; but it was thought more desirable that Parliament should be asked to deal with the matter, and that it should be made a matter of statute. That is the entire difference. If

we had fixed the salaries, we would have fixed them at precisely these amounts, and that would have implied precisely the same contract with the gentlemen whom we appointed as to the permanency of their salaries as the statute does; but we submit the matter to Parliament and we make the salary a statutory salary. That does not alter the power to remove if there were sufficient cause to remove. The most that might be suggested is that it might modify any power, if we had power, to alter the salary; but I do not think it would be suggested that, even although it remains with the Governor in Council to fix the salary, if we ask the gentleman to leave another occupation and appoint him for a fixed period at a fixed salary, the Governor General would be justified in altering that salary. He might, if there were proper cause for removal, and there were power to do that, remove the incumbent; but I do not think it would be suggested that he ought to hold over the gentleman's head the power of changing the salary in order to exercise an influence over him. We want this Act carried out reasonably to attain the purpose for which it was intended. But it is impossible that a board of this kind should be constituted with the idea that the Government is to stand over the members of that board, and let us suppose that the board pronounces a judgment or comes to a decision which the Government does not approve, there is a remedy by appeal. But leaving that matter of the right of appeal to the Governor in Council aside for the moment, such a board must not be in a position of rendering its decisions under supervision of the Governor in Council, and with perhaps a suggested power to change their salaries if we do not like their judgments. An element of independence is, I think, essential to the satisfactory working of any board of this kind.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Did I understand the minister to say that there is an appeal to the Privy Council?

Mr. DOHERTY: There is an appeal to the Governor in Council, which appeal was referred to this evening. It is in that regard precisely the same provision that is made with regard to the Board of Railway Commissioners. It is a reserved power seldom exercised, but it is thought wise to give the same power as is given in the case of the Board of Railway Commissioners.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I realize the force of the argument advanced by the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), but I think he will admit, and the members of the committee will agree, that it is rather unfortunate that we should be called upon to fix, by Act of Parliament, the salaries of the members of this board, in view of the exhibition that we have had as to the absolute incompetence of a member of that board to carry out the duties with which he was entrusted. That is admitted by the action of the board in rescinding the injunction that was issued a few weeks ago, despite the threat that was made to the people of this country that if it was not observed a penalty would be imposed. I do not think you could have clearer evidence than that of the unfitness of the commissioner for his position, and it seems hard for me to agree to fixing the salary of a man who has given ample and abundant evidence of his total unfitness for the position to which he was appointed.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I wish to say in the first instance in connection with the clause before the committee that I was personnally gratified to learn that the thought expressed when the Bill was going through the House in July that the salary of the Chairman of the board would be fixed at approximately $8,000 has been changed, and that the Chairman of the Board is to get $10,000 and the commissioners $8,000 each. I believe that no group of men has ever undertaken a more important work in this country than that performed by the Board of Commerce. They have in the statute bringing them into existence very wide powers, given to them very largely as the result of the wide-spread feeling throughout the country that some means should be taken to control profiteering, if such existed, and at least to stabilize public opinion. If men of the right kind to carry out that work are to be secured the salaries named are not too great.

The next point is with regard to making the salary statutory. It seems to me that no more dangerous condition could exist with regard to any judicial or semi-judicial body than for them to be placed in the position suggested by my hon. friend (Mr. Sutherland), where the Government might tamper with their salaries if the Board's judgments did not at all times satisfy them. We hope at least that the judgments of the Board will be free from political bias. They could not be looked upon throughout the country as free from political control if a condition such as that suggested was imposed, whereby the Government might reduce the salary of a man in the hope

that he would get tired of his job and quit, because he was not performing it to their satisfaction. You might as well say that in the case of the judges of the Supreme Court if their judgments did not suit the Government their salaries should be reduced.

Reverting to what has been referred to by my hon. friend as the "admitted incompetence" of one member of the Board, I have been forced to the conclusion, having read the greater part of the discussion that has taken place and also listened to a part of it, that there is a certain hysterical feeling abroad with the work of the Board of Commerce. It may be due to the nervousness that the country seems to be suffering from that is permeating all classes of men. They accept the startling headlines in some morning or evening paper, and without digging down into the facts take if for granted that the headlines tell exactly what happened. That is one of the troubles through which this country is passing. If my hon. friend, and those who have repeated on the floor of this House statements similar to those he has made here to-day, had taken the trouble to find out just what the Board of Commerce did when sitting in Toronto—

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I cannot find out.

Mr. NICHOLSON: You could if you had made an effort. This is what took place with regard to the milk question. The Board of Commerce did not arbitrarily fix a price which could not be changed for forty days. What they did say was this, that the price of milk should remain as it was for forty days, or pending an investigation that might take place to determine whether a rise in price was justified or not. In carrying out that principle what did they do? They appointed a Fair Price Committee upon which were representatives of the producers, the distributors, and the consumers, to go into the whole question and report to the Board of Commerce. The result was that the producers, the distributors and the consumers agreed upon what they considered to be a fair price and reported to the Board of Commerce, and the the Board of Commerce issued an order making that the legal price for milk in the city of Toronto. What else could they do? It is true the information was not given to the public. I do not know why, and I am not going to make any assertions as to the reason why but I have given the facts.

Let me give another instance. Perhaps hon. members read in the Toronto papers published yesterday morning that the Board of Commerce—and in this case His Honour Judge Robson was sitting as Chairman—had issued an order, or were going to issue an order, reducing the price of certain articles of food 6 or 8 or 10 cents a pound. No such order was made; no such order, apparently, was ever contemplated. What the Board did do, after considering the question, was to say that prices would go back some time between now and the 15th of October — providing conditions with regard to the raw product of that particular industry remained as they are to-day—to the level of the 15th of March last, when the price was about the same as it is to-day. That was a perfectly reasonable order to make, but the country is agitated apparently by the scare headlines in the newspapers, and that agitation is creeping into the House of Commons.

I think it is only fair to give the Board of Commerce a chance. Surely none of us can deny the fact that from one end of this country to the other there was an agitation amongst all the people, and I know of nothing for which the Government was more universally condemned by those who wanted to find fault with it, than that they were not making some comprehensive effort to control the spread in prices. The Government enacted the legislation bringing into existence the Board of Commerce, and in doing that, went further than any other country in the world. I believe that they exercised the greatest possible care in selecting the commissioners. Their judgment may not have been right; time alone will disclose that. But it is not fair on partial evidence to condemn these men—I care not whether it be the chairman or any member of the commission—until we have had an opportunity of seeing just exactly what they are doing and how it is going to work out. It would be equally fair to condemn any man who is administering justice in this country without knowing the basis on which he delivered his judgment. I sincerely trust that the Board of Commerce will be given a fair opportunity to go forward and do its work unhampered by adverse and unfair criticism.

Sir SAM HUGHES: May I ask the minister if the third commissioner has been appointed yet?

Mr. DOHERTY: Personally, I am not in a position to say that he has been appointed, but I expect the matter will be dealt with almost immediately.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I understood that he had been appointed, and I should like to have his name before we pass this clause so that we might discuss him too.

Mr. GLASS: The hon. member for Algoma (Mr. Nicholson), in endeavouring to apologize for the board has, in my opinion, given one more proof of its inefficiency. He says in reference to its order regarding the price of milk——

The CHAIRMAN: Order. A discussion of the milk order would not be in order on this clause. A great deal of latitude was allowed hon. members in discussing the principle of the Bill on the second reading, but speeches in Committee of the Whole must be strictly relevant to the clause under consideration.

Mr. DOHERTY: Looking to the improvement of procedure, there are one or two amendments which I should like to move. The first one is to subsection 2 of section 6 of the Act. That section provides that when the Chief Commissioner is present he shall preside, but in his absence either of the other two may preside. The purpose of this is to determine which of the two shall preside, and the method of determination is that the chairman shall designate the one. It will be seen how inconvenient it would be in the absence of the Chairman to have two commissioners each entitled to preside and no method of determining which of them shall do so. I move therefore this amendment:

Section six of the said Act is amended by striking out subsection 2 thereof and substituting therefor the following subsection:—

"(2) The Chief Commissioner when present shall preside, and in the absence of the Chief Commissioner a Commissioner to be named by the Chief Commissioner, or, if no commissioner is so named, then a commissioner to be named by the Governor in Council shall preside. The opinion of Chief Commissioner or the presiding Commissioner upon any question arising when such Chief or presiding Commissioner is presiding which in the opinion of the commissioners is a question of law shall prevail."

Section as amended agreed to.

Mr. DOHERTY: Also for the purpose of perfecting the matter with regard to procedure I move the following amendment:

Section 48 of the said Act is amended by adding thereto the following subsection:

"(3) The Board or any Commissioner or any officer of the Board or person named under this section may by order require the attendance of any person or persons before the Board or any Commissioner or officer or person aforesaid to be examined upon oath touching any matter and to produce books, papers, documents or articles and any person who disobeys such order shall be guilty of an offence and liable on summary conviction to a penalty not exceeding one hundred dollars, together with costs of prosecution. The offence shall be deemed to have been committed every day the disobedience continues." This provision shall not exclude or restrict the application of said section.

This is merely to provide for a method of compelling the attendance of witnesses.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: It provides for only a fine.

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes; only a fine.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Could you not threaten imprisonment in case of refusal to attend and give evidence?

Mr. DOHERTY: Under the existing section 48 they have the power to exercise, for the enforcement of such orders and punishment for disobedience thereof. all the powers that are exercised by any superior court in Canada for the enforcement of subpœnas to witnesses or punishment for disobedience of them. This particular amendment is made at the suggestion of the chief commissioner, who thinks it would more effectively compel attendance if there were such a penalty adding to itself day by day.

Section as amended agreed to.

Mr. DOHERTY: I move that section 44 be amended:

(1.) By striking out the word "letters" in the third line of clause (a) of said section and substituting therefor the word "letter," and by striking out the word "and" where it appears in the fifth line of the said clause (a) and substituting therefor the word "or."

The provision was that to serve a company you should send a letter to the manager and a letter to the secretary. The effect of the amendment is that you send one letter to the manager or to the secretary, avoiding a duplication of letters.

Section as amended agreed to.

Mr. DOHERTY: I move that section 44 be further amended:

By inserting after the word "employ" at the end of clause (b) thereof the words "or by mailing by registered letter postage pre-paid addressed to such firm, co-partnership, or individual at such last place of abode or office or place of business."

Subsection "B" deals with the services of a firm, co-partnership or individual, and provides that the notice shall be delivered to any member of such firm, or to the individual; or at the last place of abode, or at the office or place of business of the firm or individual, or to a clerk in such firm. The effect of the amendment is simply to permit that the service may be made by

sending a registered letter, postage prepaid, addressed to the firm or partnership.

Section as amended agreed to.

Mr. McKENZIE: I suggested to the minister that it would be well to have some provision made for the filing of the decisions of the board, and I thought he would take steps in this regard. Under the Act there is an appeal, and in a case of that kind it is only right that the parties who may wish to appeal should know where to look for a copy of the decision. It might be provided that within, say, ten days, the decision might be filed in some office of Government.

Mr. DOHERTY: Under the Act the board is authorized to establish an office, and to appoint a secretary and give him such assistance as may be required. When it gets into operation I do not think there will be any difficulty for the general public to obtain copies of the orders from the secretary. With regard to the status of the board, the desire was that it should be as nearly as possible in keeping with the position of the Railway Board.

Now the Railway Board does not report to the Government the decisions it arrives at, but there has never been any practical difficulty in the Government, or any person interested, obtaining copies of the orders that are made. I think it is not desirable to attach a board, at all events one of this quasi-judicial character, to a particular department of the Government in the sense of calling upon it to report to the Government. The secretary of the board will be a public officer, and it will be his duty to keep records and it will always be possible for the Government and the members of the House, or any of the public who may be interested, to obtain copies of orders from this board just as the public obtain copies of the judgments of any court, or of the decisions of the Railway Board. I think it perhaps would be a little invidious to make a distinction between this board and other analogous bodies.

Mr. McKENZIE: If there is a provision in the Bill establishing an office of the board in the city of Ottawa with certain machinery such as the Minister of Justice has mentioned, and if there is something in the Act to say that all decisions of the board shall be in writing and obtainable in that office, that answers my purpose. It is not very long since we passed the Act but I cannot at this time remember all its terms. There should be in it a provision stating that the findings of the board shall be in writing and filed in their own office so that any person wanting to see them or wishing to take an appeal to the Governor in Council, as provided in the Act, should be able to find something that would be available, and a place designated where he could get the requisite information.

Mr. DOHERTY: Well, there are provisions to that effect in the Act. If the hon. gentleman will look at section 16 he will see this requirement—the secretary shall keep a record:

—of all the proceedings conducted before the Board or commissioner under this Act.

The secretary will have custody:

—of all records and documents belonging or appertaining to the Board or filed in his office.

The secretary is also required to obey all rules and directions given by the board or the Chief Commissioner and is also incumbent upon him:

—to have every regulation and order of the Board drawn pursuant to the direction of the Board, signed by the Chief Commissioner, sealed with the official seal of the Board, and filed in the office of the Secretary.

And then subsection No. 3 provides:

Upon application of any person, and on payment of such fees as the Board may prescribe, the Secretary shall deliver to such applicant a certified copy of any such regulation or order.

I think the proceedings are as nearly similar as possible to those of any court of record.

Mr. McKENZIE: Do the words "regulation or order" mean a decision of the board, or are they rules and regulations in regard to procedure?

Mr. DOHERTY: In most of the provisions it is considered that a proceeding of the Board results in an order. Then in addition to the use of the words "regulation or order" we have the provision that a record shall be kept of all proceedings conducted before the board under the Act. If the hon. gentleman thinks there is any doubt about it, I shall be very glad to move an amendment to subsection No. 3 to provide that the secretary shall deliver a certified copy of "any such certified order or proceeding." I think "proceeding" would cover the point if it is thought desirable, but in my view we may safely leave the provision as it is because I think it is the usual provision in the case of analagous bodies.

Mr. McKENZIE: I have no purpose in the matter beyond meeting what appeared to have been a difficulty for some time past —a difficulty which has been aired in the House to a very great extent—that there was an uncertainty abroad as to whether in certain cases there was an order or not. It is not desirable to have any uncertainty of that kind; there should be a fixity about these orders and one should know where they are at any time.

Bill reported with amendments, and amendments read the second time and concurred in.

Mr. SPEAKER: When shall the Bill be read a third time?

Mr. DOHERTY: If there is no objection to such a course I would be glad to have the third reading now in order to get the Bill speedily before the Senate.

Mr. McKENZIE: If the minister will get his farmer friends to agree to that we have no objection.

Mr. SPEAKER: This motion, of course, can only pass by leave of the House.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the third time and passed.

PRIVATE BILL.

SECOND READING.

Bill No. 16, respecting the North Empire Fire Insurance Company.—Mr. Blake.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty for the adjournment of the House.

Mr. McKENZIE: Can the minister give us an inkling of what business will be taken up to-morrow?

Mr. DOHERTY: I understand that to-morrow is private members' day. If we get through the business under that heading of course we could take up the Bills that are on the Order Paper.

Motion agreed to and the House adjourned

Wednesday, October 1, 1919.

The House met at Two o'clock.

REPORTS AND PAPERS.

First report of the Select Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce.—Mr. Cockshutt.

Report from the Civil Service Commission on the classification of the Civil Service.—Hon. Mr. Maclean.

Memorandum of the Board of Grain Supervisors containing certain Orders in Council and regulations with reference to the Canadian Wheat Board.—Sir George Foster.

ROYAL NORTH WEST MOUNTED POLICE ACT—AMENDMENT.

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Privy Council) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 22, to amend the Royal North West Mounted Police Act.

Mr. A. R. McMASTER: Explain.

Mr. ROWELL: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this Bill is to make provision for the amalgamation of the Dominion Police with the Royal North West Mounted Police, constituting one Federal Police Force. The name of the Royal North West Mounted Police will be changed to "The Royal Canadian Mounted Police," "Canadian" taking the place of "North West" as being more truly descriptive of the functions and territorial jurisdiction of the Force. But, as the Force is generally known as the "Mounted Police" throughout the country, it will preserve that distinctive characteristic. Provision is made whereby members of the Dominion Police Force may become members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Mr. CAHILL: Under this amendment will the Dominion Police automatically become members of this Force?

Mr. ROWELL: No; it must be by their own voluntary action. But I would think the benefits to them under the Bill will be so obvious that they will be very glad to come under its operation.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk)

*Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:

1. Have the Medical Officers of the Canadian Army received an increase in stipend since November 11, 1918?

2. If so, what is the proportion of this increase?

3. Did the Medical Officers, who were in France or in England, receive the same increase as their colleagues who remained in Canada?

4. Did these increases affect in any way the war gratuities of the aforesaid officers?

Major-General MEWBURN:

1. Medical and Dental officers retained for duty were granted an increase in pay effective 1st April, 1919.

2. 50 per cent increase in regimental pay of rank.

3. The increase is received by officers re-

turning from overseas to full time duty in Canada, vice officers permitted to retire from duty in Canada.

4. No.

Mr. REDMAN:

1. How many district offices are being operated by the Board of Pension Commissioners and where are they located?

2. What are the names of the male employees in each district office and what position does each hold?

3. What actual remuneration, computed on monthly basis, is now being paid to each male employee in each district office?

Mr. HUGH CLARK (Parliamentary Secretary):

1. The Board of Pension Commissioners operates twenty-one District Offices, located at:

Calgary, Alta.
Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Edmonton, Alta.
Halifax, N.S.
Hamilton, Ont.
Kingston, Ont.
London, Ont.
Montreal, P.Q.
Ottawa, Ont.
Quebec, P.Q.
North Bay, Ont.
Port Arthur, Ont.
Regina, Sask.
Saskatoon, Sask.
St. John, N.B.
Toronto, Ont.
Vancouver, B.C.
Victoria, B.C.
Winnipeg, Man.
Sydney, N.S.
British Branch, London, England.

2. The names of male employees in the district offices are placed on the table of the House.

Mr. KAY:

1. Is there a Hugh S. Spence employed in the Mines Branch? If so, in what capacity, and at what salary?

2. Was this man's name formerly Hugo Schmidt?

3. If so, for what reason was he permitted to change his name and retain his appointment in the Civil Service?

4. What are his professional and practical qualifications?

5. Is he, or was he, engaged on the compilation of a report on the graphite industry of Canada? If so, what qualification has he in connection with that industry?

Hon. Mr. GUTHRIE:

1. Yes. Mining engineer. $2,300 per annum.

2. No, according to the records of this department his name formerly was "Hugh Sweyn de Schmid".

3. Mr. Spence is a British subject, born in Devonshire, England. He changed his name on the 24th January, 1913, following the usual procedure in such cases. No one objected to his course at the time, nor had any reason to do so.

4. Mr. Spence is a mining engineer, a graduate of the Royal School of Mines, Freiberg, where he made a special study of non-metallic minerals, and in this connection, during his ten years' service with the Government, has conducted independent investigations and prepared reports thereon, such as the Reports on Mica and on Feldspar deposits in Canada.

5. Mr. Spence has recently completed a report on the Graphite Deposits and Industry of Canada. His general knowledge of graphite deposits, both in Canada and abroad, the methods of mining and preparing the mineral for the market, qualifies him as one to whom an investigation on the subject of graphite could be entrusted.

PROGRESS OF DEMOBILIZATION.

On the Orders of the Day:

Major-General MEWBURN (Minister of Militia and Defence): Mr. Speaker, with the consent of the House I desire to give the following information with regard to the progress of demobilizatin:

Total C.E.F. troops embarked from overseas from 11th November, 1918, to 30th September, 1919, 264,045.

Total troops discharged from C.E.F. in Canada up to 15th September, 1919, 70,731.

Siberian force returned to Canada and demobilized, 4,057.

Total troops demobilized to 30th September (including those still at sea about 367), 338,833.

Total number of hospital patients still overseas to be returned to Canada as of the 19th of September, 126. All other military patients have been returned to Canada. The total number of hospital cases now in the military hospitals in Canada is 6,598. We have now reached our peak load and there will be a very rapid clearing of the hospitals.

It is gratifying to know that in the handling of this large number of men, not a single life has been lost through accident at sea. Three casualties occurred by derailment of a train in December last.

The rapid handling of the troops by the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian National Railway, and the Grand Trunk Railway, has been carried out with the greatest possible efficiency.

HUDSON BAY RAILWAY.

CONDITION OF THE ROADBED AND THE TERMINALS.

On the Orders or the Day:

Hon. J. D. REID (Minister of Railways): Mr. Speaker, the member for Maple Creek (Mr. Maharg) asked for some information yesterday with reference to an item that appeared in the press in connection with the Hudson Bay Railway. I have asked the chief engineer for information, and he gives me this in reply:

The Chief Engineer of the Terminals, Mr. D. W. McLachlan, who is at present engaged in other engineering work with the Department at Ottawa, informs me that the statement with regard to the condition of the Terminals and the probability of the works being crushed to pieces by the coming winter's ice, has no foundation. He further states that the works have successfully withstood the storms and ice of the past three years without material impairment or injury, and he has every confidence that they will continue to do so during the coming winter.

We have at Port Nelson at the present time, a capable superintendent with six men whose duty is to look after minor repairs and immediately communicate with the Department in the event of any serious damage. His monthly reports show that everything is in first-class condition.

With regard to the roadbed. It is to be expected in a country of the nature through which this railway passes, that the frost will affect and dislodge numerous temporary trestles and telegraph poles which will have to be set up again, but not to any greater extent than would take place if the road were under operation—the only difference being that they will all be replaced at one time when the work is again gone on with, rather than from time to time as the damage occurred, as would be done if the road were in operation.

GAGETOWN-WESTFIELD RAILWAY LINE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. A. B. COPP (Westmorland): May I ask the Minister of Railways whether arrangements have been entered into between the Canadian National Railway Board and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for running rights over that portion of their line from Westfield to St. John, in order that the Canadian National Railways may operate the section of the St. John Valley Railway which has been completed from Gagetown to Westfield?

Hon. J. D. REID: I know that negotiations were had some time ago and I am under the impression that they have been completed. I will give my hon. friend more definite information at the next sitting.

[Major-General Mewburn.]

BOARD OF COMMERCE—APPOINTMENT OF THIRD MEMBER.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Verchères): May I ask the Government whether there is any truth in the report that Mr. James Murdock has been named as the third member of the Board of Commerce?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Mr. James Murdock has been named as third member of the Board of Commerce.

Sir SAM HUGHES: When was he appointed? Had he been appointed yesterday when the question was put in this House with regard to the appointment of a third member?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I am not sure as to the date, but the appointment was made within the last two days.

THANKSGIVING DAY.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. I. E. PEDLOW (South Renfrew): I wish to direct the attention of the Government to the fact that the date selected by the Government for Thanksgiving Day, as announced in the press—October 13—is the day on which the Ontario Government has decided that nominations for the coming provincial elections shall be held.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member is not in order in directing the attention of the Government to this matter unless he wishes to submit a specific question with regard to a matter of urgency.

Mr. PEDLOW: The question comes next. What does the Government propose to do in that regard?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The date that my hon. friend has mentioned has been proclaimed as a holiday by the Dominion Government. Perhaps my hon. friend had better put his question to the Premier of Ontario.

ADULTERATION ACT AMENDMENT—BRAN AND SHORTS.

Mr. DONALD SUTHERLAND (Oxford South) moved the second reading of Bill No. 7, to amend the Adulteration Act (respecting bran and shorts or middlings).

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: The hon. member should give some explanation of this Bill.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Mr. Speaker, I shall make a few observations in regard to some of the objects which I had in view in introducing this Bill.

It may be contended that the Adulteration Act of 1906 and subsequent amendments thereto make ample provision against the adulteration of the by-products of wheat in the milling of flour. Unfortunately, however, for those who would so argue the adulteration of these commodities has been and is the practice of nearly all the milling companies of Canada to-day. It is a glaring and flagrant outrage that these things should be permitted, particularly in view of the fact that our present legislative enactments enable the millers to do that and still remain beyond the reach of the law.

Some reference was made yesterday to the value of these by-products and to the necessity of using bran and shorts in large quantities in connection with the raising of stock. Young and growing stock are in great need of bran because of the protein, fat and other food qualities which it contains. The best breeders and feeders of live stock in the old land feed enormous quantities of bran to their growing stock. In the feeding of dairy stock also, the use of large quantities of this commodity is necessary. I have repeatedly pointed out that stock raising in this country should receive greater attention at the hands of the farmers than it has done in the past, because it is the only possible means whereby the fertility of the soil can be maintained and increased. The truth of this contention will be conceded by all who are engaged in agriculture. It is, therefore, very important and most essential that these products should reach those who purchase and feed them, in a pure state.

I regret that steps were not taken many years ago to accomplish the objects that I had in view in introducing this Bill. Some hon. members may recall that in 1913 I spoke as strongly as I could with regard to the spread of weed seeds throughout the country and the lack of any effort on the part of the Government to control that menace to agriculture.

It is a very singular thing that even in those by-products of wheat weed seeds should be found in tremendous quantities and should thus be sent broadcast throughout the country. Every one who understands the milling of wheat into flour knows that it is thoroughly cleaned and put through several processes before the wheat is ground into flour. Consequently, there cannot be any appreciable quantity of weed seeds or anything except pure wheat when it is milled. Therefore, if anything be found in the bran or shorts other than that, it must have been placed there deliberately by the millers or others, and that is what I seek to have remedied by this Bill. If you go back a few years, you will find that the Act as it was originally passed contemplated the preventing of just such things as have been taking place during recent years. On May 3, 1911, an amendment was passed to the Act, and I will read the words that were included with regard to bran at that time. The section as originally passed read:

> Bran is a product of the milling of wheat or other grain and contains not less than 14 per cent of proteids, not less than 3 per cent of fat, not more than 10 per cent of crude fibre.

This is what was added on May 3, 1911:

> And must be free from vital seeds of any of the noxious weeds defined by the Governor in Council.

What does that imply? It cannot imply anything other than that the miller is permitted to put almost an unlimited quantity of ground weed seeds into the bran and shorts as long as the vitality of those seeds is destroyed. I should like to know what pressure was brought to bear and who was agitating for any such legislation as was placed on the statutes at that time. Why is the word "vital" mentioned? That very word "vital" implies that if the vitality be destroyed, no exception would be taken to the mixture. The result has been that immense quantities of weed seeds have been ground up fine and mixed with the bran and shorts, and no complaint can be lodged on that account against the millers of this country, as this amendment implies this can be done. More recently, however, further legislation was passed with regard to this matter. On December 10, 1917, it will be found that another clause, clause 17, was added to the definition of grain products:

> The presence of presumably vital weed seeds in any form of feeding stuff shall be held to constitute adulteration under the Act, when more than 25 seeds per pound, as enumerated in the Seed Control Act of 1911, are present in the feed.

Step by step, this continued until in 1917 an Order in Council was passed permitting further adulteration by having as high as twenty-five vital weed seeds per pound in addition to all the ground stuff that the millers saw fit to place in the bran and shorts. What has been the result of this? The result is that there is not a department of the Government connected with agriculture, the Department of Trade and Commerce, also the Department of Inland Revenue, when it was in existence, but had

numerous complaints from farmers throughout the country and from branches of the provincial Departments of Agriculture pointing out that large numbers of stock were being poisoned and had died as a result of this stuff being fed to them. That being the case, the House can readily understand that a great and serious injury was being done to a large proportion of the stock which might not have died but whose health was impaired as a result of eating this mixture. But in view of the fact that those complaints were being continually made and were on file with the departments of the Government, I say that the Government were lax and recreant in their duty in not seeing that some steps were taken long ago to eradicate this evil. Further, if the Board of Commerce desire to do something in the interest of the people of this country, they will immediately get busy on this matter.

There is a very wide range of weed seeds that are termed noxious. I am not going over the list; but in addition to that, there are many seeds that are not termed noxious and it is quite permissible for the millers to put as much of this in the bran and shorts as they see fit. The law prohibits more than twenty-five vital noxious weed seeds per pound, but you can dump into it as much of the other stuff as you see fit, and the law cannot interfere with you.

I should like very briefly to refer to something which happened before a special committee of this House at the last session of Parliament when we had before the special committee that was dealing with the cost of living in this country evidence given by Mr. Hedley Shaw, managing director of the Maple Leaf Milling Company; Mr. William Allan Black, representing the Ogilvie Milling Company, and Mr. W. W. Hutchinson, vice-president and manager of the Lake of the Woods Milling Company. In answer to a question that I put to Mr. Hedley Shaw on that occasion, he said:

> Bran and shorts are better with the screenings added thereto. If you take it out, it would reduce the quality of the bran and shorts.

It is well known that in the cleaning and the milling of wheat there is a certain proportion of cracked wheat that is broken into four quarters. This is left with the wild buckwheat and other weed seeds that are taken out of it, and by reason of the fact that there is a certain quantity of flour in wild buckwheat and in this cracked wheat, the millers can scour the bran and shorts so fine that it would not come up to the standard required, the one to which I referred to a few minutes ago which requires 14 per cent of proteids, 3 per cent of fat and so forth; but by reason of the fact that they are permitted to incorporate into those by-products this other stuff that should properly be termed as screenings, they are enabled to bring up the standards of bran and shorts.

The result is we have another by-product of wheat on the market to-day called Red Dog, a low grade flour, which was formerly considered as shorts or middlings. The bran and shorts to-day are of such poor quality without the addition of the wheat and the buckwheat in the screenings that they do not come up to the standard. One of the objects I had in view in introducing this Bill was to remove this very serious defect. When Mr. Black, of the Ogilvie Milling Company was before the committee, I questioned him with regard to the practice they were pursuing and pointed out some of the results. I asked him whether it would not be advisable and in the public interest for them to dispose of their screenings as screenings, because they would have a commercial value if the seeds were taken out. He replied:

> I think it is rather a puttering thing to do to take it out and separate it and work it off. It would be a good deal of a bother and a great deal of a nuisance to start out with. Of course, it is entirely up to the Government to say what we can do and what we cannot do. If the Government says nothing can go in except pure bran and shorts, of course, we will have to abide by that.

So the millers were quite within their rights in doing what they did. A little further on, Mr. Hutchinson, replying to a question I had put to him said:

> Might I make a suggestion, if it is as serious as you have brought out to-day?
>
> Mr. Sutherland: Yes, certainly.
>
> Mr. Hutchinson: Why does not the Government make it illegal altogether?

That was a straight honest statement from the general manager of one of the biggest milling companies in this country. So the blame is not on the milling companies entirely, but rests on Parliament and the Government for having permitted such a practice to be pursued. Let me qualify that by saying that it has been during the last year and a half that the most serious legislation has been enacted enabling the millers to carry on in this way. Instead of endeavouring to remove this nuisance the Government through the Department of Agriculture have contracted for what is termed recleaned screenings to be disposed of by the department to the farmers of

Canada. During the past year 16,889,450 pounds of this stuff had been purchased by the Government and disposed of to the farmers of this country, much of it unground. More than 10 per cent of that stuff was wild oats, and about 2 per cent of it was made up of noxious weeds of the very worst kinds—mustards and others. This stuff has been sent broadcast all over Canada, and I say as emphatically as I can that some one in the Government is to blame for having permitted such a thing to be done. The greatest possible injury that could be done to agriculture in Canada has been done through the action of the Government in this regard. I say further, it may well be asked whether the Minister of Agriculture for the Dominion of Canada during the past year and a half considered himself to be in the employ of the people of Canada or in the employ of the Grain Growers' Grain Company.

I wish to refer to a document published by the Government, Bulletin No. 412, from the laboratory of the Inland Revenue Department, prepared by the chief analyst, Dr. McGill, relating to the inspection that has been taking place. The information contained in this Bulletin is compiled from reports of inspectors sent out by the Inland Revenue Department all over Canada. What did they find? In Nova Scotia one sample of bran from the Ogilvie Flour Milling Company contained 80 lambs' quarters, 8 black bindweed, 16 field pennycress, 8 hares' ear mustard. Another sample from the same province contained 168 black bindweed, 112 lambs' quarters, 8 ladys' thumb. Mind you, all these seeds were found by the inspectors in a pound sample of bran. Another sample from the Robin Hood Flour Milling Company of Moosejaw contained 108 lambs' quarters, 64 field pennycress. A sample from the Dominion Flour Milling Company of Montreal contained 88 black bindweed. 208 lambs' quarters, 40 field pennycress, 8 cow cockle, 8 ball mustard, 16 wild mustard, and 56 hares' ear mustard. A sample from the Ogilvie Milling Company in the Quebec City district contained 224 lambs' quarters. In the Quebec district a sample from the Alex. Brown Milling Company of Toronto contained 224 black bindweed, 8 lambs' quarters, and 16 hares' ear mustard, and 8 ball mustard.

Mr. HENDERS: Were these seeds found in the bran or in the mixed feed?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: In the pure bran, not mixed feed at all.

Mr. HENDERS: How could they make that analysis of the bran?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: The system which they followed, and which is considered very accurate, is explained at the beginning of Bulletin No. 422. In the district of Three Rivers a sample from the William Scott Flour Milling Company of Ottawa contained 784 lambs' quarters, 32 black bindweed, 48 field pennycress, and 16 hares' ear mustard. Another sample in the Eastern Townships from the Dominion Flour Milling Company contained 16 black bindweed, 64 lambs' quarters, and 16 stickseed. Another sample from the district of Montreal from the Ogilvie Flour Milling Company contained 224 black bindweed, 192 pennycress and 3,376 lambs' quarters. These seeds were all found in one pound of bran.

The compound which has been sold throughout this country as bran much of which is not bran at all is the rankest possible kind of poison. In the district of Montreal the figures show: Ogilvie Flour Milling Co., black bind weed 416, lamb's quarters 880, 96 hare's ear mustard, 96 field pennycress, 16 wild mustard, 16 stickweed. Dominion Flour Milling Co., of the same district: 48 black bind weed, 16 wild mustard, 32 lamb's quarters, etc. District of Ottawa, Lake of the Woods Milling Co.: 704 lamb's quarters. Renfrew Flour Milling Co.: 32 wild oats, 48 black bind weed, 16 field pennycress. District of Hamilton: 192 lamb's quarters, 96 black bind weed, 48 field pennycress. Kirby Milling Co., Portage la Prairie: 16 lamb's quarters, 32 black bind weed, 32 wild oats, 16 pennycress, 16 hare's ear mustard. District of Windsor, manufacturers unknown, 16 black bind weed, 16 wild oats and 16 couch grass. In another unknown case the figures given are: 64 cress, 16 wild oats, 144 black bind weed, 16 pennycress, 16 wild mustard. District of Manitoba West, Canada Flour Milling Co., St. Boniface: 432 lamb's quarters, 336 black bind weed, 48 pennycress, 16 wild mustard, 32 field pepper grass. Western Canada Flour Milling Co., St. Boniface, 176 lamb's quarters, 64 stickweed, 96 bind weed, 16 pennycress, 16 buttercup, etc. District of Manitoba, Lake of the Woods Milling Co., Portage la Prairie: 48 pennycress, 96 buttercup, 16 chickweed, 32 field pennycress. District of Saskatchewan: 128 bind weed, 48 wild oats, 80 lamb's quarters, 16 pennycress, 16 stickweed.

My object in enumerating so many of these examples is to show that it is a common practice in every province of

Canada, not confined to any particular mill or any particular district. In the district of Alberta, Ogilvie Milling Co., of Medicine Hat, the figures are: 592 lamb's quarters, and again in the case of the Ogilvie Milling Co., 608 lamb's quarters, 16 pennycress. Western Canada Flour Milling Co., of Calgary, in the Alberta district shows 256 lamb's quarters and 16 bind weed. Lake of the Woods Milling Co.: 128 lamb's quarters, 16 pennycress, 16 hare's ear mustard. District Rocky Mountains, Ogilvie Milling Co., 1,392 lamb's quarters and 768 tumbling mustard.

Just imagine, Sir, 768 tumbling mustard seeds in a pound of bran, and in the face of this the report in the records of the department says that there were noxious weed seeds in excess of adulteration! Then there is Lake of the Woods Milling Company, with 2,208 lamb's quarters, 16 field pennycress. In the District of Vancouver on the west coast the Lake of the Woods Milling Company again appears with a violation, and the Ogilvie Milling Company shows 864 lamb's quarters and 96 tumbling mustard, and the comment is made that there are noxious weed seeds in excess of adulteration. The figures in the case of the Vance Milling Company of Vancouver are: 528 lamb's quarters, 480 black bindweed, 32 wild oats, 16 field pennycress. Lake of the Woods Milling Company at Vancouver: 8,608 lamb's quarters, 48 black bind weed.

Mr. J. R. WILSON: Are the weed seeds to which the hon. member refers intact or do they show evidence of having been ground?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Some of them are intact and some are ground. For instance, here is a case in which they were intact: The Vance Milling and Grain Company, of Vancouver, 528 lamb's quarters, 480 black bind weed, 32 wild oats, 16 field pennycress; and the comment is, "Noxious weed seeds in excess: adulteration". If they were ground they would not be considered to be adulterated, because provision is made that there shall be considered adulteration if there is an excess of 25 vital weed seeds per pound.

Now, I think I have referred to some of the things that have been going on, and I have mentioned a few of the difficulties that confront those who are paying $50 and $60 per ton for this by-product of wheat to feed stock in order to increase production and supply the food demands of this country and of the world. Those people, I think it will be readily admitted, have a very serious complaint and a grievance that should be remedied at the earliest possible moment. The Dominion analyst makes reference to these matters in numerous instances in his reports, and hon. members can find exactly what he says by reference to these reports. I have here another report from Dr. McGill, Dominion analyst, who quotes from the chairman of the Canada Food Board as follows under date of June 18, 1918.

> We have for many months past been receiving numerous complaints with reference to the adulteration of bran and shorts, and have had samples of the same that certainly justify the complaints. The bran is adulterated by mixing with oat hulls and all sorts of rubbish. Shorts, in many cases, is simply bran, reground so as to make it fine.

The acting director of the Central Experimental Farm wrote Dr. McGill on July 19, 1918, as follows:

> There seems to be a great deal of screening adulteration in the case of such feeds as bran and shorts, as sold on the Canadian market.

Dr. McGill further states, in referring to the effects of poisonous weed seeds:

> It is however to be noted that all of the varieties of mustards, as well as certain other seeds, are disliked by hogs and other domestic animals, and certain of them are poisonous. The matter of utilizing these seeds as ingredients of mixed feeds is therefore open to question, and unless it has been ascertained that objectionable varieties of seeds are absent they should certainly not be employed as feed material.

The Agricultural Gazette of October, 1918, published by the Department of Agriculture, contains an article by H. B. Sifton, M.A., in charge of germination and microscopic analysis, who says:

> For several years the seed laboratory has been receiving from farmers and from other branches of the Department of Agriculture samples of ground feeding stuffs with request for botanical analyses. They have usually been accompanied by complaints that stock refused the feed or became ill, in some cases dying as a result of eating it.

The same issue of the Gazette contains the following in reference to some samples sent in for analysis.

> A sample of shorts was sent in for analysis, the farmer complaining that, as a result of feeding it, two of his pigs had died. Large quantities of finely ground mustard seeds were found in the sample.

Further on:

> A sample of shorts was received at the laboratory from a farmer. He and his neighbour had bought some from the same lot and each had given one feed to their pigs. The meal was eaten, and in a few hours all the pigs—eight belonging to one man and ten to the other—were dead. An analysis of the sample showed

1.7 per cent by weight of whole Wormseed Mustard seeds in addition to those which had been ground.

The Department of Agriculture, in 1915, published a pamphlet in regard to grain screenings and in that pamphlet you will find, at page 41, this statement:

The Dominion and Provincial Departments of Agriculture receive each year many complaints of the death or serious injury to the health of animals which the owners of the stock attribute to the feeding of bran, shorts and chop feeds.

These Dominion and provincial records from which I have been quoting go to show that the question is not a new one and establish the fact, as I was pointing out in 1913, 1914, 1915 and other years, that the question is one that long ago ought to have received the attention of the Government.

I want to refer to one of the difficulties that will be found in enforcing the legislation when it is placed on the statute book. The Dominion analyst is now under the new Department of Health. A few years ago we had a Department of Inland Revenue which had a large number of inspectors going all over the country. If some grocer, for instance, had any pepper that was slightly adulterated or some druggist was found selling a septic pencil that did not have attached to it a Dominion war stamp, he was hauled up and heavily fined. When I questioned the general managers of the milling companies they said that they had never been prosecuted for the adulteration of bran or shorts. You will find that the Department of Agriculture is in touch with this question, through the live stock branch, the veterinary directory general and the seed branch which defines what are termed noxious weeds and by reason of that connection my contention is that the Department of Agriculture would be the proper department to undertake the enforcement of the law in so far as it applies to mill feeds and to see that the millers live up to it and that the farmers shall not, as a result of the violation of the law, suffer further injury.

3 p.m.

We find that the Department of Inland Revenue was annexed to the Department of Customs and that the branch having to do with the work of the Dominion analyst was turned over to the Department of Trade and Commerce. Now we find that it is being turned over to the new Department of Public Health. Notwithstanding all the information that is available, I do not believe that in the Department of Public Health you will find any one particularly interested, or who has a direct interest through his association with the agricultural interests of the country. I believe that the seed branch, the veterinary director general and the live stock branch through the Department of Agriculture should have direct control over the matter. If, as is pointed out by the Dominion analyst, shorts are simply ground up bran and are not shorts at all and if it is only, as the manager of one of the milling companies pointed out, by the addition of screenings that it is brought up to the required standard, I hope that a stop will be put to this at an early date.

I say that I regret exceedingly that the newly appointed Board of Commerce has no more direct interest in agriculture than some of these other departments I have referred to. I think it is most unfortunate. I want to place on record here my firm conviction that the present system cannot be permitted to continue. The damage that has already been done is altogether too great. You can pass through districts where a few years ago there were to be found some of the cleanest, most up-to-date and beautiful farms in the country and today you will find that they have been contaminated and that there are noxious weeds growing which the farmer did not know anything about a few years ago. He is still wondering how they came on his farm. He had paid close attention to the seed that he was sowing and here I would remark that the Seed Branch of the Department of Agriculture have done much, but ought to go a good deal further than it has already gone. The farmers get these noxious weeds in the feed that he is buying for his stock which feed is now being purchased in large quantities by those who are pursuing scientific methods in farming.

I have no apology to make for taking up the time of the House because I consider this matter one of very great importance. I hope the hon. minister and the Government fully appreciate the seriousness of the condition and I hope that more progress will be made towards eliminating some of the difficulties that the farmers have to contend with and that instead of condemnation for those who are doing their utmost to carry on the agricultural industry of this country under difficulties which are becoming increasingly great, there will be a little more sympathy on the part of those people who know little or nothing about what the farmer has to contend with.

Hon. N. W. ROWELL: Mr. Speaker, the Bill of my hon. friend the member for South

Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) proposes to amend the Act respecting the adulteration of food and other articles. As my hon. friend has said, the administration of that Act has been transferred to the Department of Health, and the proposed legislation comes under the jurisdiction of the department over which I have the honour for the time being to preside. The matter brought to the attention of the House by the hon. member for South Oxford is undoubtedly one of great interest to the agricultural community. It is important on the one hand to keep the soil free from weeds and on the other to see that the live stock industry does not suffer from the character of the feed provided.

There is no doubt upon the facts disclosed in the bulletins already issued by the head of this branch, Dr. McGill, that the existing law has been violated by those engaged either in the production or the sale of certain classes of feed. My hon. friend has read certain extracts from some of the publications issued by the department, and they do disclose a seed weed content far beyond what is permitted by the regulations. The administration of the Act has only been transferred to my department in the last two weeks, and therefore I am simply speaking from information received from the chief of the branch, Dr. McGill. As I understand the situation, it is not possible as a practical proposal to have feed absolutely free of foreign matter, that grain even when cleaned is not absolutely pure. The amount of weed seed residue may be very small, but there is always a certain residue. Unfortunately it happens that to-day the grain is not so free from weed seed as it was perhaps a few years ago, and there is an increase in the weed content of the grain grown in many sections of the country. Of course, methods are adopted for freeing the grain as far as possible of these weed seeds; and in the grinding the seeds in a large measure become pulverized and the number of vital seeds that pass through should be very limited. Then in the case of bran and shorts fed to cattle or sheep, my information is that the method of mastication should still further devitalize the seeds that may be left in such cases. But whatever may be the facts in reference to the present situation, the law authorizes the Governor in Council to pass regulations governing the matter, and regulations have been passed to which my hon. friend has referred. These regulations were issued in the year 1917, and they define the character of the feeds to which my hon. friend refers. They are as follows:

14. Bran is a product of the milling of wheat or other grain, and contains not less than fourteen (14) per cent of proteids, not less than three (3) per cent of fat, not more than ten (10) per cent of crude fibre and must be free from vital seeds of any of the noxious weeds defined by the Governor in Council under "The Seed Control Act."

15. Shorts or Middlings is the coarser material sifted out from the products of a second treatment of the grain by crushing the coarsely ground material that is sifted out from the bran after the first grinding; and contains not less than fifteen (15) per cent of proteids, not less than four (4) per cent of fat, not more than eight (8) per cent of crude fibre and must be free from vital seeds of any of the noxious weeds defined by the Governor General in Council under "The Seed Control Act."

16. Chop Feed is whole grain of one or more kinds more or less finely ground, and contains not less than ten (10) per cent of proteids, not less than two (2) per cent of fat, not more than ten (10) per cent of crude fibre and must be free from vital seeds of any of the noxious weeds defined by the Governor in Council under "The Seed Control Act."

17. The presence of presumably vital weed seeds in any form of feeding stuff shall be held to constitute adulteration under the Act, when more than 25 seeds per pound, as enumerated in the Seed Control Act of 1911, are present in the feed.

As I understand the matter, if there is a smaller weed seed content than 25 seeds per pound, the presence of these weed seeds is not considered as adulteration under the Act, and any person handling such feeding stuff would not be subject to the penalties prescribed for selling adulterated feed; but if the product contains more than 25 of these seeds per pound, those manufacturing or selling it would be liable to the penalties.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: That is vital seeds?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes. Now, it is quite true that as a result of the investigations by the department they have found that a weed seed content beyond the maximum permitted is present in many of the samples taken, and they have instituted prosecutions against the parties selling such adulterated products. As soon as the matter was brought to my attention I gave instructions that proceedings should be instituted in every case where the law was being violated. In addition, if the large milling concerns do violate the law, not only should they be punished, but the widest publicity should be given to the fact that the products of those concerns are being manufactured and sold in violation of the provisions of the Adulteration Act. Dr. McGill is now considering methods of giving wider publicity to the fact that convictions have been registered against certain firms for such viola-

tions of the law. I can say to my hon. friend that so long as I am responsible for the administration of this Act, I intend to see that the law is carried out and that adulteration is prevented as far as possible. I believe that Dr. McGill has been working most industriously and faithfully along these lines with a view of putting the law into motion against those who either manufacture or sell adulterated feed.

Dr. McGill informs me that the present legislation is sufficient. If the 25 vital seeds per pound is too high a number to permit, then the provisions of the Order in Council can be changed. According to the information he has furnished me, an examniation of a large number of samples which contain this number or less showed that there was no deleterious result so far as the stock were concerned, but where a larger number of vital seeds was found there were in some cases at least unsatisfactory results from the use of such feed. But there is power under the existing legislation to reduce the number of these vital weed seeds, and if an investigation proves that that number is too high—and I know some of the officers of the department have reported that in their judgment that number should be reduced—I can see no reason why it should not be reduced to a minimum consistent with what would be the reasonable and proper requirements of the trade.

I do not know myself, I am only speaking on the information that has been furnished to me, but I am informed that it is not possible to get feed absolutely pure. My instructions are that the amendment, as my hon. friend has put it, if carried out to the letter would be unworkable, inasmuch as weeds and intermixture of other grain in the field is inevitable. There is no such thing known to commerce as wheat bran entirely free from material other than wheat, or corn bran entirely free from other than maize products, that in all cases there is some of the weed content in the grain, and that it would not be commercially possible to carry the law out to the very letter. I had the matter looked into and I received this information to-day. In view of it I would suggest to my hon. friend that instead of pressing the Bill to the second reading he should let it stand over until the next session, and I undertake, as head of the department, to go into the whole matter very carefully in the interval with a view to remedying the conditions to which my hon. friend (Mr. Sutherland) has referred.

He has rendered a public service in directing attention to the importance of this matter; the whole question is as to the best method of dealing with it. I would have no objection to the second reading of the Bill were it not that I am instructed by officers of the department that, on a strict interpretation of the Bill, it is not feasible to carry out its provisions; that it would have the effect in some cases of preventing the sale of ordinary bran and other animal food of that kind. What we all have in view is to accomplish a certain result in the public interest, and, having regard to the information at hand, it appears to me that the course I have suggested would be the more likely one to secure the best possible results. Any violation of the present regulations will be prosecuted to the limit of the law, and the names of the offenders will be made known so that the public will be fully advised as to what firms or corporations are violating the law. Then, if the present weed seed content permitted under this Order in Council is too high and it can be lowered without serious prejudice to normal business operations, I shall be very glad indeed to see it lowered.

In fairness to my former colleague, the ex-Minister of Agriculture (Mr. T. A Crerar) who is not here to-day, I wish to add that in whatever he did in connection with regulating the work of his department, I am quite sure that he was guided solely by what he believed to be the public interest.

Mr. GEORGE BOYCE (Carleton): Mr. Speaker, the hon. member says that it is not possible to have bran pure. I agree that it is pretty hard to have it pure, and in that connection I wish to draw attention to a matter that I had personal knowledge of. On one occasion I received a consignment of bran, and in the carload there were two bags of seeds. How did those seeds get there? Is it not fair to assume that they were gathered together for the purpose of mixing them with the bran that we are paying $65 a ton for? We are paying a great deal for the tricks of the people who are producing this stuff. It is necessary that this commodity be pure, because we are paying for a good article; besides, it is a very serious thing for the people who use milk in the cities, especially children and aged persons, if the dairymen who supply the milk feed their stock with stuff that is poisonous. The sooner this matter is taken in hand, the better for all concerned. The member for South Oxford

deserves great praise for bringing the subject to the attention of the House.

Mr. J. R. WILSON (Saskatoon): Mr. Speaker, I have listened with much interest to the remarks of the member for South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) on this subject. The milling industry is one of the important industries of Canada; it is growing and expanding and improving from year to year. The member for South Oxford would seem to be in favour of drawing the line so closely that every miller in the country would be open to prosecution on evidence of there being something in the bran which was not of wheat, but which was grown with the wheat. I have had a great many years' experience in the milling business, and a number of years' experience in the handling of grain. To my knowledge—leaving the hen out of consideration—there is no machinery manufactured that will separate certain kinds of grain or weeds from wheat. The report read by the hon. member showed that traces of wild oats were found in bran. A great deal of the wheat grown throughout the West contains from eight to fifteen per cent of wild oats, and I do not think it is possible—anyhow, it is impracticable—to clean out all traces of the wild oats before it passes through the rolls. Kernels of that wild oats will remain, and although it does not go into the bran without being crushed, the presence of the hulls shows that there is wild oats in the bran. Buckwheat, too, will go through the screens; it is hardly possible to take it all out. No machine has been manufactured up to the present that will separate barley from wheat. But under the Bill presented by my hon. friend, if a trace of barley, of oats, or of seed is found in bran the miller is liable to be hauled up and prosecuted for something that it is beyond his power to remedy. As the President of the Council (Hon. Mr. Rowell) has suggested, it would be well for the hon. member to allow his amendment to stand until the next session and give the minister in charge of the department an opportunity to enforce the law which is already on the statute-book. I think that the present law is about as far as we can go without having impracticable legislation. There is no doubt in my mind that the mills have been injecting seeds into the bran and shorts, outside of what was in the feed when it went through the rolls. By close inspection of the feed by officials of the department, a few examples might be made which would soon cause the practice to stop. I support the suggestion that this matter be allowed to stand over until next session.

Mr. J. A. MAHARG (Maple Creek): Mr. Speaker, the member for Saskatoon (Mr. J. R. Wilson) suggests that it is not practicable to prevent buckwheat and wild oats from getting into bran. If buckwheat and wild oats were the only things that went into the bran there would be very little complaint. In fact, I would not complain at all; I would be quite satisfied even if there was a large percentage of buckwheat in the bran. But there is no difficulty in separating from the bran the other objectionable seeds my hon. friend did not refer to; any ordinary fanning mill will take them out. I refer to small black poisonous seeds, which are worse than useless.

We would not object very much to paying for something that was useless if it was not harmful, but this is both useless and harmful; in fact, it has caused the death of scores upon scores of animals. There is an excuse for the hon member for Oxford South (Mr. Sutherland) dealing leniently with the matter of wild oats, but there is no excuse with regard to black poisonous seeds, they can be taken out without any difficulty at all. There are, however, other things that go into bran. If you get a sack of bran to-day in Ottawa, I venture to say that if you take a handful and hold it up to the light you will see a growth of the finest fuzzy whiskers on that bran you have ever seen in your life; you can see a small fuzz all over the top of it. There is something more than seeds in that; it looks as though all the sweepings and screenings and everything else that it was possible to gather up around the mill had been thrown together and ground up in a simplex grinder and sold as food under the guise of bran. This is something that should be looked into. Personally, I have not had a pound of bran on my farm for the last fifteen or eighteen months, because I came to the conclusion that I was far better without it entirely even if it had almost been given to me. Unless something is done, serious consequences will arise.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, I have very little to say with regard to the Bill that is now before us for our consideration. I have listened with a great deal of attention to the speech of the hon. member for Oxford South (Mr. Sutherland), who has given evidence of having gone very fully into this question and who has produced and placed on Hansard very strong reports

and evidence in support of his contention that some steps should be taken to put an end to the sale of what he says is poisonous or deleterious animal food. I take it for granted that the facts as put forward by the hon. gentleman are sustained. While I do not profess to be very familiar with the Act that is now on the statute-book, we have an Act which comes pretty close to the subject, if it does not cover it altogether. If we have an Act which could be enforced and which could put an end to what is complained of, that Act should be enforced; but if the Act itself is deficient and does not cover the ground or does not give enough authority to the Government officials to put an end to what is complained of, I should be in favour of providing that remedy at the earliest possible moment. I do not speak with authority as to what the old Act contains; but if it is lacking in any particular, or if it falls short of furnishing the machinery necessary to put an end to this evil, we should not allow this fall to pass by and permit people who are producing this kind of food to do more mischief. I think the Bill should be passed, and then if it be required, it is available; if it be not required, it can do no harm; but a great deal of harm may inure to the people of this country by reason of the fact that we have no legislation to deal with the subject which is provided for in the Bill of the hon. member.

Mr. ROWELL: Might I just answer the question of my hon. friend? I myself think that the Act at present gives sufficient authority, and it is a question of the exercise of that authority by regulations passed by the Governor in Council. Section 3, of the Act provides:

> Food shall be deemed to be adulterated within the meaning of this Act.

And—

> "Food" includes every article used for food or drink by man or cattle—

And so forth. The Act provides that food shall be deemed to be adulterated within the meaning of the Act—

> (a) if any substance has been mixed with it so as to reduce or lower or injuriously affect its quality or strength;
> (b) if any inferior or cheaper substance has been substituted wholly or in part for the article;
> (c) if any valuable constituent of the article has been wholly or in part abstracted.

The latter will not apply, but I should think both (a) and (b) would apply if the bran contains weed seeds as that is certainly contrary to the provisions of that clause. If it contains a mixture such as the hon. member for Maple Creek (Mr. Maharg) has referred to, I should certainly say that it contains an inferior or cheaper substance which has been substituted wholly or in part for the article. Then (f) would also apply:

> (f) if it contains any added poisonous ingredient or any ingredient which may render such an article injurious to the health of persons or cattle consuming it.

Under one or all of those three clauses (a) or (b) or (f), I would think that regulations might be made by the Governor in Council to cover this. Pursuant to those provisions, regulations have been made which I have read to the House, and under section 1, subsection 17, if the article contains a minimum of twenty-five of these weed seeds per pound, it is considered adulterated. As I said before, it may be that that should be changed and the number reduced. But I think under the existing legislation there is power to deal with the matter.

Mr. BALL: Is there any provision for inspection?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes, the Act provides for inspection, and the Adulteration of Foods Branch has certain inspectors. It may be that more attention should be paid to inspection. I speak with a very limited knowledge of the matter, but I know Dr. McGill is deeply interested in the whole question and in seeking to put an end to these practices and to get the best results, because he has already discussed the matter with me.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Mr. Speaker——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is my duty to inform the House that the hon. member is exercising his right to close the debate. If any other hon. member desires to speak, he should do so at once.

Mr. MAHARG: Will you permit me, Sir, to ask a question of the minister after the hon. member has closed the debate?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The system of asking questions would be in order only in Committee. The rule is very clear that on the second reading of a Bill, each member is entitled to make only one speech, with the exception of the hon. member introducing the Bill who has a right to close the debate.

Mr. McKENZIE: By common consent, the hon. member could ask a question. I

am sure he has the consent of the House to ask any proper question.

Mr. MAHARG: It is not exactly a question. It has been suggested that the Bill be withdrawn, and while I do not know how the hon. member feels about the matter, I would not care to see the Bill withdrawn, unless we have the assurance of the minister that a test will be made between now and the next session so that we may know where we are at.

Mr. ROWELL: I thought I had made that point quite clear.

Mr. MAHARG: Perhaps the minister did.

Mr. ROWELL: I intimated that I had already taken the matter up with the Dominion analyst, Dr. McGill, who has been working at it under the Department of Trade and Commerce under the minister in charge of that department, and it is the intention to pursue the subject to the end with a view to putting a stop to the practice which undoubtedly has existed, which the departmental reports show exists to some extent at the present time, not only punishing to the limit of the law the men who are guilty, but making known to the public the fact that these firms have violated the law and are selling for animal use foodstuffs that are contrary to the law. Further, it is the intention to have the whole situation examined with a view to seeing if the existing regulations should not be more stringent than they now are in order to meet the situation to which the hon. member for Oxford South has drawn the attention of the House, and which is certainly a most important one. I believe the publicity which this discussion has given will focus public attention more and more on this important question.

Mr. MAHARG: That will apply to all stock feed, I suppose, not merely to bran and shorts?

Mr. ROWELL: Perhaps my hon. friend is aware that there is a special Act dealing with other classes of feeds, known as the Act respecting Commercial Feeding Stuffs, under which parties desiring to sell this feeding stuff must register and get a number. The stuff can only be sold under that number and the sale must comply with certain conditions. The Chief Analyst passes upon these commercial feeding stuffs. Under this Act also the necessary proceedings are being taken to prevent feeds containing deleterious substances being sold for animal use.

[Mr. McKenzie.]

Mr. SUTHERLAND: At the outset of my remarks in moving the second reading of the Bill I said that some might argue that the present Bill makes ample provision for remedying the very thing I seek to remedy by this amendment. I pointed out that it was a common practice with nearly all the milling companies in Canada to do what I have described. I would point out that the Adulteration Act is not the only one that has a bearing on this matter. The Grain Products Act and other Acts and Orders in Council have a bearing on it. Those Orders in Council in my opinion have made the enforcement of the Act more difficult. I also pointed out the effect of the amendment to the Grain Products Act of May, 1911, which contained the words "and must be free from vital seeds of any of the noxious weeds defined by the Governor in Council under the Seed Control Act." No provision was made there for excluding seeds other than noxious weed seeds. Let me give another analysis from Bulletin No. 412, from which I have already quoted. In a pound sample from the Ogilvie Milling Company in the Vancouver District there were 864 lamb's quarters seeds, and in the same district another sample there were 528 lamb's quarters. These are not noxious weed seeds, and they are not covered by the Grain Products Act. The very fact of the amendment being made to that Act implies that weed seeds other than noxious weed seeds were quite permissible. The regulation made in 1917 went even further and provided that vital weed seeds in excess of twenty-five per pound would be considered as adulteration. So all these things have a bearing on the Adulteration Act.

The difficulty in enforcing the present law is so great that I do not think this Parliament would be justified in deferring action on the matter. The hon. member for Saskatoon (Mr. Wilson) has pointed out that it would be absolutely impossible to clean wheat so that it would not contain a certain percentage of weed seeds or words to that effect, and he referred to wild oats and wild buckwheat. Now the milling companies admitted in this very building at the last session that wheat was put through seven different processes before being ground into flour, that it was made as clean as it was possible for them to make it, and that only a very small percentage of any kind of seed, or grain of any other kind than wheat, could possibly get through to be milled into flour. I think that is the belief of every one who knows anything about the milling processes. An odd kernel of barley would be more likely to get in than buckwheat; because I can see

no reason why every buckwheat seed should not be taken out in these seven processes. The wild oats could also be taken out very easily because they are so light. I venture to say that you would not find one kernel of wild oats ground up in a whole barrel of flour. That being the case, you can rest assured the inspectors will never detect the very very small percentage that might get through. The general managers of the milling companies all admitted that this stuff is piped back into the bran and shorts deliberately. They say: "We purchased it in the wheat and there is sometimes from four to ten per cent of it." In Western Canada this year there are large sections where the crop has been very poor indeed, but it is a remarkable thing that no matter how poor the crop may be, there will be a rank growth of weed; weeds grow without any encouragement. I believe there will be a very great percentage of weed seeds in the grain this year in those places. There is no reason why more than a very small percentage of that stuff should ever reach the elevators or the mills. The millers pay for their wheat according to its cleanness. We have a very large number of men engaged in farming operations in Western Canada and I doubt if there is one of them who will not admit that you could very easily put a sieve in a separator which would remove practically all of the small black seeds. Some wild oats and barley might get through it, but the more dangerous weed seeds could very easily be taken out. But the thresher does not want to do that. He is threshing by the bushel and wants to have as big an output as possible, and he will not take very good care to see that the wheat is kept clean. The result is that to-day this stuff is considered a marketable commodity, and has been distributed by the Government all over the country during the past year. I have already spoken of the way it is disposed of. The Government purchased that stuff at $35 a ton, and sold it to the farmers of this country. It has become a commodity in which the grain growers are very much interested, and they are anxious that it should be disposed of in this way rather than be taken out by the separator when the grain is being threshed, and burned on the farm which is the only proper thing to do with it. I do not wish to be unreasonable, and I do not think that I have been, in view of the fact that I have been patiently referring to this matter for the past six years, and on more than one occasion have received the promise that the departments were looking into it and hoped that some redress would be found. I would ask the minister if he will undertake to reimburse the farmers of Canada who suffer losses as a result of feeding this stuff to their stock in the meantime. I would also ask if he will undertake in the meantime to take off the hands of the farmers in this country the bran and shorts they may purchase in which is found a large percentage, not of vital weed seeds, but of ground weed seeds, which will be quite permissible unless this amendment to the Act goes through.

You have placed in authority in this country a Board of Commerce who have been going around threatening with a fine of a thousand dollars and imprisonment any farmer who dares to increase the price of his produce during the next forty days. This was the mandate issued a short time ago. I understand that it has since been partially rescinded, but it shows the disposition of the men who comprise the Board of Commerce. Notwithstanding the fact that a plain, straightforward question was asked here last night as to whether the third member of the board had been appointed, we find in the press this morning that this appointment has been made and that the man who has been chosen has no particular interest in agriculture in this country, quite the contrary. In view of the fact that this adulterated commodity is to be found all over the country to-day, I think it is only fair that wherever a farmer has it on hand he should be provided with some recompense or relief. With the spread of price between bran and shorts to-day, if delay takes place in remedying the present condition, the milling companies will reap an enormous advantage by being permitted to grind up the bran into shorts and dispose of it in that way during the next few months. It is not to be wondered at, Sir, that bran is almost an unpurchaseable commodity in Canada to-day under these conditions, and in face of the regulations that are being enacted against the farmers who are being held up now that they have to purchase large quantities of mill feeds. As I pointed out before, I doubt whether in the whole history of the province of Ontario feed for stock was ever before so scarce and dear as it is at the present time, and I also pointed out that thousands, yes, tens of thousands of cattle are being disposed of, to be slaughtered and cut up as canners, as a result of this condition. I do not think it is fair to the people engaged in this great industry. The hon. member for Saskatoon (Mr. Wilson) has stated that the milling industry is one of the greatest in the coun-

try. Well, I say, without fear of contradiction, that agriculture is the greatest industry of Canada, and it is the industry that is apparently receiving the least consideration. In view of all the circumstances, therefore, I do not feel justified in withdrawing this Bill, at any rate at the present juncture, because I consider that the evidence I have submitted is absolutely authentic and cannot be controverted. I therefore respectfully decline to withdraw the Bill.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend will of course appreciate the fact that I cannot give any undertakings such as he mentions. We have exactly the same object in view, the only difference being one of method. I said I had no objection to the second reading of the Bill, except that this was unworkable. If my hon. friend wishes the second reading, perhaps an amendment can be made in committee. I thought the proposal I made would meet the situation, but personally I have no objection to the second reading.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the second time.

ALLEGED MANIPULATION OF SOLDIER VOTES.

Debate resumed on motion for parliamentary committee to investigate.

Mr. W. D. EULER (Waterloo North Riding) resumed the debate on the motion of Mr. McKenzie for the appointment of a parliamentary committee to investigate the alleged manipulation of soldier votes in the general election of 1917.

He said: Mr. Speaker, the resolution which is before the House on the motion of the leader of the Opposition has elicited what in my opinion was a most remarkable speech from the Minister of the Interior (Hon. Mr. Meighen). The feature of that speech which attracted my attention most particularly was the enunciation of a new code of political morals which must come with a shock to the moral sense of the people of Canada. The motion of the leader of the Opposition is based upon a certain telegram purporting to have been signed and sent by the Minister of the Interior to the Prime Minister of Canada during the fall of 1917, or, to be precise, in December of that year while the Dominion elections were in progress. That telegram is dated at Winnipeg, and reads as follows:

> Would like one thousand soldier votes at large for Manitoba, of which 300 for Selkirk, balance divided between Provencher, Macdonald, and Springfield, or same proportion or division no matter what our allotment may be.
>
> [M. Sutherland.]

Mr. Speaker, viewing that telegram carefully, I contend that, on the face of it, it is obvious that the motion of the leader of the Opposition is absolutely in order. I do not think it can be disputed that a case has been made out which requires the strictest investigation. What does the telegram mean on the face of it? Does it mean that the Minister of the Interior is merely expressing a desire that the Prime Minister should supply him with a thousand votes or so, which might be thrown into any constituency in which the opposition candidates appeared dangerous, or in which their election seemed probable? I do not think we can gather that from the telegram. It means more than that. There is no doubt whatever that it indicates that there was a stock of votes somewhere that was at the disposal of Unionist candidates. That presumption is borne out by the very significant word "allotment" in the telegram. That word "allotment" implies that there is a supply of a certain commodity on hand which may be drawn upon at the will or discretion of those who wish to avail themselves of it. I do not think that any other explanation would satisfy any member of the House. I am quite sure that none of the members are so credulous or innocent as to imagine that anything else was meant than that there was an allotment of votes which could be used practically at will to defeat any candidate of the Opposition who seemed likely to win his election. I had thought that possibly the Minister of the Interior would disclaim all responsibility for sending the telegram, but he does not do so. I did not believe, however, that he would actually justify the sending of a telegram of that kind or the object that it sought to attain which was nothing less than to defeat the will of the people. When the Minister of Interior says that it was a perfectly lawful proceeding that these votes of the soldiers should be applied, to use his own cynical expression, where they would do the most good, I did not think he would also justify it by any contention that it was a right and decent and proper thing to do in a democratic country.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: He has a special mentality.

Mr. EULER: The minister does not deny sending the telegram. He does not remember that he sent it but he does say that the Prime Minister did not receive the telegram. After all that has no very great

significance in view of the fact that the minister claims that it was a perfectly lawful and proper proceeding. I was disappointed at the attitude of the hon. member for Red Deer in his speech on the resolution. I have a high regard for that hon. gentleman, and his sentiments are usually not only couched in admirable language, but they are also of a very lofty and noble standard. If it is his view that it is well to forget all, to bury the matter altogether, I cannot see eye to eye with him; I cannot understand his position. Perhaps it should be remembered that it is the traditional practice of the members of the medical profession to desire as quickly as possible to bury their mistakes, say, about six feet deep, in preference to calling in the coroner to investigate and establish the wrong-doing if such there be. I was still more disappointed when, throughout the whole of his speech, he gave the impression that he subscribed to the vicious doctrine that the end justifies the means. I contend that that is what his speech implies. While he admitted—perhaps not in so many words—that things which had taken place during the election were not just what they should have been, yet, after all, he took the position that they had brought about the desired result and that all was well. I do not believe in the policy of hushing up matters, nor in the doctrine that the end justifies the means. If that be the principle, then may we expect this country to enter upon an era of corruption such as has never been known. I venture to say that there never was a government, bad as it may have been, that did not believe that it was about the best government the country ever had. It necessarily follows that, believing that the end justifies the means, that they will naturally act upon that principle and adopt any plan whatever that may bring them back into power. Surely the hon. gentleman does not desire that.

The hon. member also stated that that which was irrevocable might as well be forgotten and the dead past be permitted to bury its dead. I do not subscribe to that policy in all cases. If that is a good principle to follow then we might as well abolish the criminal law entirely. If the man who slays his fellow man shall be allowed to escape simply because the life of his victim cannot be restored to the body, then, I say, we may as well do away with our criminal law altogether. It is not difficult to imagine the results which will flow from the policy that exposure and punishment shall no longer follow wrong-doing.

It may be well under some circumstances to let bygones be bygones. Perhaps some of the things which have been discussed in this House might very well be treated in that way. But, Sir, when a shameful wrong has been perpetrated upon the Canadian people, when their constitutional rights have been set at defiance, when a minister of the Crown practically glories in what has been done and attempts to make wrong appear right, black appear white, then I think it is the duty of the Canadian Parliament to disavow the wrong that has been done and to reaffirm its belief in the principles

4 p.m. of democratic and responsible government. We have heard, Sir, a good many startling revelations since the election of 1917 as to how the election was won by the Union Government. We have heard of perjury, subornation of perjury, personation, plural voting and the coercion of soldiers. I think every member of this House could add his quota of evidence to the charges that have been made in regard to that election. I do not propose to go into these details but to confine myself very largely to the attitude that was taken by the minister in regard to the legality and propriety of the placing of soldier votes. The minister states that the telegram in itself implied nothing that was not perfectly lawful. If that is the case it means that it was legal in this country to use certain votes that were cast by non-Canadians in an election to defeat the will of the bona fide Canadian people in the various constituencies and that the Government could destroy its opponents at will. If that be true then the law is a great deal worse than I thought it.

According to my reading of the Military Voters Act it was entirely the duty of the voter himself to designate where his vote should be placed. There was no provision whatever that he should vote by proxy or that he could assign his vote to some one else, not even the Union Government. Yet on the face of that telegram there can be no reasonable doubt that these votes were appropriated to use not at the behest of the voter himself but at the behest of the Union Government committee. That argues such a departure from what, in my opinion is fair, just and decent, that it strikes at the very vitals of democratic institutions.

I hope, Sir, that I am not Pharisee enough to claim higher standards of conduct than those of the ordinary good citizen who has

a definite code which he lives up to in a more or less successful way. I assuredly make no such pretence. But, after all, such a broad and well defined line runs between what is essentially right and what is essentially wrong, that it is incomprehensible how men can mistake one for the other.

I stated a moment ago that if the law gave the right to any other than the man who actually voted to place that vote where he desired, then the law was a good deal worse than I had thought. The Minister of the Interior the other day in his address made the statement that the Opposition through their representative overseas had striven to give the impression that all soldier votes could be placed wherever the Government desired. I do not know whether or not that is the case but I do know that a similar impression was in the mind of at least one member sitting on the other side of the House. I will give the instance with which I am most familiar. Shortly after the election of 1917, and during the first session of this Parliament, I had the pleasure of a conversation with an hon. member on the other side of the House. We discussed the election. During the course of the conversation he made the statement that both the leader of the Government and the leader of the Opposition had the undoubted right to place the soldiers' votes wherever they pleased. I thought at first, Mr. Speaker, that he said it as a joke and I said so, but he adhered to what he had said.

He stated, "I can prove it, because our organizer came to me and said, 'Mr. So and So, how many soldier votes do you want?' I told him I wanted about two or three hundred." I have no doubt that he got them. Now, Sir, I would not speak of that if it were not for the fact that it is evidence of the comprehensive plan indicated in the telegram. I do not know whether the minister based his statement that the procedure as outlined in that telegram was perfectly legal on anything else but what is in the Act itself. It may be, Sir, that among the multitudinous Orders in Council which have gone forth from the Union Government there is an order which makes it legal to treat those votes in that manner; I do not know.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what did it mean if it was lawful that those votes could be used in this manner? It meant that it was within the power of the Union Government to compass the defeat of any Opposition candidate anywhere. There were, I understand, something like 10,000 or 12,000 votes available for use in this way, and which I suppose, according to the wording of the telegram, "no matter what our allotment may be," could be thrown into any constituency where there was a likelihood of an Opposition candidate being elected. There was not a single constituency in all Canada, I should judge, in which the vote could not be "fixed" beyond peradventure. The Opposition candidates were not at the mercy of their electors; they were at the mercy of the Union Government Committee. Any man could be defeated with almost absolute certainty whether his own individual riding gave him a majority or not. The Opposition candidate was practically in the position of the man who sits in a card game while his opponent has the winning card up his sleeve ready to play it whenever he needs it—that surely is the very negation of representative government. The Prime Minister in the first session stated that in his opinion the election of 1917 was the fairest election ever held in this country.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: The most honest.

Mr. EULER: I believe, Sir, that it was the most unfair election ever held in this Dominion. Indeed, in my opinion the term "election" is a misnomer. It was not an election at all. In the language of the times, I would say that we might describe it as the "parliamentary selective draft." Sir, was it not true that the members of this House were drafted at will according as it was desirable to elect one or defeat the other? I am quite serious when I say that I consider it little less than a miracle that some of us are here at all. In Ontario and the West apparently there were a few cases of miscalculation, or perhaps a saving sense of shame on the part of our opponents, because eight of us from Ontario and two from the West were allowed to be returned. Under the ingenious system so warmly defended by the Minister of the Interior, a non-Canadian voter had greater power in Canadian elections than the genuine Canadian himself. The real Canadian had to cast his ballot in a certain constituency, as I read the law. If he should happen to come from the city of Toronto, or some other Unionist hive, he was obliged to cast his vote there, although he might be well aware that it would be practically wasted. But the soldier who was not a Canadian, who came under the description of "voter at large," could cast his eye over the whole Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and then place his vote as he pleased, with the result in some

cases that he thereby would defeat the will of the people of the constituency itself. Of course, this privilege was more apparent than real; a kind and disinterested Union Government relieved him of the necessity of making a choice. Again in the words of the minister "it placed the votes where it would do most good." Mr. Speaker, surely it is not an exaggeration to say that if such views prevail the very foundation of democracy must crumble. They are based on the free franchise of the bona fide Canadian citizen. When you destroy that, the superstructure must fall. If, Sir, it is indeed right that men can obtain membership in this House by any means other than the will of the actual residents of any constituency, then I say democracy has departed and we may as well own up to the sham and know ourselves for what we are.

Mr. Speaker, I judge from the remarks of the Minister of the Interior and his friends that the request of the leader of the Opposition for an investigation will not be granted. But, Sir, outside the walls of this Parliament the great jury of the Canadian people is sitting in judgment. During the last five years they grimly bore many things which were abhorrent to them, but which they thought were unavoidable. They closed their eyes, sacrificing much of life-long conviction and of principle while their sons were engaged in the deadly conflict overseas. But the war is over, Sir, and the people are going to hold this Government responsible for its actions. I do not believe the people endorse the shameful things of the election of 1917. I do not believe either that they will subscribe to the new political doctrine enunciated by the Minister of the Interior. Indeed, Sir, if I believed that they did I would be ashamed to be a Canadian.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Springfield): I do not intend to take up very much time, Mr. Speaker, on this subject, because I realize the truth of the Prime Minister's declaration some time ago, that in his judgment the election of 1917 was one of the fairest ever fought in the Dominion.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McCREA: What is that?

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Especially in Springfield.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. RICHARDSON: Members may smile, but let me say in regard to Springfield that the civil majority was between 1,200 and 1,500, and that the legitimate soldiers' vote, votes cast by soldiers who came from the constituency of Springfield, ran the majority up to considerably over 2,000, and that 525 soldiers' votes for myself were cast at large. Soldiers appeared anxious to give an old friend a lift and so voted in Springfield. They were, however, disallowed by the returning officer. Had it not been for improper misrepresentations by men like Mr. Preston and others, those 525 votes might have been distributed in other constituencies where possibly they could have been of some advantage. But the legitimate majority in Springfield was considerably over 2,000, and I do not think I have any apologies to offer.

An hon. MEMBER: It will never be that again.

Mr. RICHARDSON: It is not necessary for me to go any further than the figures furnished by the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) the other night, when he pointed out that of the 82 constituencies in the great province of Ontario only four could possibly have been influenced by the soldiers' vote, and that if the same proportion of soldiers' votes had been cast in these four constituencies as were cast by the civil vote, the members returned would have been elected. The story is practically the same throughout the entire Dominion. If hon. members will look up the returns they will find that candidates in Manitoba supporting the Union Government were returned by a sufficiently large majority to wipe out the minority of Government candidates in a very large number of constituencies in the province of Quebec. Why, the majority of the hon. gentleman who represents Centre Winnipeg (Mr. Andrews) was something like 23,000 or 26,000. As a matter of fact, the people were overwhelmingly in favour of conscription, overwhelmingly in favour of the union of the two parties in order to carry the great war to a successful issue. I have always marvelled at the position taken by some hon. members of this House in criticising the result of that election. I would have thought that after seeing the verdict of the people, after reading the figures, such hon. gentlemen would have been satisfied to retire quietly and maintain a discreet silence with regard to this election.

The hon. member who preceded me (Mr. Euler) spoke of the election as a parliamentary selective draft. I would reply to that by saying that we on this side who were in that selective draft have reason to be

proud. As for those who for personal motives stayed at home rather than devote their energies to the preservation intact of our country and the empire—well, if they are satisfied, I think we also have perfectly good reason to offer no complaint.

After all, the great point—and I sometimes wonder why our friends on the other side have failed to grasp it—is that a mighty struggle, the greatest in history, was going on. The people of Canada, the most important Dominion of the Empire, were heart and soul in that war. They realized that the liberties of the world were gravely at stake and they resolved to spend their all in order to carry on their part in the great struggle. As a result of that election the resources of the Dominion were placed at the disposal of the British Empire. I need not relate here or emphasize the part that Canada took in that great war; it is a matter of history that it was the Canadians who broke the Hindenburg line. But we hear hon. gentlemen, instead of expressing themselves as proud of the achievements of our Canadian forces, constantly carping and criticising the election that enabled that great fight to be carried on by our own people.

I do not agree with the member who has just spoken that our friend from Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark) took the position that the end justified the means. I can easily understand, however, that honourable men, good citizens of Canada, might think that in a great crisis such as that with which the country was then faced, almost any methods to save the liberties of the world would be justified.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: The German philosophy.

Mr. BUREAU: Kultur.

Mr. RICHARDSON: One of the reasons why I intervened in this debate was because of some remarks that fell from the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) with regard to the position taken by Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the question of political corruption when he was leading the so-called Liberal party. The leader of the Opposition quoted some remarks made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as well as some remarks of the then former member for West Toronto, Mr. Osler. I happened to be a member of the House when the remarks which the hon. gentleman quoted from Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. E. B. Osler, were made. I well remember that celebrated debate, and there are members of the House —I do not see them in the Chamber this afternoon—who also were members of the House at that time. I want to give a little of the history of this case, because I took a very deep interest in it.

The debate occurred on what was known as the Brockville and West Huron by-elections. These two by-elections had been held in 1899 to fill two vacancies, one for Brockville and one for West Huron, and it was charged in the House by the present Prime Minister, then Mr. R. L. Borden, that the grossest corruption had taken place in both. An inquiry was held before the Committee on Privileges and Elections in 1899, and although the evidence offered was of a most important, convincing, and I might add, disgusting character, the partisan majority of that committee failed to make a report to the House in accordance with the evidence; it merely reported the evidence and left the matter for the House to deal with. In the following session Mr. Borden, who was then the lieutenant of the leader of the Opposition, Sir Charles Tupper, re-introduced the subject, and asked that the case be again referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. But notwithstanding the evidence that had been adduced, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his following—and I was one of them—resisted any reference back to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. Day after day passed and the debate was continued; member after member on the Government side spoke against any further investigation into those elections.

Now, I dislike very much to read when I am addressing the House, because I know it is apt to distract the attention of members and to cause them to lose interest in what is being said. But for the purpose of making out this case and of making it so that there shall be no possibility of any mistake with regard to what occurred, I am going to read a brief extract from the speech which Sir Robert, then Mr. Borden, made upon that occasion with regard to what was proved before the Committee on Privileges and Elections. I sat day after day in the Committee room and can vouch for the truth of what the present Prime Minister then said. I quote:

> Now, the next question is: What did I undertake to prove when I made this motion before this House during last session and what did I prove? I undertook to prove, in respect to one polling section, No. 4 Colborne, that 43 or 44 electors had deposited their ballots in favour of Robert McLean—

He was then the Conservative candidate. (Reading):

> —and that at the conclusion of the polling, when the ballots were counted, only 30 ballots

for Robert McLean were to be found. I proved by distinct evidence before the Privileges and Elections Committee, that at that particular polling subdivision, No. 4 Colborne, 98 ballots were cast, that none of them were spoiled, that at the conclusion of the polling 68 ballots were found to be marked for Robert Holmes, and 30 were found to be marked for Robert McLean. I brought before the committee 43 men who distinctly and unequivocally swore that they had marked their ballots for Robert McLean at that election, that they had handed their ballots to the deputy returning officer, and that they believed he had deposited them in the ballot box. I also showed that 125 ballots had been delivered in the first instance to the deputy returning officer, Donald Cummings, and that twenty-seven were unused. I need not go into the various minor irregularities of the appointment of four scrutineers for Mr. Holmes at that polling place, and the disregard of the provisions of the election law in regard to giving information during the holding of the poll as to what electors had voted and what electors had not voted.

Mr. Borden then went over the evidence of Donald Cummings, one of the deputy returning officers. Fourteen ballots were produced. They had been deposited in the box; they bore the initial of this Donald Cummings, the deputy returning officer, and they were supposed to have come off the ballot pad. As you, Sir, and every hon. member must know, these pads are cut with a cleaver, and they could not vary in width one hair breadth. Yet, those fourteen ballots were about one-eighth of an inch wider than the ballots on the official pad from which they were supposed to come. In addition to that the ballots were twice as thick as the ballots on the stub from which they were supposed to be taken. There was produced before the committee a paper expert from Eddy's mills, Mr. Harvey, and he placed his micrometer on the bogus ballots which he declared were twice as thick as the ballots belonging to the regular pad. I sat by and heard this Donald Cummings first swear that the initials on the ballots were his. He was not so definitely sure about that later on when he was cornered up, but he had to take some position, for there is no doubt that the ballots bore his initials. They never came off the pad; they were switched in and placed in the ballot box by some nefarious operators, and in that way the worst possible fraud as practised in that election, the same as in Brockville.

I have one more extract which I think I ought to read to the House. In that election, there was employed a man named Pritchett, a man whose name was a household word throughout this country because of its notoriety in connection with those two by-elections. It would be unfair for me to place this case before the members of the House without reading the most important portion of the affidavit as made by Mr. Pritchett, and I am going to do so:

To wit:

I, John G. Pritchett, of the city of London, in the province of Ontario, contractor, at present of the city of Detroit, make oath and say:

1. I have for several years taken part in municipal affairs and in politics in the said city of London, and have acted as deputy returning officer in municipal elections, and also in the elections for the Legislative Assembly. I always acted with and on behalf of the Liberal party. In 1898, I was elected an alderman for ward No. 6, in said city of London.

2. In the general election for the Legislative Assembly of 1898 I took an active part as a canvasser for votes on behalf of Colonel Leys, and was appointed by sheriff Cameron his deputy returning officer for the said election at polling division No. 3 in the 6th ward of the said city of London.

3. From my experience in the various elections—

Mark this. This is really worth while.

—I formed the opinion that elections could be more easily and surely won by the manipulation of ballots than by buying votes; and after the said general election, I, in conversation with friends used words to that effect.

4. Thereafter, at the request of John O'Gorman, of London, I took part on behalf of the Liberals in by-elections, my special duty being to instruct deputy returning officers in the method of manipulating the ballots so as to win the election whatever the vote might really be.

5. At the request of the said John O'Gorman, I went from London to Goderich in the spring of 1899 to take part on behalf of the Liberals in the federal by-elections then about to be held. I arrived in Goderich on Thursday or Friday between the nomination and the election, and went to Craig's hotel, where I registered. The first person I met after my arrival was Alexander Smith, the chief organizer of the Liberal party.

I presume this Alex. Smith is the same stalwart who for forty years was the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night which sought to lead the hungry children of Israel into the promised land.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): Will the hon. gentleman be kind enough to tell me how he connects this with the telegram sent by the Minister of the Interior? What has this to do with the present case?

Mr. RICHARDSON: I do not think the question of my hon. friend is at all relevant. The leader of the Opposition quoted from the debate which I am reading from to show the position of the then Liberal leader, evidently intending to contrast the lofty principles of the then Liberals or so-called Liberals with this "Unionist Selective Draft Party."

Mr. BUREAU: Might I put a question to my hon. friend?

Mr. RICHARDSON: Just sit quiet, Jacques, for a little. They do not like this old medicine, Mr. Speaker. It rather gets on their nerves and I am not surprised—it is perfectly natural. But just take it as it will not do you a bit of harm, and it is a good thing. I am not claiming that the Liberal party was very much worse than the other party at that date, as I shall probably state later on.

Mr. JACOBS: You have been both.

Mr. RICHARDSON: But it is a good thing that the beans should be spilled on the table as between the parties, because we want to get rid of all those methods and start on a new plane.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I rather enjoy it if you, Sir, can stand it; it does not worry me a particle. I was going on to observe that in view of the work that this pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night, especially cloud by day, did for the old party, it seemed peculiarly fitting that he should be nominated as the leader of the party at the recent nomination which was held at Ottawa. I am going to continue reading this affidavit. I am sure the hon. member for Kamouraska will enjoy it.

I asked him where the boys were. He said, Oh, about town. Shortly afterwards, O'Gorman came in. He said there would be nothing for me to do for a little while, as they were not in shape. He also said that he wanted me to act as a deputy returning officer. I said all right, I will act. In the afternoon of the following day O'Gorman asked me to drive out to see a person whose name I cannot now recall. This man lives about four miles from Goderich, and was a carpenter and pump-maker, and had some other business as well. He was to be a deputy returning officer, and O'Gorman asked me to see him and instruct him how to do the work. I drove out, but when I met the man and talked to him, I did not think it wise to use him. I therefore returned to Goderich wihout disclosing my mission. On Saturday a man named Grant, a school teacher of Goderich, began to bring deputies to me. He brought a man named Farr, who, he said, was to be a deputy returning officer. He went away, leaving Farr with me. I talked with Farr, but did not consider him safe. I suspected him of having a leaning towards the Conservatives, and he looked like a man who drank.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Drank?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I would not laugh too soon, because it really turned out to be a "Liberal" who was employed. It goes on:

[Mr. Bureau.]

I reported to Grant that I did not think Farr a safe man, and that I would not have anything to do with him.

After my report, Grant and a Mr. Horton talked about Farr in my presence, and they decided to get back from him his authority to act as deputy. That was on Saturday afternoon. After that Grant came to me again and said they had to let Farr go through, and that he would be all right.

I pause for a horse laugh from the other side.

I replied, "Well, if you are willing to risk it, I am willing." Grant brought Farr to me again on Sunday afternoon, and went away at once, leaving Farr with me. I then talked to Farr. I instructed him how to substitute ballots, and showed him how to work it. He did not seem to understand how I could do it, and made me do it very slowly for him. Then he tried it, and got quite handy with it, though rather clumsy. I told him to keep on practising. He had been drinking some. He seemed amused, and quite delighted with the thing. He said, "By kripes, I will take them all. There will not be a vote in the box but Grits."

Now is the time for a laugh.

I said, "Do good work and you will be well paid for it." He said, "How much." I said I would give him $10 if he worked five ballots, and $15 for twenty. He said, "All right." I gave Farr twenty ballots and he put his initials on them. I tore off the counterfoils and made the twenty ballots up in a parcel and gave them to him to use. On the night of the election he came to me terribly excited, and asked where he was to get his money. He said he had fixed twenty-three ballots. I had only given him twenty, but he said he had sent out and got more. I told him to take his good ballots over to Horton, who would pay him. Either Grant or O'Gorman had told me to say that if there was any question about payment of money. I saw no more of Farr. On Sunday night—

Sunday seems a favourite day for this kind of work, as was indicated by the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) in his statement with regard to that prince of ballot manipulating artists, Mr. W. T. R. Preston.

On Sunday night Grant also brought me an elderly man with a grey beard, slight in build and rather tall. I think Grant said the man's name was Cummings, but I am not at all sure about that. I would recognize the man if I should see him. Grant said he was to be deputy returning officer. He left the man with me. I instructed him how to manipulate the ballots, and showed him how to do it. I made him the same offer of money as I had made to Farr. He did not try to work the ballot in my presence, but said he would see what he could do. I tore the counterfoils off fifteen or twenty ballots and folded up the ballots and give them to him. He did not initial them while with me. He took the ballots away with him, and I did not see him again.

I skip to paragraph 9.

At the hotel I did my work at O'Gorman's room, as my bedroom was on the third floor. When I went into his room on Sunday morning

no person was there. On the table under some writing paper, there were some packages of ballots—four packages, I think. I knew they were for me, to be distributed among such deputies as I should arrange with. I took the ballots and gave some of them to Farr and to the man I supposed to be Cummings, as I have stated. The others I burnt on the night of the election.

Then comes an interpolation by Mr. Borden, now Sir Robert:

I pause here. Where did these ballots come from? All the ballots were printed with the blocks of McGillicuddy. McGillicuddy or McGillicuddy's agent must have been fraudulent abettors of this scheme.

I attended that inquiry and satisfied myself that McGillicuddy was an abettor in this nefarious work.

Mr. JACOBS: How did you vote on that occasion?

Mr. RICHARDSON: I voted against this iniquitous thing, as I shall show later on. Do not forget to ask me.

Mr. BUREAU (Three Rivers and St. Maurice): I rise to a point of order. The question before the House is a motion for a committee to investigate certain matters. The hon. member for Springfield is reading the evidence which was taken before a committee some twenty years ago, and I submit that what he is reading is not relevant to the question before the House. I believe that his object is to occupy the time so that other members will not have an opportunity to speak, and so shelve the debate. This House of Commons should not be the place where hon. members can get up and thwart the will of the House and the printed rules.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does any hon. member desire to speak on the point of order?

Mr. E. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): I remember very well last year or two years ago, when we were discussing a motion of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. Currie) following certain troubles that had taken place in the city of Quebec, I was compelled to restrict my remarks exclusively to what had taken place in the streets of Quebec on that particular night. I really think that the hon. member is wandering far from the question before the House, which is with respect to the propriety or impropriety of the Minister of the Interior sending a telegram in 1917 recommending the allotment of a certain number of votes to certain constituencies. The hon. member, instead of discussing that question, is reading the evidence given before the Committee on Privileges and Elections twenty years ago, on a question totally different.

Mr. SPEAKER: The point is not altogether free from difficulty, but there are one or two considerations that I would point out. In the first place, this discussion has taken a more or less wide range, and there is always a difficulty in circumscribing debate in connection with any matter that has to do with party politics, which difficulty does not present itself when the discussion is of a more or less academic character on a question that does not affect parties. As I appreciate the situation at the moment, it is this: A portion of the motion before the House calls for the investigation by a Parliamentary Committee of an alleged irregularity, and I understand that the hon. member for Springfield is dealing with the manner in which a motion for an inquiry by a committee was considered by the House on a previous occasion. It matters not whether that occasion be twenty or forty years ago, if he chooses to use it as a portion of his argument.

Mr. BUREAU: May I be allowed to say that the hon. member is not dealing with the motion for an inquiry on that occasion, but reading the evidence given before the committee at the time.

Mr. SPEAKER: It would be perfectly competent for the hon. member to deal with some of the evidence as indicating how much it called for or justified the granting of a Parliamentary Committee. If I have stated the grounds of the hon. member's argument correctly, I do not think it would be competent for me to restrict him at this stage.

Mr. BUREAU: May I be allowed one word? I do not think your Honour has stated the grounds correctly, and I say that with all due respect. This is a motion for a committee to investigate certain matters, and if the hon. member was discussing how the evidence justified the granting of a committee on that occasion, I am with you.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member is reading from a debate on precisely the same subject as is now before the House.

Mr. BUREAU: He is reading evidence that——

Mr. SPEAKER: I am subject to correction and I shall verify my ground. But I distinctly heard the hon. member state that

he was reading a portion of the evidence submitted by the Prime Minister, then member for Halifax, upon a motion of his that the matter should be re-committed to a Committee of the House. Upon that ground I say that it is competent for him to deal with the evidence given at that time.

Mr. BUREAU: I do not think that ground is right either.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I will verify it by an examination of Hansard.

Mr. BUREAU: It will be too late then. It will be six o'clock shortly.

Mr. SPEAKER: It will be done immediately.

Mr. RICHARDSON: Now, Mr. Speaker, to resume.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Come down to modern times.

Mr. BUREAU: Don't be ashamed of yourself.

Mr. RICHARDSON: Never mind, Jacques.

Mr. BUREAU: Go on, Bob.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I shall now read paragraph 10:

> On the day before election day, O'Gorman paid me $25 for my services and $15 for my expenses. I left Goderich on the morning after the election.
>
> 11. On the night of the election, I took part in the procession celebrating the Liberal victory. D. McGillicuddy, Tom Lewis and I occupied one carriage.
>
> I think Grant was in our carriage also, but I am not sure about him.
>
> 12. The method of substituting a false ballot for the genuine one which the deputies which I have mentioned were to use, is as follows: He would keep the false ballots so that he could readily take one in his left hand when he wished to work it. When a known Conservative voter would be in the act of handing his ballot to the deputy the latter would place his left hand upon the table with a false ballot, without a counterfoil, under the hand. At the same moment he would accept from the voter, with the right hand, the genuine ballot and counterfoil. He then would place the genuine ballot under the left hand fingers, as if for the purpose of tearing off the counterfoil, and, with a quick movement of the right hand he would remove both genuine ballot and counterfoil, at the same moment raising the left hand and leaving on the table a ballot from which the counterfoil had apparently been just removed. He would put what he had in his right hand in his coat pocket, and then put in the box the ballot lying on the table. This ballot, so put in the box, would be one of these previously furnished by me to the deputy, and on which I had put a cross opposite the name of the Liberal candidate. I made an exception in my practice of making the cross myself in the case of ballots given to Cummings, as he objected to putting his initials upon them in my presence, and therefore I concluded not to put the cross on them.

The affidavit concludes with another statement by Mr. Pritchett that he instructed a number of scrutineers and other workers how to destroy ballots when they came to be counted after having been taken out of the ballot boxes. He showed that if you cemented a piece of blacklead ingeniously under the nail of your finger, you might be able, by proper leger de main, when the ballots are being counted, to put such marks on them that they would be rejected in consequence, and he added that in that way you could materially assist in winning an election. I shall not read any further from the affidavits of Mr. Pritchett. He has an affidavit with reference to the by-election in Brockville in which he participated, and it is pretty much along the same lines, showing how he had instructed deputies in the art of switching ballots in the endeavour to defeat the will of the people. I now propose reading an extract from the speech which Mr. E. B. Osler, to whom the leader of the Opposition referred, made in connection with that debate. He says:

> I am prepared to say without any hesitation that I had a great deal of sympathy with the Liberal party, before the last election. I felt that the other party had been perhaps too long in power, and I had a sort of half belief that the promises and professions of honesty and honour which the Liberal party made before they came into office would more or less be carried out. But have we seen one single solitary instance of this? Certainly not since I have been in this House.
>
> The Minister of Marine and Fisheries: You have seen honest government ever since.
>
> Mr. Osler: I have not. I have seen a government that has made me ashamed of my country.

I contrast that with the statement from the hon. gentleman's speech which the leader of the Opposition made. Now I want to read a brief extract from a speech I myself made and I would especially commend it to the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs). He will be especially interested in the position I took. I was under the impression that the hon. Mr. Oliver, who was then a member of the House, also took the same position but I do not find his speech recorded in Hansard, although I am satisfied from conversations I had at that time that he very largely shared my view. Let me read what I said:

> I attended almost every session of that committee and for my part I was absolutely satisfied that the greatest corruption was practised in the election of West Huron and Brockville.

Bear in mind, Mr. Speaker, that I was a supporter of the Liberal Government.

I examined that ballot pad very carefully, and I claim that the conclusion was irresistible that those fourteen ballots never came off that pad at all. If my memory serves me correctly, there were some 150 ballots on the pad, and the majority were torn off, but these fourteen ballots—and I took the trouble to compare them very carefully—were a shade wider at the perforated line than the good ballots, about which there was no dispute. I made that examination two or three times and perfectly satisfied myself. If there was any possible dispute as to these stubs and ballots, surely a silent instrument could make no mistake in its register. We had an expert from the Eddy mills who came there with his micrometer. He tested every stub left on the pad, some 150, I think.

Mr. Borden (Halifax): One hundred and twenty-five.

Mr. Richardson: and if my memory serves me correctly, there was not the slightest variation with regard to these stubs. Am I right?

Mr. Borden (Halifax): That is right.

Mr. Richardson: Then he took the ballot that had not been torn off and we found that these ballots corresponded exactly in thickness with all the stubs. Then he took the ballots about which there was no point raised, that they were not good ballots, and he found that these ballots were identical in thickness with the possible exception of one with those on the stubs. Then, in reference to the fourteen ballots, about which there was a dispute, and that I have satisfied myself never came off that pad, he found that they were 4-1000ths of an inch in thickness, while the others were 2-1000ths in thickness, so that the fourteen ballots were double the thickness of the other ballots. Is any man going to ask me to say or can I be expected to say that these fourteen ballots were good ballots, and that they came off that pad? It is flying in the face of reason, of honesty, and I might almost say of decency, to expect me to believe anything of the kind, and I absolutely decline to do so.

Mr. Borden (Halifax): I might also say that this expert proved that the paper was made on a different machine.

Mr. Richardson: Yes, I had forgotten that point, but he doubtless stated that. . . .

Then there was the other point as to the initials on those fourteen ballots. I think, and I speak subject to correction, that Mr. Cummings swore in the first case, that these initials were his. I think in cross examination he said that they looked like his. The conclusion is irresistible that if those initials are his, John Cummings could not possibly be an honest man. If these initials are his, and the ballots never came off that pad, then the irresistible conclusion is, that Cummings initialled these ballots before he went to the poll. And if the affidavit made by Pritchett, in regard to the wholesale initialling of ballots by deputies in the electoral division of Brockville, is correct, this furnishes the sequel that the ballots were initialled in advance in West Huron.

I concluded with these remarks:

It is surely inconsistent with the best traditions of Liberalism that we should fail to pursue and punish these crawling creatures, these slimy assasins of our liberty, together with the greater criminals who inspire, lay the plans, and pay for the execution of these crimes. Unless we throttle the monster, he will assuredly throttle us and we shall deserve the fate which is sure to overtake us if we fail in what the people of Canada will regard as our clear duty. Let the Parliament of Canada strike with deadly intent at political corruption, and its action will meet with the hearty approval of a grateful people who would welcome such a course. That in my mind would be the best political move and the best political tactics which any party could adopt in this country. For every heeler whom it would alienate it would gain scores of friends. What the people most need is to be honestly led, and to the party which so leads, their gratitude, when they realize the results, will not be in stinted measure. For these reasons, unless such a judicial investigation as I have outlined is promised, I shall feel compelled to vote for the motion of the hon. the senior member for Halifax (Mr. Borden).

As I said at the outset, the Government set out to resist that inquiry and the debate dragged on day after day for a considerable time. The idea was that no inquiry would be granted. The debate had kept on until about two or three o'clock in the morning when there was evidence that members supporting the Government would vote for the resolution of the hon. member for Halifax unless the Government granted that inquiry. Then between two and three oclock in the morning, Sir Wilfrid made a complete volte face. He rose in his place and denounced in the roundest terms all kinds of political corruption. I have his remarks here and I shall be glad to read them if any hon. member would like to hear them. I do not want to take up any more time than is necessary. Sir Wilfrid denounced in the strongest language political corruption and announced that the Government had decided to have a complete and efficient investigation into electoral irregularities, but he added that not only would they inquire into the Brockville and West Huron elections, but they would go into the electoral corruption that had occurred in both parties extending back for a number of years. Then Sir Charles Tupper, in a manner characteristic of himself, rose and twitted the Government with having backed down because they were afraid of having a revolt in their own ranks. When it was found that they would inquire into the misdeeds of both parties, the fat was in the fire. I never was able to discover really what happened but I could fancy I heard our old friend, the late Jim Sutherland, whip of the Liberal party, talking to the managers of the other party and saying, "We would be blankety-blank fools would we not, if we appointed a judicial committee to inquire into the scoundrelism of both parties." Jim would tell the other side that the country would spew both parties out if they did anything of that kind. Therefore, you can understand why

nothing happened. The thing died right there. It was just as if a depth bomb had fallen and hit it on the head. It never afterwards was heard of.

In regard to my own position, I always felt that that was the time when I committed the unpardonable political sin with regard to the party with which I had been associated almost from childhood. I then became what the member for Brome would describe as a "separated brother." Communion was withdrawn from me and a little later on, when the House was dissolved and we appealed to the country, I found that I did not get the nomination. The wires had been pulled against me. I had offended. I had endeavoured to stand upon the plane of common honesty, common sense, and common decency and I had tried to adopt such an ethical standard as ought to warm the heart of the hon. member for Brome. According to the ethics of the then party you were sure to become a separated brother if you preferred principle to party. I would say to the hon. member for Brome that he talks well, that, of course, his ethical standard is all right and of course he is associated with a group—I am not going to call it the Liberal party—that he thinks is all right. He talks like that and I give him full credit, but let him vote once against his party. Let him do so just once and, in the language of the street he will receive a rude jolt; he will find that he has become a "separated brother" quicker than he imagines it possible. That is what makes separated brethren on that side. I have no doubt it would have been the same with the Old Tory party. If you stand up and talk principle and if you vote against the supposed interest of the party, you

5 p.m.

are fired out of the synagogue without delay and without ceremony.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: May I ask the hon. gentleman a question?

Mr. RICHARDSON: Certainly, I think I would like to hear it because there might be a come-back.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I would like to ask my hon. friend if it was on account of principle that he did not vote on the titles question two years ago?

Mr. RICHARDSON: Well, I have not time to answer such a puerile question as that. Let me point out a few instances. The hon. the president of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) has taken the position of differing from the party with which he was formerly associated and he is now a "separated brother". The hon. the Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Mr. Calder) has followed suit and he is also a "separated brother". The hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) and the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark), following their consciences and standing by conscription and the war have also been placed in category of "separated brothers." The hon. member for Shelbourne and Queens (Mr. Fielding) and the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Pardee) did not seem to possess the necessary courage to stand until the end. Instead of becoming separated brothers, they crawled quietly back to the fold. Let us hope that they will find peace, happiness and contentment therein.

The hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) always interests me. There is a certain frankness about him that appeals to most people. I think he believes in his code of ethics, and I fancy he honestly thinks there is a higher code of ethics on that side of the House than on this. Perhaps, as far as he himself is concerned he would like to practise as high a code of ethics as possible. I trust he will be able to succeed. He bubbles over with the exuberance of political youth and it is interesting to sit here and listen to him, because one cannot help but think that he is in deadly earnest. I sometimes think he will have an awakening somewhat like poor old Jim McMullen had. You know Jim, in the old Liberal Opposition, used to discuss pen knives and other extravagances, and when his party got into office he found that there were even more pen knives, and more extravagant things done because the country was growing, old Jim subsided and finally went into the Senate and we never heard anything more about him. That may some day be the fate of the enthusiastic and exuberant member for Brome. Speaking of higher political standards, some who are more indifferent than I am towards him, might suggest that the hon. gentleman takes the position of the Pharisee who stood in the temple and said, "Lord, I thank thee that I am not as other men"—not even as this rather indifferent bunch of publicans that sit around me.

I believed for a great many years just as the hon. member for Brome seems to believe. I had an abiding conviction that if we could just get the Liberal party into office all the ills of public life would disappear. I believed the Senate to be a political excrescence. I know the appointment of members of Parliament to office was

most vitiating. I believed every vestige of protection should be wiped out of the tariff. And I advocated these things. I thought ours was a party of political purity. I ought to have known better. This is rather a reflection on my common sense, because as a young newspaper man I ought to have been able to see that morally there was really not a tittle of difference between the men sitting on one side of the House and the men sitting on the other.

They are pretty much tarred with the same stick. I had lessons that should have convinced me. I remember one—and seeing that I have turned this into an experience meeting I am going to tell it. I remember sitting in a committee in South Winnipeg in the old days when I was a very enthusiastic young worker. I took charge of a polling subdivision——

Mr. BUREAU: I rise to a point of order, Sir. I think the hon. member for Springfield ought to be delicate enough to make a motion to turn this into an experience meeting before he continues it as such.

Mr. RICHARDSON: If the hon. gentleman will subside for a little while——

Mr. BUREAU: I think the hon. member for Springfield ought to stick to the subject.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think the point of order raised by the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) is well taken. The hon. member for Springfield, by his own admission, has strayed from the subject of debate, and I must ask him to bring his remarks to bear upon the subject under discussion.

Mr. RICHARDSON: You are not going to let me tell this story, then? It is a pity, because it is a good one, and I think you would have enjoyed it yourself. I will tell it to you privately and you will be awfully sorry that you would not let me relate it to the House. If I were allowed to place it on Hansard it would help quite a little. However, I shall run through my notes and see if there is anything else I can refer to and keep strictly within the limits of the debate.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Is it very hard to do?

Mr. RICHARDSON: Would I be in order if I discussed the difference between the two parties as I observed it? Of course, I want to keep strictly within the rules, but I have some real good stuff that I would like you to have the benefit of yourself. I was going to point out what in my view was the difference between the parties. I was going to say—and you will stop me if I transgress the rules—that while an apostle of the old so-called Liberal party might on the Sabbath Day give an address to the children of a Sunday school and have them sing that beautiful hymn, "There is sunshine in my soul to-day," and in the evening gather "the boys" around him and teach them all the villainous scoundrelisms of ballot switching, etc., I do not believe you could get anybody connected with the Tory party, not even an organizer, to join in the same practices. He might be just as bad, but the Tory organizer would sit around his hotel, smoking cigars and swapping stories all Sunday, and then go upstairs and——

An hon. MEMBER: And send telegrams.

Mr. RICHARDSON: That Tory organizer might teach the boys pretty much the same methods or practices as the apostle of the old so-called Liberalism, but he would not play the hypocrite. It is just possible that after I sit down some member may rise and say, "What do you think of the member for Springfield? Why, he was himself unseated on one occasion for bribery and corruption?" Just to anticipate that, I want to say that in the election after I made that speech and announced that I would so vote, I was deprived of the nomination in Lisgar, and I ran as an Independent candidate. The Conservatives did not nominate, and while the other party did, yet I was elected by a large majority, somewhere between three and four hundred. Now, I swore to my own election expenses being within five hundred dollars, and the constituency was one hundred miles long and fifty miles broad, so that there could not be much corruption.

Mr. McCREA: You ran very cheap.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Mr. Speaker, I rise to a new point of order. It is very interesting to know the personal political history of the hon. member but I do not think it has anything to do with the subject under discussion.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I was anticipating what might be said, Mr. Speaker, when I would not have an opportunity of replying.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. member has a right to be heard on the point of order.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I would certainly not refer to the matter at all if nothing were likely to be said impugning my political honesty; but inasmuch as I may not

have an opportunity to explain it after the anticipated misrepresentation is made I would like to say a word about the matter now.

An hon. MEMBER: Nobody said anything about it.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I would not think of intruding my personal political affairs upon the House except to anticipate something that might be said.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think the hon. member (Mr. Richardson) should have an opportunity of, and would be in order in, saying anything which relates to himself in connection with electoral frauds or corruption.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I was going to say—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. RICHARDSON: Well, I did not catch the point.

Mr. BUREAU: You understand it too well.

Mr. RICHARDSON: All right, Jacques. I was just going to say, Mr. Speaker, that I ran as as an Independent candidate, but the Conservatives in the constituency supported me very largely. I had no idea generally who the workers were. But after I was elected by a large majority I took issue with the Conservative party at the following session of the House on a very important railway matter touching Manitoba. Mr. Bourassa, then the member for Labelle, supported me, as did also Mr. Charlton and some other members, but I offended the Conservative organization. So they conspired with Mr. Sifton, who was Minister of Elections in the Government, and with Bob Rogers, who was Minister of Elections on the other side, and they decided to have me unseated—

Mr. McMASTER: They are both now on the same side.

Mr. RICHARDSON: —and of course they succeeded in getting some obscure party heelers, whose names I did not know and had never heard of, to swear that teams were hired. Two judges heard the case. They are dead now and have gone to their reward either down or up—I suspect down —and therefore I can criticise them. A bribe was dangled before those two judges whilst they were considering their verdict. One was to be appointed to the Supreme Court, and the other to the Chief Justiceship of Manitoba. As a result those judges, notwithstanding the flimsy and absurd nature of the evidence, gave their decision against me and they both received the respective official bribes of promotion shortly after they rendered their iniquitous judgment.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. RICHARDSON: —and I was unseated.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. RICHARDSON: That is all. Now, before I sit down, I am going to say something that will probably appeal to hon. gentlemen opposite. If I were to suggest that electoral corruption had been or was confined to one party or the other in the old days I do not think I would deserve the respect of fair-minded men. I think the "honours" (putting quotation marks on the word) in the matter of electoral corruption have always been about even between the old parties. It was a case of scoundrelism on both sides. Having referred to electoral corruption in elections where the old so-called Liberal party was concerned, I want to say that later on I ran at a by-election in the electoral division of Macdonald.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. RICHARDSON: Yes, they will say "hear, hear." You see, it all depends on whose ox is gored.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: No, we do not want him.

Mr. RICHARDSON: When you say some little thing and it pleases one side they will all giggle and say "hear, hear;" and ditto with the other side: the middle course is the correct one. I ran in the Macdonald by-election as an Independent and as a supporter of reciprocity, in which I strongly believed at that time, and still believe. I am free here to confess that I do not think the records of Hades could be searched for a class of electoral scoundrelism such as was practised against me in that election. Why, Sir, men went about armed with a bundle of blank warrants a night or two before the election, and if they found anybody working for me or likely to be of any use to me they just filled in the man's name, gathered him in, and then a day of two after they filled in the crime of which he was supposed to be accused.

Two men were caught personating in that election—caught red-handed. They were seized by the police and taken to the police station, and their trial was set for eleven o'clock the next morning. Well, would you believe it?—the magistrate, who stood in with the gang at that time, had these men

brought before him at nine or ten o'clock the next morning, long before the time set for their trial. He imposed nominal fines upon them and let them depart, which they hurriedly did. When the lawyers on the other side came along later and were wanting to inquire into the matter, and one of the under-strappers was giving some particulars, the magistrate stopped him with the exclamation: "God Almighty, you are giving the whole snap away!" I just mention that to show that I want to be perfectly fair in denouncing election crookedness. Election corruption is bad, no matter where it is found or by whom practised. I have tried in my humble way to oppose election corruption; I believe that it is a dangerous thing for the country and a very dangerous thing for the party that indulges in it. I believe that such a thing reacts upon the party which has anything to do with it. I believe that a party will receive more votes and have a much better chance of success if it does the square thing on the occasion of the holding of elections.

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers and St. Maurice): Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to devote any time to answering the remarks of the member for Springfield (Mr. Richardson), because he has been discussing matters which are far afield from the motion which we are now considering. I suppose that my hon. friend felt the necessity of making himself believe that he was alive, because he quoted from remarks that he made twenty years ago. I congratulate him upon having the courage to go back that far. I am always afraid to look back that far; time seems to pass very quickly and I would much rather look ahead than look behind. But whatever his political conduct may have been; whatever his remorse may have been—

Mr. RICHARDSON: No remorse.

Mr. BUREAU: Then my hon. friend is a more hardened sinner than I thought he was. Whatever his actions for the future are to be is a matter for my hon. friend himself to settle.

The question before you, Mr. Speaker, is embodied in a motion calling upon this House to recommend the appointment of a committee to investigate "the existence of a widespread system of manipulation of votes, under the direction and with the approval of ministers of the Crown, for the purpose of defeating the will of the Canadian people as expressed at the polls." That is the question at issue.

The motion gives a reason for this request for a committee of investigation when it goes on to say:

> Such scheme of manipulation involves not only the honour of the ministers concerned, but the constitutional rights of the people.

I would be willing to exonerate the minister if he only were concerned, because he is only one man, and one man is very little when it comes to considering a whole country. But there is the question of the constitutional rights of the people. You know as well as I do, Mr. Speaker, that for some time there has been an impression among most of the people of the country that the last election was not carried on as it should have been. Some of the people are convinced of this—they are the people who have had a chance to talk with those who are conversant with the facts. There are others who are certain that the election was stolen—I use the word advisedly—that the election was stolen, and that the result did not actually represent the wish or will of the people; and those who know this are the men who were the actors in the conspiracy to steal the election.

Now, we are asking that this matter be investigated. The Minister of the Interior (Hon. Mr. Meighen) answers: You have not made a prima facie case, and the time to make it is now—this with a great tragedy gesture. We must first show that ballots have been switched and that there has been manipulation of the voters who went to the poll to express their views.

The Speaker of this House is the First Commoner; he it is who guides the proceedings and guards the honour of this House. For the purpose of winning your sympathy, Mr. Speaker, and in order that you may see fit to advise the Government to grant this committee, I shall refer more particularly to those votes which are most familiar to you. I want to show that there has been manipulation, and I shall do so by relating certain facts, giving a few examples of the votes as they were cast, and stating how they were cast in the county of Cumberland, Nova Scotia.

Captain W. H. Burke was the deputy presiding officer at Ashdown in the county of Surrey, England, on the occasion of the last election. The ballot box number was 175. Now, certain evidence with regard to the polling in this constituency is under the control of the House, or can be obtained if the House wants to obtain it. I do not want to weary the House with unnecessary details; I will give a few names and figures for the benefit

of those who may be inclined to doubt the correctness of the statements which I make but which I am prepared to prove from the public records.

A certain number of votes were polled and counted in Cumberland, Nova Scotia. First let me take the Act as interpreted and explained to the House by the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) himself. He said that there was a certain class of soldiers who in the last contest had the right to choose the constituency in which they should vote. You will note, Mr. Speaker, that the soldier had that right, not the deputy presiding officer or any one else. (Reading):

> They were those who being British subjects had not resided for any four months of the year preceding enrolment in a particular county and who besides had never at any time lived in Canada. If a man had resided for four months or more in any electoral district, there his vote could count and nowhere else. If he could not specify an electoral district wherein he had resided for the time mentioned but could specify a place in a certain constituency in which he had at any time resided his vote could count in that constituency and nowhere else.
>
> If he was a British subject and had at no time resided in this country, there was no place to which Parliament could with propriety allot his vote and the only way to give him the franchise was to permit him—

I want to underline the word "him," because there lies the whole thing. It was not the deputy presiding officer, not the minister, not the military officer, who had that right, but the soldier himself who came to cast his vote, who had had no residence in Canada, but who was a British subject and had the right to vote. (Reading):

> The only way to give him the franchise was to permit him to select his constituency. Will hon. gentlemen suggest any other way of giving that soldier the franchise? Did hon. gentleman suggest any other way in the session of 1917?

I do not object to that, Mr. Speaker. There was the law. The minister said, while putting up a so-called defence, that the impression had been created abroad that any soldier could throw his vote wherever he pleased, and as evidence of this impression going abroad and being entertained by men of prominence, he cited the case of Isaac Campbell, of Winnipeg, a prominent lawyer, who took the trouble to telephone the minister and ascertain whether in reading the Act he had not failed to see something which would justify this impression. The minister said: No, there is nothing.

The minister says that he was not the sponsor of the Bill, but he must have been acquainted with every detail of it, because he took a very active part in the discussion at that time. Although the Minister of Justice (Hon. Mr. Doherty) was the sponsor, the Minister of the Interior must have had something to do with the Bill. No man knew better what the Bill meant, what it was intended to convey, to what extent the soldiers would have the right to vote and in what manner they should cast their votes.

It was the duty of the Government to protect every one of the deputy presiding officers or presiding officers at that election; to instruct them in their duties, so that the soldiers could not be misled and so that nothing wrong could be done. My hon. friends may yell "corruption," as a common thing; they may say whatever they please; but this Act was an Act of Parliament, and Parliament had entrusted the Government through its officers to see that the Act was enforced honestly and legally. Therefore, I conclude that all these officers must have received from the Government, or from the proper authority, such instructions as would permit them not only to guide but to force the soldiers to live within the law and to cast their votes according to the law.

The minister says: Come out now and show us the telegram, and where is the fraud? I will come to that in a little while. What I want to show now is the switching of the ballots. In order to do that I must give the number of the ballot box, the name of the deputy presiding officer, the number and name of the soldier, the residence of the soldier as ascertained from the records of the Militia Department, where he enrolled, and how he voted. I take the county of Cumberland.

No. 9481, F. A. Finnimore, swore that he resided in Springhill. When we come to ascertain what this is, you find that the real name is W. G. Parsons, 3 Mark street, Toronto. This man voted in the county of Cumberland, N. S.. The next is No. 183232, F. Withip, who swore that he resided in Springhill. Upon looking up the records of the Militia Department, we find that his residence is given as Calgary, Alberta. No. 1245, J. Stott, swore that he resided in Springhill. The Militia Department records show that he was from Toronto. No. 709917, J. Ellis Gagne, swore that he resided in Springhill. He is from Albert county, N. B., and enlisted in Sussex. No. 183268, E. Alfred Hayball, swore that he resided in Springhill. Upon looking up the records of the Militia Department, we find his residence to be given

as Calgary. No. 120345, W. Watson, swore that he resided in Springhill. The records show that he resided in Sherbrooke. No. 835021, Leonard Owles, swore that he resided in Springhill. The records show that he resided in Kingston, Ontario. No. 901087, E. L. Skerry, swore that he resided in Springhill. The records show that he resided in Colchester country. No. 417502, P. E. Vermette, comes from 880 Dorion street, Montreal. Yet he voted in Cumberland.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): His vote would do the most good there.

Mr. BUREAU: I have pages of this. This is as far as Springhill is concerned. Let us see how votes were polled in Amherst. These are some of the names that are given: No. 457723, J. H. Skinner, swore that he resided in Amherst. On looking up the records of the Militia Department, we find that Mr. Skinner is a resident of Montreal, Que. No. 406212, Sgt. Wiseman, swore that he resided in Amherst. We find that his residence is in Brantford, but that he enlisted at Hamilton, Ontario. No. 736956, A. Russell, swore he resided in Amherst. We find from the records of the Militia Department that his residence was in Lethbridge. No. 802638, Henry Edgett, swore that he resided in Amherst, but his residence is given as Ealing, Ontario, and he enlisted at London, Ontario. No. 725523, J. R. Wood, swore that he resided in Amherst. The records show that his residence is in Fenelon Falls, Ontario.

Sir SAM HUGHES: What is the name, please?

Mr. BUREAU: Mr. J. R. Wood, Fenelon Falls.

Sir SAM HUGHES: That is in my constituency.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): That is one of your votes.

Mr. GLASS: He ought to be all right.

Mr. BUREAU: I do not say that these men are not all right, and that is the reason why I say that a committee should be granted. Every one of these boys was all right, but he was induced to vote all wrong through all sorts of threats and misrepresentations, and that is why we are asking for this committee.

Sir SAM HUGHES: How does the hon. member know that Wood did not vote for me?

Mr. BUREAU: He may have voted for the hon. member; but if the hon. member goes to ballot box No. 175, with Deputy Presiding Officer Captain W. H. Burke, he will find that a man by the name of J. R. Wood, bearing number 725523, who enlisted, voted in Cumberland, Nova Scotia; but when you take the same number and the same name from the records of the Militia Department, it will be found that this gentleman is from Fenelon Falls, Ontario. It is not up to me to explain that. I am sorry my hon. friend was deprived of that vote, because I am satisfied it would have been a fairer vote given in the proper place and perhaps for the proper man—who knows?

Sir SAM HUGHES: He could not return to Fenelon Falls to vote. Was he not entitled to vote at the place where he was stationed?

Mr. BUREAU: Why was he not?

Sir SAM HUGHES: Yes.

Mr. BUREAU: Because the law says so.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I understood the law gave a man the opportunity——

Mr. BUREAU: No, I just read the law as explained by the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen). Perhaps some other gentleman may be interested.

The next man was No. 198813, Mr. A. Wolmsley, who swore that he resided in Amherst, in the county of Cumberland, and whose residence appears from the records of the Militia Department to be Dryden, Ontario. No. 625333 is another Wood, Mr. G. H. Wood, who came from Alberta. There is no particular place of residence given, but he swore that he resided in Amherst. No. 907720 is John Young, who came from Regina, Sask., and so on. As I said, I do not desire to weary the House with all these things; but the Speaker being a man interested, I thought I would take a few of those names out of hundreds, that he might go to the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster), the Acting Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and insist that they should tell their supporters to grant this investigation.

I have another list from Oxford in the same county. Perhaps I shall find some names of men coming from ridings of some of my hon. friends who think they have been cheated out of their votes.

Mr. McKENZIE: Was that vote for Cumberland county polled in England or Canada?

Mr. BUREAU: I could not say. It was polled in the presence of Captain W. H. Burke, Deputy Presiding Officer. I understand that he is a relative of Mr. Speaker, a brother-in-law, or a cousin, or some other relation. He seems to have been very sympathetic, even if not related. All I have here is the number of the ballot box, the name of the Deputy Presiding Officer, the names of the men who voted, the residence they swore to, and the actual residence according to the records of the Militia Department.

Sir SAM HUGHES: In the case of that gentleman who had the honour of coming from Victoria County, he was stationed at Amherst, I presume. Where else could he have voted but at Amherst?

Mr. BUREAU: Physically speaking he could have voted nowhere else, but the law allowed him to apply his vote in the county where he resided.

Sir SAM HUGHES: How do you know he did not?

Mr. BUREAU: He voted for the candidate in Cumberland county. That is why he swore he resided there. I could not vouch for it, but it is the fact that the vote was actually polled in England. Here are the names of other men who swore they resided in Oxford, but whom the militia records show as living somewhere else. Sergeant Sweet, No. 54147, swore he resided in Oxford, whereas the military records give his residence at London, Ontario. Pte. G. B. Harris, No. 113276, swore he resided in Oxford, whereas his residence is given as in Peterborough. He enlisted at Ottawa. Pte. D. A. Robertson, No. 412847, swore he resided in Oxford. He enlisted at Lindsay, Ontario. There are others who swore they resided at Tidnish, but whom the record shows were residents of Hamilton, Valcartier, Regina, Toronto, Brandon or Edmonton. Others swore they resided at Joggin Mines in the county of Cumberland, whereas their residence was at Pembroke, St. John, New Brunswick, London or Montreal. Others swore they resided at Shulie, whereas their residence was at Montreal, Toronto, or St. Catharines. Others swore they resided at Nappan or Pugwash, but not one of them resided there.

I think we have shown that there was something done with the ballots. Now, let us see the manner of allocating the votes of military electors to constituencies other than where they were legally entitled to vote. Take the roster of the 208th Battalion. The number of names on this list is 656. The military electors whose addresses we have been able to trace with the limited means at our disposal, and who voted in constituencies other than where they were entitled to vote, number 240. This official roster was issued in May, 1917. At the date of the election Lieutenant-Colonel W. P. Malone, of Owen Sound, was commanding officer and presiding officer. There were 766 votes polled by this battalion, of which 541 were apparently fraudulently switched to different Ontario constituencies. Of course, the discrepancy between the names on the list and the number of votes polled may be explained away by saying the men were transferred to this battalion, but that is not satisfactory to me.

Let me summarize. I find by this roster that constituencies received switched ballots as follows: First of all, I will take the officers: South Bruce, 1; South Essex, 2; South Oxford, 2; Kent, 2; total, 7. Now the men: South Bruce, 34; South Essex, 42; South Oxford, 67; Kent, 28; North Waterloo, 27; South Waterloo, 7; North York, 27; South Ontario, 2; South Renfrew, 1; Brant, 3; Ottawa, 1; Durham, 1; total, 240. That is the number we have been able to ascertain. I have got the name and number of each man who voted, his country of birth and residence. Surely these men, who had been in Canada, should have voted where they resided. The names and addresses of these 240 men can all be verified by the records of the Militia Department. These people refused to answer questions 6, 7 and 8. In order to connect the authorities, my friends the ministers, and those they were instructing with the whole scheme I shall read a letter which was written by Mr. W. P. Purney, in England, as follows:

47 Victoria Street, S.W. 1,
28th January, 1918.

To Special Returning Officers and Clerks at London, appointed under the provisions of the Military Voters' Act, 1917.

Having been requested for a decision where questions 6, 7, and 8, on the voters' envelopes are unanswered, but question No. 9 fixes an electoral district, I decide that in all such cases, such envelope shall be allocated to the electoral district thereon named.

W. P. Purney,
Assistant Clerk of the Crown in Chancery for Canada.
London, 28-1-18.

I do not see how the Government can evade the responsibility, so far as that is concerned. Either this man was particularly

instructed or he was not, and if he was not it was his duty to get particular instructions.

Talk about influencing voters! There was a conspiracy among men immediately under the control of the Government to influence voters, and they influenced them not only without reprimand, but were promoted for so doing. I hold in my hand a circular letter addressed "To My Comrades in Canada," by H. A. Machin, Lieut.-Col. late O.C. 94th Overseas Battalion, and late O.C. 1st Canadian Labour Battalion B.E.F.

This Lt.-Colonel Machin, Mr. Speaker, was the very gentleman who I believe was charged with the oversight and proper enforcement of the Military Service Act so far as the province of Quebec was concerned.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: He was the director.

Mr. BUREAU: He was directing the enforcement of the Military Service Act, a legal procedure which we were assured was carried out without bias or prejudice, and with an eye single to absolute justice to all. We were told that the enforcement of the Act would be carried out in such a manner as to merit no criticism whatever, but events have shown how vain were our expectations in this regard. I shall not read the whole of the circular because I have no intention to cumber Hansard. But let us see how broadminded and fair, how scrupulously just was this gentleman—who of course, had no sympathy with any particular party and was actuated with nothing but a keen desire to see the Act properly enforced and fair play done to all. Let us see what this just and unprejudiced man said:

> If Laurier wins (which God forbid) what will be the result? Your wounds and suffering were in vain—your 30,000 comrades asleep in France and Flanders all died in vain—their widows and children have suffered in vain—all the hardship, suffering and sacrifice endured will have gone for naught—for a vote for Laurier, or any one of his candidates, is equivalent to a vote for the Kaiser himself.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Shame!

Mr. BUREAU: (Reading):

> Laurier would quit the war—he'd take a referendum—what an insult and mockery to you and our dead. 'Shun! You're warned for duty. Your last Duty—on the 17th December, 1917.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: He was an officer of the Government.

Mr. BUREAU: This, Mr. Speaker, was the gentleman who was supposed to be a fair and impartial judge appointed to administer the Military Service Act, and who was kept in office after this circular had been issued. I am satisfied that no reasonable person will doubt that the Government was aware that this circular had been printed. I am satisfied in my own mind, and I am confident that any reasonable and rational man with the least modicum of intellect who does not care to allow his prejudice and bias to run away with him is also satisfied, that this was done with the full knowledge of the Government. But there must have been some inducement for the writer of the circular to pen such a fervent appeal on behalf of the cause it advocates.

Now, I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that having shown that ballots had been tampered with — and I have addressed myself particularly to the First Commoner so that he may exercise his influence to see that the House shall take proper action in granting a committee;—having shown that those who were under the immediate control of the Justice Department,—because I consider that Lieut.-Col. Machin came under that department;—were acting as they did, trying unduly to influence the ballots;—having shown all this, and the fact that this could not be an isolated case but must have been the result of an organization, what conclusion can we come to? Why, Mr. Speaker, the conclusion naturally forces itself upon us that the organization that undoubtedly influenced these matters was the creation of the Government, presided over by whom? By the gentleman who sent the telegram, of course. As I said a moment ago, no man was more conversant with the details of the Military Voters' Act than was the Minister of the Interior. Now what does the telegram say? My hon. friend from Waterloo (Mr. Euler) said just now that the minister asked for votes at large, but where, in the Act, did he find even the possibility of such a thing as a vote at large? There was absolutely none. But as the hon. member for Waterloo remarked, the climax is reached at the end of the telegram when the minister asks for a division of the votes or the same proportion "no matter what our allotment may be".

Now, Sir, by virtue of what authority could a member of the House—at least an honourable man who desired to be scrupulously just —have an allotment of votes "at large" made in his favour? The act distinctly laid it down that the voter himself should indicate the place where he would vote; and there is a further provision—I am speaking from memory, but I have a recollection of it—

whereby it was incumbent on the presiding officer to use every endeavour to ascertain precisely what the will of the soldier was, so as to preclude any possibility of his vote being switched. I think, Sir, that a prima facie case has been established beyond any shadow of doubt. You do not have to produce the evidence that a man has committed murder before you may empanel a jury. If a man is charged with an offence a proper tribunal is constituted to establish his guilt or innocence, and you cannot try an offender unless there is a tribunal. Now we ask for a tribunal and if it is granted we will adduce the proof. Surely that is sufficient justification for one. What is the answer? My hon. friend the Minister of the Interior, who invariably is very adroit, dancing on one foot and then on the other, begins with the unsatisfactory and vague assertion: "I do not remember sending the telegram." Well, Mr. Speaker, I am not very familiar with the proceedings of petty courts in one particular respect, but I am informed that this is the precise answer that is made to the presiding dignitary in the morning by the man who happened to be boisterous the night before in the condition when his head feels rather too big for his shoulders: "I don't remember." But supposing—so argues the minister—supposing he did send the telegram, what of it? "Supposing I did send the telegram? I would not send it to the Prime Minister." That, Sir, reminds one of the man who says: "Even if I do get full you cannot smell gin on me; I take rye." This sort of contention does not become an honourable man. The minister does not deny the fact that the telegram was sent. On the contrary, he tacitly admits it, and in that admission he pleads guilty to the charge. We are not even bound to make out a prima facie case—although we have done so in no uncertain way—because the honourable minister pleads guilty. But he goes further, and it is just here that he corroborates the arguments of the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie). He says, speaking about the telegram: "If it ever existed, it may have been sent by some one under the authority of the general committee—I do not know. If it was sent by the organization, then I have no desire to repudiate the message; none whatever." "If it was sent by the organization" —that is what we claim, Mr. Speaker. We say that there was an organization, and our contention is that the moving spirit of it was the Minister of Interior. He does not repudiate the organization, yet he says: Produce the telegram! I repeat, Sir, that it is not incumbent on us to produce our evidence except before a competent tribunal. Every member, the Minister of Interior first of all, will bear me out in this doctrine. What defence does he make? His sole defence is a patriotic ebullition of intense fervor, in which he takes the opportunity to throw some of his slimy aspersions on hon. members on this side, whom he calls slackers. I have been opposed to conscription. It was said that such opposition was cowardly. Well, Mr. Speaker, in the presence of my God I am proud to say that I had manhood enough, notwithstanding every allegation of cowardice made against me, to stand firm by my conviction. I have no charge to make against any man. It has always been my belief that every man should be free to act as he saw fit under such circumstances, and I believe so still. But in 1914 when war was declared the Minister of the Interior was then 38 years of age. Mind, Sir, I do not say this in order to disparage the hon. member. But the fact is that the minister was going about the country proclaiming that he wanted the last man and the last dollar obtainable in the country, and everybody had eyes upon him. He was a prominent figure in the Cabinet and in this Chamber and he was a light in the country, so much so that one day, rightly or wrongly, rumour went abroad that he had enlisted. And I am told that he was flooded with so many telegrams of congratulation, starting from the Canadian Club in Winnipeg, that he was perplexed and knew not what to do. I have nothing to say against the minister in this respect, Sir, but when charges are being made that certain people are slackers and are white-livered, these statements being made to reflect on the honour of those against whom they are directed, then I think I am justified in saying that the Minister of the Interior must bear in mind that the country is aware of the fact that he was born in 1876, and knows that when he was, with such great enthusiasm, calling for men throughout the country there was something else for him to do besides screaming such epithets as "white-livered slackers" at his neighbours. I repeat, Sir, that I do not reproach any man with failure to do his duty by his country; but I want the country to know the state of affairs, that is all.

A line of argument has been adduced that has surprised me. We are fighting in regard to this matter not on account of electoral corruption but for a principle; we

are fighting for the very basic principle of democracy, liberty and free institutions. If we are to fight for these things we want to take conditions as they exist and we want a fair fight. I think the statement which has been made with regard to the Minister of the Interior has made plain these conditions. May I add that when he says that we are at the other extremity of the patriotic thermometer, his patriotic currency has been largely discounted by me ever since I looked at the Parliamentary Companion and found how old he was and what his history had been.

The most unspeakable of all crimes is to violate the sanctity of the grave and to lay profane hands upon the dead. When there is an earthquake, a fire or a civil disturbance, with loss of life in some great city, the order first to be given and most readily obeyed is to shoot down without mercy the ghoul found looting the bodies of the dead. But the ghoul who merely takes a few pennies from the body of a stranger lying dead upon the street is a petty offender in comparison with the vampire who breaks into the sacred tomb of the honoured dead and seeks to filch from the departed his good name and reputation. In every well conducted cemetery men are employed to drive away and exterminate the loathsome animals that defile and despoil the mounds that mark the last resting place of the dead. The police run down with vigilance, and the law summarily punishes, the grave robbers and the body snatchers. Why have we no fitting punishment for the more obscene and degraded malefactors who violate the scancity of the grave? Now, I want to refer to some of those who have gone down to to the cemetery and opened the grave of one for whom we have the greatest reverence for the purpose of trying to make a political argument. The hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) quoted the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier as having said:

> Well, no great mistake could be made if the Grits should undertake to fight the enemy with the devil's fire.

That cannot be found in the speech delivered on the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne in 1906 by the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. My leader asked the hon. member for Red Deer this question:

> Mr. McKenzie: Would the hon. gentleman mind giving me the page of Hansard and the subject in connection with which Sir Wilfrid Laurier said he was no purist?

The hon. member for Red Deer replied:

> It was in the debate on the address in the year 1906. I have not the page, unfortunately.

He says further:

> I was comparatively a stranger in this country when I read that statement, but I must say it horrified me considerably. I think I understood Sir Wilfrid as well as most other men.

It was not to establish the position of the hon. member for Red Deer in this House that he made that quotation. The quotation was made, whatever his protestations may have been, for the purpose of hurting the feelings of the men who sit on your left, Mr. Speaker, and who have the greatest reverence for the memory of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier as they had the greatest reverence for himself when he lived. I repudiate the aspersion that has been cast upon the memory of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the fact that such an argument is resorted to is one reason for granting us a committee. The side issues which have been introduced to gratify various instincts and to serve as an answer to the charge which has been made are not only flimsy but unworthy of members of Parliament.

At six o'clock the House adjourned.

Thursday, October 2, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

MEMORIAL TO THE LATE LIEUT.-COL. BAKER, M.P.

Mr. W. F. KAY (Missisquoi) submitted the first report of the special committee appointed to consider the matter of the erection of a memorial to the late Lieutenant-Colonel Baker, M.P., as follows:

> The Special Committee of the House of Commons appointed to act with a like committee of the Senate and to confer and act with the Committee of the Senate and House of Commons who have in charge the building and arrangement of the new Parliament Building, in order that there may be erected therein a suitable memorial to the late Lieutenant-Colonel George Harold Baker, M.P., for Brome, beg leave to make their first report as follows:
>
> Your Committee recommend:
>
> 1. That Mr. John Pearson, Architect-in-charge of the new Parliament Buildings, be instructed to communicate with Major R. Tait McKenzie, M.D., and obtain from him such suggestions as he may be able to give, and to engage him to complete the said Memorial.
>
> 2. That the Minister of Public Works be requested to take the action necessary to give effect to the foregoing recommendation.
>
> All of which is respectfully submitted.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk).

M.S.A. DEFAULTERS.

Mr. GAUVREAU:

1. What is the amount of the fines collected in the counties of Temiscouata and Kamouraska through the conviction of the defaulters, up to the present day?
2. What is the number of men from the Federal Police who have been engaged in the pursuit of the defaulters in the said counties?
3. What is the amount of the expenses occasioned by the maintenance of these men from the Federal Police up to this day in the said counties?
4. Has the Chief of the said police or his men the right to divide the fines between themselves? If not, what are the respective salaries of the chief and his men?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. $12,910.
2. From six to ten men.
3. $4,888.73.
4. No. The salaries of the inspector and men in the said counties are from $3 to $5 per diem.

NICKEL—CORRESPONDENCE WITH PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

Mr. PEDLOW:

1. Was the Government advised during the war by Mr. Ratham of the Providence Journal that evidence existed indicating that Canadian nickel was still finding its way to Germany?
2. Was this evidence submitted in documentary form to the then Solicitor General, Honourable Arthur Meighen?
3. If so, what was the date on which it was received and what action was taken theron and when?
4. Were the documents in question returned to Mr. Ratham?
5. If so, were they returned at his request and when?
6. Will the Government produce all correspondence with Mr. Ratham relating to the nickel question?

Hon. Mr. MEIGHEN: I can answer this question verbally; perhaps it is better that I should do so, in view of the interest in the subject at the present time. The answers are as follows:

1. No.
2. No.
3. Answered by No. 2.
4, 5 and 6. There is no such correspondence.

MAJOR JOHN McKINLEY.

Mr. d'ANJOU:

1. What position does Major John McKinley hold in the Government service?
2. What is the salary attached to such position?

Major-General MEWBURN:

1. He is a quartermaster in the Canadian Army Medical Corps, employed in the directorate of the Director General of Medical Services as officer in charge of Conservation of Food Supplies and Utilization of By-products.

2. The pay and allowance of his rank as an officer in the Canadian Army Medical Corps, Canadian Expeditionary Force.

ST. JOHNS BARRACKS.

Mr. DEMERS:

1. Is it the intention of the Government to station a garrison at the barracks at St. Johns, Quebec?
2. If so, when?
3. If not, why?

Major-General MEWBURN:

1. Yes.
2. When quarters, which are now being repaired, are ready for occupation.
3. Answered by No. 2.

PRIVATE BENOIT.

Mr. PAPINEAU:

1. Why is it that the estate of Private Benoit, No. 120591, killed at the front on the 27th of August, 1918, is not yet settled?
2. When can the mother of this private hope for a settlement?

Major-General MEWBURN: It is presumed that the hon. member has reference to No. 120591, Pte. Benoit Bougie.

There is at present a credit balance of $35.34 in favour of this man's estate. Mrs. Bougie was overpaid $210 separation allowance on account of her other son, No. 3166935, Pte. Leo Bougie. She was requested to refund this amount, and, in reply, she stated that she was not in a position to make the refund, but would consent that the amount overpaid be retained out of the amount which would become due to her in respect of No. 120591, Pte. Benoit Bougie. As there is only a balance due from this latter son's estate of $35.34, Mrs. Bougie still owes the Government the sum of $174,-66. She would have been advised of this earlier, but the pay account has only just been received with the consignment of London files.

CANADIAN SOLDIERS SENTENCED IN ENGLAND.

On the Orders of the Day:

Sir EDWARD KEMP (Minister of the Overseas Military Forces): Mr. Speaker, I have been asked on several occasions for information regarding members of the Overseas Military Forces in Canada who are detained in England under sentences of varying periods. Considering the large number of soldiers who were sent overseas, I think that the figures which I am about to give will be considered as very satisfac-

tory and as indicating that the conduct of our soldiers was most exemplary and the discipline excellent. It will probably be found that the number that it was necessary to convict for various causes would be much less than the number that would be cnvicted of offences from amongst the civil population of Canada during a similar period.

Several months ago I requested Judge Dennistoun, of Winnipeg, who was Deputy Judge Advocate General of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada, to return to England from Winnipeg for the purpose of reviewing these cases individually, the object being to look into the matter carefully and, if possible, to reduce or commute the sentences. The policy was to exercise as much leniency as was possible under all the circumstances. Colonel Dennistoun did review the cases and he submitted a report upon each case; that report is available to any member of the House who desires to see it.

The figures to which I have referred are contained in the following statement:

Analysis of report of Deputy Judge Advocate General, O.M.F.C., on Revision of Sentences.

Total number of members of O.M.F.C. in prison on 1st July, 1919, undergoing sentences imposed by military tribunals	170
Sentenced by military tribunals between 1st July, 1919, and 1st September, 1919	29
Total number of members of O.M.F.C. in prison on 1st July, 1919, undergoing sentences imposed by civil authorities..	46
Sentenced by civil authorities between 1st July, 1919, and 1st September, 1919.. ..	29
Total..	274
Number of military sentences:	
(a) Remitted..	77
(b) Commuted in part from imprisonment to detention barracks..	90
Number of cases in which no action in respect to sentence was recommended.. ..	86
Number of cases reserved for future consideration..	16
Number of civil sentences for the commutation of which application to the Home Secretary has been made..	5
	274
Date of release of prisoners:	
Number of prisoners who have been released from imprisonment between 1st July, and 1st September, 1919.. ..	74
Numbers of prisoners to be released during months of: September, 1919.. ..	22
October, "	24
November, "	34
December, "	32
January, 1920.. ..	42
(a) Number of prisoners whose sentences expire after January 31, 1920:	
(1) Where sentenced by military courts..	21
(2) Where sentenced by civil courts	25
	274

(a) These cases are where convictions are for murder, manslaughter, rape, burglary, larceny.

Number of cases not yet reviewed.. 5
(These cases have been tried in the civil courts within the past two weeks.)

That is two weeks prior to the 9th September last.

When prisoner is released from imprisonment and sent to detention barracks he is then retained only until his documentation is completed and arrangements for his sailing made.

DEPORTATION OF POLES AND UKRAINIANS.

On the Orders of the eDay:

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maisonneuve): Might I call the attention of the Government to the fact that several Poles and Ukrainians are being deported to their native countries? I am asking on behalf of these Poles and Ukrainians that the Government consider their ca es very carefully, as they claim that they are not alien enemies. I would say that the Government does not take any action without full knowledge in each particular case; but as these people are being deported to their countries where the cost of living is, according to their information, simply exorbitant and as they claim to be friendly aliens, they ask the Government to consider each case very carefully. There are at present some at the camp—I do not venture to pronounce the name.

Mr. DOHERTY: Kapuskasing.

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend is more familiar with the name than I. I would like him to look up the records in order to see if they should really be considered as enemy aliens.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY ((Minister of Justice): As I understand the matter, no one is being deported exclusively on the ground that he is a Pole or a Ukrainian where he comes under the conditions which, under the Treaty, would give him the nationality of the newly-created country. There are cases of men claiming to be Poles or Ukrainians and in some instances deportation has taken place, but it has been upon the ground of the undesirability of the individual man in any case where it has been shown that he is really a Pole or a Ukrainian. Of course, there are the cases of some men who have claimed to be Poles or Ukrainians, but who have not been in a position to establish the fact. The principle is that a man is not deported simply because he be a man of the nationality of

any of the countries which are now friendly aliens. Of course, where he happens to be an undesirable man, he should be dealt with on the basis of his undesirability.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I would ask my hon. friend to remember that many of these foreigners are very ignorant and have been kept in their own country mostly in servitude and perhaps unaware that they belong to another country friendly to the Allies. I would, therefore, like my hon. friend to weigh their cases very carefully.

Mr. DOHERTY: They are all carefully considered.

CIVIL SERVICE ACT, 1918—AMENDMENT.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE DISCUSSED ON SECOND READING OF BILL.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN moved second reading of Bill No. 18, to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. Mr. MACLEAN thereupon moved that the House go into committee on the Bill.

Mr. BUREAU: We have not the Bill.

Mr. MACLEAN: I desire to withdraw the motion, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of hon. members that the minister should have leave to withdraw his motion that the Bill be submitted to the Committee of the Whole House?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. SPEAKER: The motion for the second reading I declared "carried," but the minister desires now to speak upon the second reading. Is it the pleasure of the House that the minister should do so?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. BUREAU: Is the Bill distributed? I have not a copy of it.

Mr. MACLEAN: Yes, the Bill is distributed. In considering many Bills I must admit that in my experience there is no advantage in discussing the Bill in Committee of the Whole; but I anticipate there will be more or less discussion on the principle of this Bill and the Civil Service Act of 1918, which this Bill purposes amending. Therefore, probably it is in the interest of orderly debate that the discussion, if any, take place upon the second reading, and at least the few observations which I desire to make had better be made now.

The principal and important feature of this Bill is that it purposes asking Parliament for the ratification of the classification of the Civil Service, a work delegated to and imposed upon the Civil Service Commission by an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1918. The classification so-called was presented to Parliament at its last session and near its end, and the Government deemed it advisable not to push forward the Bill at that time, but to postpone its further consideration to this special session which was then in mind.

I assume that in the meantime hon. gentlemen have had an opportunity of perusing the classification, and that it is unnecessary for me to attempt to go into the minutiæ of the very voluminous report, which contains so many details of a varied character.

Mr. BUREAU: Do I understand that there has been a re-classification of the classification report which was distributed to hon. members last session?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The classification which was submitted to Parliament last session has been amended, and the amended report has been submitted to Parliament and distributed to hon. members. The classification submitted to Parliament last year was not in every case an object of commendation from the public, from the Civil Service, or from members of Parliament. Obviously and inevitably a work of that character was bound to contain weaknesses and errors. I cannot conceive that a work of that kind could possibly be carried out by any man or group of men without containing defects which are subject to correction. As I have already said, it was the view of the Government that members should have an opportunity of studying the classification submitted last session, and it was also deemed advisable to postpone its consideration in order that during the recess its provisions might be considered further by the Civil Service Commission. Shortly after the prorogation of Parliament last session a committee, known as the Board of Hearing and Recommendation, was set up by the Civil Service Commission. The Chairman of the Board was Mr. Jameson, of the Civil Service Commission, and he was aided by departmental representatives and representatives of the Civil Service, one of whom was a returned soldier. The board held many meetings during the recess and while it did

not have an opportunity of considering all the classes contained in the classification they made many recommendations, and the classification as changed in consequence of their deliberations was submitted to Parliament two or three days ago and has been distributed to hon. members.

I suppose it will be said that the classification as amended and now before Parliament is not entirely satisfactory. I should not be astonished if that is the case, nor would any reflecting man, I trust, because it is humanly impossible to expect a classification of the Civil Service of this country, comprising about sixty thousand persons, to be free from criticism.

I have frequently heard it said that the classification is the subject of much criticism by the Civil Service. Naturally, the Civil Service are interested in the matter. It is quite proper and legitimate that they should be, and that they should have every opportunity of submitting their objections to the proper authorities. However, I do not believe the classification should be condemned because some members of the service do not approve of it. The Civil Service is entitled to justice in this matter, and I feel sure that every hon. member of this House will do his utmost to see that justice is extended to that very large body, who after all are very largely interested in the administration of public affairs in this country. I think, however, I may safely say on behalf of the Civil Service of Canada that 99 per cent of them desire the adoption and approval of the classification by Parliament this session, and in its present form. Many of the organized branches of the Civil Service have expressed to me the view that while they appreciate the classification contains defects, and while they realize it may not be possible at this short session to give consideration to all the details, they prefer its adoption now rather than have it go over to another session.

I am much interested in what shall be the procedure in the consideration of this Bill, and I should like the very frank advice and direction of Parliament. If it is given, I shall endeavour to sense it in the very best way I can, and I shall follow what seems to me to be the wishes of the majority of hon. members, for after all any matters affecting the Civil Service are fundamentally and primarily as much a matter for Parliament as for the Government, and perhaps more so. Hon. gentlemen realize that it is impossible for me to attempt to explain all the minutiæ of the classification. I could not possibly do it, and I am sure hon. gentlemen will not expect me to attempt it. I should require an army of assistants upon the floor of the House, and even with that aid I fear it would take very many months before we could dispose of the matter if we were to go into all the details. It appears to me, therefore, and I wish to submit my own view frankly to the House that there are only two ways of dealing with this matter: Either accept the classification, as it now stands, in its entirety, or refer the same at once to a special committee of about twenty-five members who would give consideration to the matter and have the advice and assistance of the Civil Service Commission and their assistants, and hear from the Civil Service, from the public, and any body or bodies interested as to the principles involved in the classification. There is much to be said in favour of either course, and I am willing to accept whichever Parliament desires. There is this to say in favour of the adoption of the classification as it now stands: It would enable us to dispose of this particular item of business quickly and reach prorogation shortly, which I assume most hon. members desire as early as is reasonably possible. In making that statement I have a further view which I must give to the House, namely: that the Civil Service Bill, the second reading of which I am now moving, contains a provision that the Civil Service Commission may add to, take from, or amend the classification as it now stands, subject, of course, to the approval of the Governor in Council.

And behind that, of course, there is always to be remembered the fact that the Civil Service classification is inoperative and of no effect unless Parliament in the future votes the money with which to pay the civil servants. If the House is in favour of the reference of the Bill to a special committee I earnestly hope that we shall be in a position to do so at the close of to-day's proceedings in order that we may make some progress.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am not unconscious of the fact that there is a great deal of criticism of the Civil Service Act of 1918 and all that it involves. I have been just a little too long in public life not to have anticipated that criticism, not to have heard it and not to have clearly realized the reasons for it; and it is all, of course, quite natural to me. The Civil Service Act of 1918 was truly revolutionary.

Mr. BUREAU: What is that? Revolutionary?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes. It was truly revolutionary, but it should stand, if Parliament has the same view concerning it as was entertained in 1918, when the measure was passed. I trust that the view of Parliament then still holds. I desire to recall to the House the fact that in the general elections of 1917 the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) issued a statement to the public enunciating his programme, in which there was contained a reference to Civil Service reform. I think I should read the statement in regard to that point:

> Civil Service Reform, with a view to extending the principle of the present Civil Service Act to the outside service, and thus to abolish patronage and to make appointments to the public service upon the sole standard of merit. The Civil Service Commission has already been directed to make a report to the Prime Minister as to the necessary steps for that purpose. Such arrangements will be subject to the existing regulations, which give preference in appointments to returned soldiers who are duly qualified.

In pursuance of that pledge to the public, in the session of 1918, the Civil Service Act was introduced and was adopted by Parliament, and I think it is only fair to say that the measure received the almost unanimous support of this House.

Mr. BURNHAM: Does the Bill refer to promotion?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The Bill of 1918?

Mr. BURNHAM: I refer to the statement which the minister is making now with regard to the Bill. He says that the basic principle of it is merit. Does that refer to promotion?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes. It refers to merit in the personnel of the Civil Service. I was about to say that the Bill met with the unanimous approval of Parliament. The Opposition, I think, without exception approved of the principle of the measure, and I assume that their attitude is the same to-day.

Mr. BUREAU: There were some clauses which we fought pretty hard.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes, but I am referring to the principle of the Bill. On the Government side of the House, while there was some criticism as to detail, the measure in principle was accepted, and I think it is greatly to the credit of the supporters of the Ministry that they took the position they did in relation to that important measure. I am sure any one who has been in public life for any length of time realizes how natural it might be for members of

Parliament supporting a Government to have some disinclination to divest themselves of a long-established power of recommendation to office. Now, what did the Civil Service Act of 1918 mean? It meant, Mr. Speaker, that the Civil Service Commission was given the power of appointing to office the members of the Civil Service, and the Commission has since been operating to that end. The effect of the measure was to deprive members of Parliament of the power of recommending appointments to office, thus abolishing the practice of patronage, or whatever you wish to call it, which was long known in this country to be an attribute of members supporting the Government of the day.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Was that a power or a privilege?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: It matters not what the definition may be; the effect was practically the same. The Civil Service Act of 1918 was passed, and the classification is merely following out the direction of the statute; and therefore there is in my judgment very little reason why a consideration of that classification itself should involve very much time on the part of the House. The wisdom of that legislation may be questioned by some, and one can very readily realize how it may be attacked. I have no doubt it will change wonderfully party organization, and probably give colouring to the future politics of this country. Yet, I submit that the principle of the measure is sound, and has the approval of the country; and I am sure that the Parliament of Canada will never presume to alter that principle in the future, in the main, at least.

The Act has been in force for one year under the direction of the Civil Service Commission. Now, I know that the commission has been the subject of a great deal of criticism. Its members are not supermen and are not infallible, but I can say of them that they are good, faithful public servants who are doing as much and as good work as any other men in the public service of this country to-day. Naturally the Civil Service Commission will come in conflict with the wishes or views of members of Parliament, of members of the Government, and of great sections of the public; and so long as they are discharging a public duty which brings this about they are naturally open to very much criticism. I make this remark regarding the commission because I feel that they have been the subject of criticism which has not been alto-

gether fair. The commission is an independent body; if it were not it could not properly discharge its duties. I think therefore that Parliament should stand behind it or else abolish it altogether.

I know that supporters of the Liberal party will say that the Civil Service Commission is not doing its duty because in a certain case perhaps an applicant who happens to be a Liberal is not appointed.

Mr. BUREAU: In all cases.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I beg to differ from my hon. friend. On the other hand, it follows that some supporters of the other party who do not receive a favourable consideration of applications in which they are interested for appointments to public office may be inclined to feel that the judgment of the commission is unsound. It is of course obvious to every hon. member who chooses to reflect upon the matter that it is utterly impossible for the Civil Service Commission to please every applicant for public office. If they were able to do that they would indeed be supermen.

The Civil Service Commission has been criticised for employing as assistants in the classification work a firm belonging to the United States. I have seen it in the press, I have heard it from some hon. gentlemen in the House, I have heard it outside of the House. But, I must say that it is criticism that I have never been able to appreciate. It was not possible to get in Canada one single person who had the slightest experience in the classification of a Civil Service and I commend the judgment undertaking the classification of the Service, undertaking the classification of the service, in going out into the world and getting the best and most experienced men they could get no matter what it cost or from what country they came. They did secure the services of an experienced firm in the United States and, at considerable expense, they have since been assisting the Civil Service Commission. I think it would be a small position for public men to take if they would deny the right to the Government, or any body created by the Government to perform a special duty, to go outside of the country and purchase experience and wisdom if they could not obtain it at home. Such, I say, was the condition of affairs. I hope, therefore, Mr. Speaker, that the Civil Service Commission will not be subjected to criticism by reason of the fact that they brought to their aid experienced men who were not resident in Canada.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): Does the minister think that it would be proper and in the interest of this country to disclose to the citizens of another nation all the inside workings of this Government?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I think it would not be quite proper to disclose the inside workings of this Government to any foreign government or to any body but I do not see any objection to disclosing to the entire world the internal economy of our Civil Service. Many cities in the United States and many of the states have classified their civil services just as we are proposing to do and my hon. friend, or myself, by making a request, could obtain the book containing all the information.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what does classification mean? After all, that is the main feature of the Bill inasmuch as it asks Parliament to approve of the report of the Civil Service Commission upon classification. There is nothing else of much importance in the Bill, although I shall come to that later. Classification is simply an effort to standardize the public service of this country. In other words, it is an attempt to establish on a business basis the work of those engaged in the Public Service of Canada. It is an effort to do what is done in well organized and well directed business concerns to-day. The purpose, I think, is laudable, and whatever be the future wish of Parliament as to the manner in which persons are appointed to the Public Service, surely there can be no objection to the classification fo the Service.

I do dislike reading to the House. It is not easy for the one who undertakes to read and it is not usually very interesting or intelligible to those whom he asks to listen while reading. But last year there was submitted to the members of Parliament, a report accompanying the classification in which the Civil Service Commission attempted to present the principles which guided them in making the classification and the purposes and objects which they sought to accomplish by it. I have had prepared a typewritten statement gathered entirely from the report and I ask the kind permission of hon. gentlemen to read the same to them. It is simply a digest of what is now in the report—a report which I trust all hon. gentlemen have read, or if they have not, I hope they will do so as early as possible. That report indicates the reason why the classification was commenced, the principles which guid-

ed the commission in the making of the classification and the objects which they had in mind. If hon. gentlemen will be good enough to give me fair attention while I read this, I think it will make clear to them the purpose of the classification much better than I could do it myself. It is as follows:

(a) The Civil Service Act of 1918 specifically called for a classification of the Outside Service. Section 52 (1) provides.

"The Commission shall, as soon as practicable after the passing of this Act, ... prepare schedules containing lists of the positions and the duties and salaries attached thereto and the salaries and increases or other remuneration that in the opinion of the Commission are necessary and proper, ... and, upon the approval of the same by the Governor in Council, and by resolution passed by both Houses of Parliament, such schedules shall come into operation."

It was clearly the intention of Parliament that the 50,000 positions in the Outside Service which constitute about 85 per cent of the entire service, should be studied and classified as the first step in the application of the extended Civil Service Act. The classification as submitted constitutes such an analysis and complies in a practical way with the requirement that "the positions and the duties and salaries attached thereto" be "listed."

(b) In order to make possible a practical administration of the Act with regard to examinations a classification of positions is essential. The law under, "Duties of Commission" section 4 (1) (a), reads:

"To test and pass upon the qualifications of candidates for admission to and transfer and promotion in the Civil Service, ..."

and in section 38, part III, the matter of tests is prescribed in the words:

"Appointments to positions in the Civil Service shall be by competitive examination which shall be of such a nature as will determine the qualifications of candidate for the particular positions to which they are to be appointed. . ."

Obviously the Commission cannot pass upon the qualifications of candidates to fulfil the duties of particular positions unless they know what the duties of these positions are. If they are to wait until a vacancy is to be filled to ascertain the duties not only will a serious delay be introduced but a separate test of applicants will have to be conducted for each vacancy, which is an absolutely impracticable method. Only by a system of classification by which positions having substantially the same duties and calling for the same qualifications are grouped together can examinations be held in advance and lists of qualified persons be secured and maintained. Then when vacancies occur, appointments can be made without delay from those whose names are on the appropriate list and examinations need be held only when lists need to be replenished.

(c) The provisions of the Act respecting the organization of departments also impliedly called for a classification of positions. Section 9, part II of the Act requires the Commission, after consultation with department heads, to prepare plans for the organization of each department of the Civil Service, and particularly provides in clause 4, page 5:

If, after such organization and classification has been effected, the number of officers, clerks, and employees in any portion of the Civil Service, or in any class or grade thereof, is greater than the number allowed under such organization, the remainder shall be supernumeraries—

Clearly, if the Commission is to indicate what classes of positions and what numbers of each class are required for the work of any department, it must be able to refer to a classification and scheme of nomenclature by which the duties of given classes are prescribed and designated.

The fact that the country was, and had been for more than three years, engaged in war, with a resulting increase in prices and a corresponding decrease in the purchasing value of the dollar caused an unrest in the public service which could be properly met only by a most thorough-going consideration of the duties of the various positions in the Civil Service and the compensation which should be provided for these positions in order to effect uniformity and provide for just and equitable compensation throughout the service.

The Civil Service Act of 1918 greatly extended the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission. It not only turned over to the Commission the administration of the Outside as well as the Inside Service, but at the same time made imperative a classification of the Outside Service—

I think I am correct in saying that under the provisions of the Civil Service Act of 1918, a classification of the Outside Service was directed.

The standardization of compensation, the preparation of plans of organization for departments, the organizing of the commission's staff, the examinations of applicants for recruiting the Civil Service, the preparation of regulations, and other matters of equal importance.

In order that the commission might not be distracted from giving its attention to the current needs of public business, it decided to retain special temporary assistants for its organization Branch to make the investigations and formulate the recommendations, upon which a classification might be based. Inasmuch as this work was of a permanent character and of the highest value to the country, and as the time element was most important, it was considered inadvisable to train a special staff for this temporary purpose. After a thorough canvass of the professional field the commission found that the firm of Arthur Young and Company was engaged in this highly-specialized line of work and well able to furnish experts of the kinds and numbers needed. It was found that this firm maintained an organization of civil service specialists, employment experts, efficiency engineers and accountants, thoroughly experienced in classification work, had been established in business for some twenty-five years, and had been retained over a period of years by the British, French, and American Governments on important commissions.

I remind the House further that while some of the Civil Service indulged in criticism of the classification report and of the work of the experts which the Civil Service Commission have secured, they themselves —the Civil Service—have employed experts from the United States in the matter of

classification and brought them to Ottawa to study the subject.

The staff thus secured was assigned the work of the permanent staff of the organization provided under the general direction of the commission. Its work was carried on according to principles and policies approved by the commission.

The next paragraph of the statement reads as follows:

What the Classification is.

Classification is the bringing together of like things. This particular study has endeavoured to bring together positions of like nature. The basis of the classification has been the duties and responsibilities of the positions existing in the Civil Service. Positions having similar duties and responsibilities were thus brought together in what is called a class. All such positions were then given a standard title, a standard definition of duties, standard qualifications and requirements, suggested lines of promotion, and a standard salary range. By this process the sixty or more thousand positions in the Civil Service were grouped into approximately 1,600 standard classes. These classes further gathered together into thirty-four occupational groupings called services—

To which I will refer later.

—and within the services they were grouped, on the basis of responsibility, into ranks, the classes of lesser responsibility being placed in the lower ranks, and the classes of greater responsibility in the higher ranks. The classification does not attempt to present an ideal classification. The attempt has been made to classify the positions now existing in the service whether such positions indicate good organization or bad organization.

The principles and policies adopted as a basis for the recommended schedules of compensation were as follows:

1. That rates of compensation should be uniform for the same work. This means the same hours and the same pay should apply to all positions of the same class, and automatically to the incumbents of such positions.

2. That rates of compensation should be relatively right for the different classes.

3. That the rate for each class of employment should be equitable, that is, fair to the employee and fair to the tax-paying public.

4. That the schedules of compensation should provide for an absolute minimum and an absolute maximum and intermediate rates in this range. The minimum is to be that compensation to which an employee should be entitled immediately upon his appointment, it being assumed that he is qualified for the place. The maximum compensation is to be the figure representing the limit of usefulness which the employee, no matter how experienced or efficient, can reach by reason of the limitations inherent in the employment or in the work he is doing. The intermediate rates are to make possible a regular advance from the minimum toward the maximum as an employee's proficiency and consequently the value of his services increases.

5. That the salaries proposed should not be based on the depreciated value of the dollar at the present time. Conditions are not now stable. Economic conditions the world over are in an unsettled and uncertain state, and to found a salary revision on what may prove to be temporary conditions might involve the necessity of a downward revision when conditions return toward the normal. On the strength of these considerations it was decided to base the general level of salary schedules on what would have been normal conditions for 1918 had the tendencies of the period prior to the war continued and had not the war occurred.

6. It was thought that for certain classes at least a special war bonus should be paid to employees in addition to the salaries provided by the schedules.

What the Classification Accomplishes.

The classification accomplishes six distinct desirable ends, thus furnishing six reasons why it should be adopted. They are as follows:

1. Equitable Compensation: The state of affairs with regard to the compensation of positions discovered in the course of the classification work was exactly that which invariably develops in any service administered under a decentralized system and without regard for sound and scientific employment principles.

(a) In many cases highly qualified employees were found to be as a class under paid.

(b) In other cases employees were found who had no scruples in holding sinecures and drawing salaries large or small for doing nothing.

(c) Throughout the service there was serious lack of uniformity in salaries for persons performing the same work. In one branch of one department of seven employees doing identically the same work, two received $600, one $900, one $1,200, two $1,300, and one $1,350. In another branch where duties, responsibilities, hours of work, and personal qualifications were found to be identical, one employee was receiving $600 per year, and another $1,800.

(d) In many cases it was found that supervision has not been recognized in the amount of salary received. One striking case of such injustice involves an employee who has been receiving $1,000 while of the fifty-five employees under his supervision two receive $1,400, one $1,300, two $1,200, and several $1,100.

(e) Considerations of humanity one often finds to be a prolific source of over payment. One official was found of advanced age who at present is practically incapacitated but is retained at a very substantial salary and doing purely nominal duties.

Such anomalies will, through the proper administration of the classification, disappear within a few years. It is the plan to raise to the minimum provided for each class the salaries of all persons in such classes which are at present below the minimum. This action will go half the way by giving incumbents of all positions at least what the minimum of the class calls for. The other half of the standardizing process, namely paying no more than the maximum provided for the class, will take some time for the accomplishment, as according to the proposed Bill incumbents receiving more than the maximum of their positions will not be reduced, but will be allowed to retain not only their present compensation but also be permitted to advance to the maximum of their class obtained under the 1908 classification. When such employees retire from the service, however, their positions will be filled at the minimum rate.

2. Advanced Employment Administation: Inasmuch as the classification provides not only standard compensation but also a uniformity of nomenclature, the Civil Service Commission and the employers, that is the department heads,

are enabled to deal with each other in a uniform and standard commodity, that is to say the titles of positions are standard throughout the service. The department may requisition six clerk-stenographers, one assistant chemist, one hydrometric engineer, two statistical clerks, and one office boy with the assurance that the Civil Service Commission will send to them appointees having qualified for these particular classes, and therefore having the standard qualifications, and being able to perform the duties prescribed for these respective positions. This decided advantage in making requisitions and appointments is manifestly just as advantageous in connection with advancement in compensation, promotion in position, and transfer from department to department.

3. Standard Employment Conditions: From the viewpoint of the man on the street seeking to enter the civil service, or of the employee already in the service, the classification presents standard employment conditions throughout. A study of the classification volume, particularly of the sequences of positions as set forth in the rank and service groupings will indicate to the prospective or present civil servant just what his chances are for entering or having already entered, promotion in the civil service. He finds that the positions are set forth under standard titles. In the definitions of the respective classes, he finds the duties and responsibilities of the position for which he seeks appointment clearly set forth, and also the minimum qualifications which he is expected to have upon taking the examination clearly specified, so that if he does not already possess these qualifications he may take steps to secure them. In addition, he finds that standard compensation rates for the various positions have been set up and he may accept an appointment with the assurance that he is getting at least what the position is worth and also that upon the performance of efficient work he may be advanced from rate to rate within the range, until he reaches the maximum. The promotion examinations provided for will make it possible for an employee possessing the required qualifications to attain any position in the Civil Service.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not think I need read further from this statement, which, as I have already intimated, is a series of extracts from the report of the Civil Service Commission which accompanied the classification submitted to Parliament at the last session. This report is a very interesting document, and I hope that it will be read by hon. members. I do not expect concurrence in all the views expressed therein—I certainly do not concur in all of them myself. But I think I can truthfully say that it contains much matter of great interest to any person interested in the welfare and efficiency of the Public Service. The statement which I have just read gives almost unanswerable arguments in support of the necessity of the classification which is now submitted to Parliament, as well as of the classification itself.

I do not know whether hon. gentlemen have examined the classification report which I tabled two days ago. It is practically of the same size and same number of pages as the classification submitted at the last session. However, the classification is improved by the inclusion, in the latter portion of the book, of a grouping of civil service positions into classes. At page 787 of the classification you will find a grouping of all those engaged in the service of the country, Inside and Outside Services, into thirty-four classes. There are, for instance, the following services: Natural science service, engineering service, postal service, book-keeping, accounting and statistical service, legal service, physician service, chaplain service, instructional service, commercial development service, police service, marine navigation service, marine engineman service, marine skilled labour service, and so on. That simply means that the commission were able to group into thirty four divisions all those engaged in the Public Service, and having done that they believed they were in a position to recommend that the compensation to the various ranks within each of these services be standardized and fixed.

Following this list of classes grouped by services, you will find that each service is divided into ranks and the minimum and maximum rates of compensation for each rank are stated. For instance, I have before me the page which refers to the agricultural research and development service. This service is divided into six ranks, beginning with: "Canning Specialists" and ending with "Plant Disease Investigator," the minimum salary being $75 a month and the maximum $120.

In reference to the designation or nomenclature of the positions, I may say that the classification does not introduce any new positions; it simply attempts to classify positions that are now in existence. The fact that positions are given a title should not destroy the value of the work, as has been argued by critics of the classification. There are in the Civil Service men or women, boys or girls, carrying out the duties of the positions set forth under these different services and their various ranks. Although the positions may be designated by terms different from those by which they have been generally known, still, the effort of the commission has been to designate each position according to the duties to be performed by the one who holds it.

Rank 2 of the agricultural service commences with "Assistant Apiarist," and ends with "Supervisor of Illustration Stations," the salaries running from $120 to $150 a month.

Rank 3 commences with animal husbandman and ends with tobacco specialist, the salaries ranging all the way from $160 to $200 per month. Rank 4 commences with the position of animal pathologist and ends with the supervisor of agricultural instruction, with salaries ranging from $185 to $225 per month. Then follow ranks 5 and 6. All the services are divided into several ranks, and most of them are, I think, limited to about six different ranks.

It will be found that the post office service includes nobody other than those engaged in that service. If you take another service such as the engineering service, that will apply to many in the Outside Service and in the Inside Service. It will apply to positions in the Marine Department, the Department of Public Works and other departments of the public service, where engineering services are required. This is an effort to pay the same compensation for the same work no matter in what department of the Government a civil servant may at present be employed.

It might be interesting to hon. gentlemen present if I should give a few more illustrations of the inequalities in compensation in the Civil Service. It was a matter of fair criticism in the past that members of the Outside Service in particular had never received justice as regards compensation. I know in my constituency of Halifax of great inequalities, and I know very well just how they occurred. It would happen that when one political party was in power, friends of that party would receive some consideration from the sitting member or from some members of the Government and would receive promotions and increases in compensation while those in the service belonging to the other party would be entirely neglected. I think I can say this very frankly to the House, because hon. gentlemen are just as well aware of it as I am, and it was a weakness as boldly disclosed by one party as by another. It would be impossible to find a body of intelligent men who would dedicate themselves to the public service if they were not to receive fair treatment from Governments, regardless of their political affiliations.

In the public service to-day there are a number of assistant archivists, and the salaries at present run from $500 to $1,950, although the duties are practically the same. The commission recommends that the salaries range from $1,080 to $1,320. The minimum will be higher in that case, while the maximum will be lower, but I believe it will do justice to those employed in that class of work. Assistant district inspectors of customs are paid salaries ranging from $1,000 to $1,900 and the duties are, so I am informed by the person who prepared the statement for me, practically the same. The commission recommends a range of compensation beginning at $1,500 and going up to $1,800. Assistant immigration agents get from $900 up to $1,800, although their work is practically the same. The Commission recommends a range of from $1,200 to $1,500. Baggage examiners are to-day paid all the way from $750 to $1,400. The Commission recommends a minimum of $1,080 and a maximum of $1,500. Computing clerks are now in receipt of salaries ranging from $900 to $1,600. The proposed range, as contained in the classification, commences at $1,320 and rises to $1,800. The salaries of customs examiners at present range from $600 to $1,700, and that is, of course, based on no basis of reason or business at all. The classification proposes a range beginning at $960 and going up to $1,440. So, I might proceed giving hon. gentlemen many illustrations of great divergencies in compensation paid to employees in the public service where the duties and responsibilities are practically the same. I do not, however, purpose wearying the House with a further explanation of the details of the classification.

Just a few words as to the Bill itself, the second reading of which I am now moving. The important feature in the Bill is, after all, the clause approving the classification. I should like, however, to read to the House that section of the Bill which authorizes the Civil Service Commission to re-classify new positions in the future and to amend existing classifications, that, of course, being subject to approval by the Governor in Council. Section 42 reads:

> The Commission shall hereafter, as it may from time to time deem necessary, establish additional classes and classify therein new positions created or positions not included in any class established in the said classification and may combine, alter, or abolish existing classes. Each such class shall embrace all positions similar in respect to the duties and responsibilities appertaining thereto and the qualifications required for the fulfilment thereof, and shall be given a classification title indicative of the character and rank of the employment.

Possibly it might come to the minds of hon. gentlemen that it is asking too much of Parliament to allow the Civil Service Commission to re-classify the service. On reflection, however, I think hon. gentlemen will see that there is not much objection to that. Parliament has always given to

the Government the power of classifying the service as regards salaries and duties. By that I mean that members of the Civil Service are placed in the positions they occupy by direction of the executive; the salaries they have been receiving are entirely due to the initiative of the Government; the Government simply comes down to Parliament and asks Parliament to vote the money, and Parliament has always done so. I think, therefore, this provision is, in the first place, necessary, and secondly, desirable in all respects. It was by virtue of that provision in the Bill that I presumed to say to hon. gentlemen at the beginning of my remarks that we might very well pass the classification as it is without an incursion into the minutiæ of the thing, or we might assign it for consideration to a special committee, asking them to go into the general features of it, because they possibly cannot consider all the details. The Bill also provides that the classification shall come into effect on the first day of April next. The Bill as introduced last year did not contain that provision. In fact, it provided that when the classification was approved by Parliament it should date back, so far as compensation was concerned, to the first day of the present fiscal year, namely, April 1, 1919. Since the prorogation of Parliament, however, a special bonus has been granted by Order in Council to members of the Civil Service, both Inside and Outside, and the Order in Council provides that the bonus shall continue until the end of the present fiscal year.

Mr. MANION: Does that bonus apply to all the Civil Service, or not beyond a certain salary?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: It does not apply to all; there are some exceptions. I have not read the Order in Council for some time, but I laid it on the Table a few days ago. It provides, however, that those to whom it does apply shall receive the bonus until the beginning of the next fiscal year. Therefore, it would not have been fair to the country to enact that the classification, so far as compensation is concerned, should date back to the beginning of the present fiscal year.

Mr. McKENZIE: Was that Order in Council passed under the authority of the War Measures Act?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I think it was. I do not think there was any other authority, except this: Parliament voted $10,000,000 for the purpose of this bonus, and to that extent we had the authorization of Parliament. The mode of distribution was settled by the Government, and if they did not have inherent powers which I think they likely would have under the vote, they would have authority under the War Measures Act. I think, however, they had inherently the right under the vote.

The Bill before the House does not contain two provisions which were in the Bill introduced last session. The Bill introduced by me last session contained a clause empowering the Government to enlarge the membership of the commission from three to five, and provided a method whereby the membership might be automatically reduced in course of time to three. The view had been strongly pressed upon the Government at that time that the commission should be enlarged so as to permit of direct representation upon it of the returned soldiers. At that time rightly or wrongly there was also considerable complaint manifested both outside and within the House that the returned men were not securing appointments in sufficient numbers to the public service. Whatever may have been the merits of that criticism then, it cannot possibly be urged to-day. I fancy there is no country in the world doing so much for the returned men, so far as appointments to the Civil Service are concerned, as Canada is, and I think we can say that of Canada generally in respect to all matters of justice and fair treatment to the returned soldier. I am informed by the commission that 95 per cent of those being appointed to the Civil Service to-day are returned men; in fact, nearly all those being appointed are returned men. No other country has gone so far as we have in this respect, that we have by statute directed that returned men shall receive preferential treatment in examinations for admission to the Civil Service, and further, we have provided no age limit for entrance. I assume that some time Parliament will take this matter further into consideration. As it stands to-day, it reads as if this preferential treatment would extend forever, and I frankly say I think it works an injustice in some respects. I would be just as anxious to see appointed to the Civil Service the qualified dependent, the widow or the child of the man who had fallen in France, as the soldier who was fortunate enough to come back. I think in many respects we have gone too far altogether in our restrictions, and have shut out possibly a very deserving element which has a close relationship to the returned men. However, that pro-

vision had been in effect by Order in Council long before the Civil Service Bill was introduced, and that I presume is the reason why it went into the Bill just in that form. If Parliament thinks that provision should be amended, I shall be bold and shall not hesitate a moment to make an amendment if it seems right so to do.

Coming back to the membership of the Commission, by reason of the facts which I have just related, the Government were of the view that there was no necessity for enlarging the personnel of the commission at the present time, and I think the position of the Government should receive the endorsation of the House. I have reason to believe that it has the approval of the many representatives of the returned men at the present time. However, this is a matter upon which the Government are not inflexible, and if anybody can give very good reasons for enlarging the commission they will receive the consideration they deserve.

The Bill of last year also provided that the members of the Civil Service Commission should have the status of deputy ministers. That was left out in the printing of this Bill, but it will be inserted as an amendment. It is a matter upon which I should like to hear from the House. Personally, I think it is only fair that the members of the Civil Service Commission should receive that status. They are a hard-worked body. I cannot conceive of any body in the public service, with possibly few exceptions, which is obliged to do the volume of work the Civil Service Commission is obliged to do. Furthermore, it is a disagreeable duty they have to perform, involving the constant hearing of complaints, having accusations made against their motives and actions, and finding themselves opposed by persons of influence. I think on the whole, being members of a body which should be entirely independent, they should have the rank and status of deputy minister. It involves only a very small financial consideration.

I have been discussing a matter which perhaps is not very interesting, but I am very grateful for the exceedingly kind attention which so many hon. gentlemen have shown me to-day. At present there is nothing further I desire to say, except to move the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. McMASTER: Will the minister indicate in the Bill wherein the amendments differ from the law as it at present stands?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: My hon. friend is quite right in asking that question. Possibly I should have referred more in detail to the Bill.

Mr. BUREAU: If I remember rightly, in 1918 there was a provision in the Bill we passed then that when the classification was made no employee should be put in a class with a salary lower than that which he might be receiving at the time of the classification. It seems to me that that clause is repealed by the Bill presented to-day, and I should like an explanation.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: On page 2 will be found certain clauses in reference to temporary employment. Clause 23 empowers the Commission to employ, by reason of a temporary pressure of work, extra assistance on a written report of the deputy head that such extra assistance is required; and subsection 4 of section 23 is as follows:

> (4) When employees are required on short notice for emergency work outside the city of Ottawa, the responsible agent or officer of the department requiring such extra assistance may engage the necessary employees, and the said agent or officer in each case shall forthwith report to the Commission through the deputy head of his department the names of the persons so employed. No such employment shall extend beyond thirty days unless approved by the Commission.

The purpose of that section is to enable some administrative head in the outside service at any distance from Ottawa personally to employ any assistants who are urgently needed temporarily. It frequently happens that at some place, say Vancouver, it is necessary for the marine agency to employ someone for some temporary and unforeseen work, and it would occasion in some instances endless delay and embarrassment if the officer at Victoria, for instance, were obliged to write to Ottawa for permission to employ such persons. It is provided, however, that persons so employed shall not be continued for more than thirty days.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Last year I asked my hon. friend if civil servants who were superannuated a number of years ago would be reclassified as regards their salary, and I adduced reasons at that time.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I fancy my hon. friend is asking a question of similar purport to that of the hon. member for Three Rivers. No member of the Civil Service loses any status or right he had under the classification that existed prior to the introduction of the 1918 Bill. If any person under the Civil Service Act prior to 1918 had the right to a maximum of $3,500 upon

promotion, that right is not taken awey from him even although the classification fixes a maximum of $3,000 for his position and the particular duties which he is performing.

Mr. BUREAU: That clause is amended.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: No. It was struck out last year, but is restored this year.

Mr. DEVLIN: That point, I know, is responsible for considerable worry in the Civil Service. Section 3 enumerates the clauses which are repealed, the first being Clause 11. The hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) and the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) referred a moment ago to subsection 5 of section 9.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: That is not eliminated. Subsection 5 of section 9 remains, although I think it is true that in the Bill introduced last year it was repealed either directly or by implication.

Mr. BUREAU: Section 3 of the present Bill says that sections 11, 12, and 15 to 21, both inclusive, and subsections 1 and 2 of section 23 are repealed. It is apparent, therefore, that certain sections remain, and I think that in the present Bill we ought to state what they are. 13 and 14 are not repealed, and this is true of certain subsections of the other sections. We have not the Act of 1918, and it is difficult to understand the precise situation.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Subsection 5 of section 9 of the Act of 1918 reads as follows:

> Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prejudicially affect the status or the present salary or rights to future increase of any officer, clerk or employee, whether permanent or temporary, who is in the Civil Service on the date of the coming into force of this Act.

Mr. SHEARD: Under the classification, where a minimum is increased $300 over and above what the employee receives now, when does he receive the $300 increase?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Under the provisions of the Bill as it now stands he would not get that increase until the beginning of the next fiscal year by reason of the fact that sometime in July a bonus was voted which related back to the 1st of April and which continues until the 1st of April next. It would be obviously improper, in most cases at least, to give an employee a bonus and then perhaps a very substantial addition. It might transpire that that would work out an injustice in some cases.

Mr. CHABOT: In the case of a possible increase in the numerical strength of the Civil Service Commission, did the Civil Service, either through its federation or through any other channel, make strong representations to the Government to have one of its members appointed to the commission?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes. They have made representations for the appointment of a gentleman in the Civil Service.

Mr. SPEAKER: I feel it my duty to remind the House that we are not in committee and each hon. member is limited to one speech. The hon. member for Halifax (Hon. A. K. Maclean) has the floor at present, and while a great deal of latitude has been allowed in the putting of questions, I submit that they are in the main relevant to matters of detail and have nothing to do with the principle of the Bill. I shall therefore ask the House to conform more strictly to the rules of debate, leaving questions of detail to be discussed in committee.

Mr. BUREAU: Do I understand that this Bill is to be referred to a special committee? If it is, then the House will be debarred from a discussion of its various clauses. As usual, it will go to a special committee, whose report will be submitted and carried.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The report of the special committee if it is decided to send the Bill to one, will come back to the House and in due course be referred to a committee of the whole House, when all details may be discussed.

However, I am anxious to give any explanation of the Bill I can. The next clause in the Bill, which is new and to which I would like to ask the attention of hon. gentlemen, is to be found on page 3 and it refers to examination:

> (1) The examinations held by the Commission to establish lists of persons eligible for appointment may be written or oral in the form of a demonstration of skill or any combination of these, and shall be of a character fairly to test and determine the relative fitness and ability of candidates actually to perform the duties of the class to which they seek to be appointed.

The purpose of that is to make the examination a test of the duties of the work to be performed by the applicant. This is an answer to the criticism of the Civil Service examinations which I heard somebody in the House making the other day. I think it was on your left, Mr. Speaker, but I am not certain as to that. I think that the provisions of the Bill should meet with the commendation of hon. gentlemen. There really is no important departure from the Civil Service Act of 1918. In most respects the amendments are very trifling. Of course,

the clauses with respect to classification, compensation and promotions are new, but in other respects the amendments are not very important, and I think they might with more satisfaction be discussed in Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. ANDREWS: It is provided by section 43 of the Bill that:

> Appointments to the Civil Service shall be upon competitive examination. Whenever a vacancy in any position in the Civil Service is to be filled, the deputy head shall request the Commission to make an appointment.

I was under the impression that in the old Bill returned soldiers had the preference.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: That provision is still in the Act. It is not repealed. This must be read subject to the provision respecting preferential treatment of returned men.

Mr. H. C. HOCKEN (West Toronto): If I understand the statement of the hon. the minister (Mr. Maclean) the Bill is to go to a committee, but he asks the House to put through the classification without the examination of the schedules.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I meant that the classification should go to the committee too.

Mr. HOCKEN: I am very glad to hear that, because I have only had this classification book upon my desk within the last hour, and I have not been able to look it over. There were such gross errors in the first classification that one would naturally be a little bit suspicious as to what this present one may contain. I have no desire to unduly criticise the members of the commission, but I think I ought to draw the attention of the House to at least one or two things in the classification that was sent down to us last year and which would justify us in giving some care to any document that they might present for our consideration. In the report transmitting the classification of last year we read:

> The staff thus secured was assigned to work with the permanent staff of the Organization Branch under the general direction of the Commission. Its work was carried on according to principles and policies approved by the Commission, and each step in the programme was considered and sanctioned before it was taken.

I gathered from that statement that the commissioners had read the classification and that they knew what the book contained. I am not sure whether I am mistaken in that but if we are to understand that they had examined this classification, then all I can say is that they sent us a most extraordinary document. I find some statements set out here that somewhat astonished me in view of the experience of the chairman of the commission. I have just had time to notice that they have been corrected in the classification that we have had presented to us to-day. As an example, we read in last year's classification that the duties of the Clerk of the Privy Council are to attend the meetings of the Privy Council, take minutes of the proceedings, and so on. I can only conclude, after reading that definition of duties, that the commissioners, and especially the chairman of the commission, who at one time was a member of the Privy Council, could not possibly have given any consideration to the document that they sent to this House to be adopted. It makes it imperative that we should go into this classification with a good deal of thoroughness.

I find, in so far as I have been able to look into this book in the few minutes during which it has been available to me, that they have corrected some of these things but there is one particular place where I find that a correction has not been made. I have some knowledge of the printing business and I was surprised to find that the superviser of composition gets $2,640 while the superviser of press work gets $2,400. There is no question that the latter is a much more highly skilled man and requires greater technical knowledge than the former. That remains as it was before. I shall refer to another point and then I will drop this side of it. I find that the maximum salary for translators still remains at $1,680. That is about the salary a man gets for driving a street car in the city and it does not seem to be at all adequate. With such things as these in the classification, I think it requires examination page by page and clause by clause. If a committee is going to undertake that, as I think it ought to, it has a pretty big job on its hands.

I have been wondering by what authority the commission spent $100,000 on this classification. Was there any vote of this House or any Order in Council providing for that amount to be spent, or did they spend it on their own responsibility? I have been endeavouring to ascertain, but I cannot find any specific authority having been given for such a large expenditure.

I am among those who entirely disagree with the employment of experts of the character who have been engaged on this work, and the proof that something better might have been done lies right before us in the

new classification. Their finished work was submitted to the members of the Civil Service, and it was submitted unofficially to the general public through the columns of the daily papers in the city of Ottawa. In fact, Mr. Speaker, it has been submitted practically to everybody in the country except the members of this House. The representatives of the people are the only ones who have not yet been consulted, or been advised in any way, as to what was being done. So far it has not been found worth while to get their opinion, and I think for that reason we should go into this matter very thoroughly.

The minister thinks it is a small position to take that we should not go outside Canada to engage experts for this work. I would agree with him that if no person could be found in Canada to do the work then we should go where competent experts could be found—

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: That is what I said.

Mr. HOCKEN: But I entirely disagree with the idea that competent persons are not to be found in the Dominion of Canada. Furthermore, I venture to say, Mr. Speaker, that more competent men than the Chicago experts could have been found in our own civil service. The fact that those experts have been compelled in the last analysis, by the faults of their own work, to submit that work to members of our own service sustains my position, I think, absolutely.

I have just another point or two to touch upon, and as the Bill is to go to committee and we will have opportunity there, I hope, to discuss the measure in detail, I will not at present occupy the time of the House at very great length. I was glad to hear the minister say that he, on behalf of the Government, is prepared, if it is the wish of the majority of the members of this House, to add a soldier to the membership of this commission. The minister has pointed out that the returned soldiers have been well taken care of by the commission up to the present time. That may be the case; I do not know as to that. I think they have been well taken care of perhaps from the point of numbers, but as to the character of the appointments they have received, I am not so clear. But after this classification has been adopted and the whole thing is in operation, I have very strong convictions that the interests of the returned men require the appointment of a soldier on the commission with respect to matters of promotion—to see that in various other ways these men will have some person to whom they can appeal and who will be sympathetic in his treatment of them. For it must be remembered that there will be as many promotions as there will be appointments. Every time a new man enters the service the chances are that some person has died or left the public employ, or that new branches are being established, and so promotions are going on continually. If the interests of our returned men are to be conserved in that regard I think it is absolutely necessary that a returned soldier should be a member of the Commission, and I am very glad to get the conditional promise of the minister that that appointment will be made.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Just at that point—what would the hon. member think of the appointment of a woman to the Commission? There are many women in the Civil Service and for that reason would not a woman be entitled to a seat on the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. HOCKEN: I have a very high regard for all women, but I do not think I am prepared at this time to say that a woman should be appointed to the Commission.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Does my hon. friend realize the number of women that are employed in the Civil Service throughout Canada?

Mr. HOCKEN: Yes, I realize that, but I do not think their interests are likely to suffer at the hands of a capable commission composed entirely of men. As the minister has told us, the duties of the Commission are very onerous and very exacting. I doubt very much whether a woman would have the necessary strength or endurance to enable her to carry out the work efficiently. As a matter of fact, I have learned that even those men who now compose the Commission have been very seriously overtaxed in the performance of their duties. We have been told by the minister that their work is of an extraordinary difficult and exacting character. I doubt very much, therefore, whether a woman would be able to carry on that work efficiently for any considerable length of time, and, moreover, I do not think the interests of the women in the service would be prejudicially affected in the slightest degree by their being in the hands of the men who now compose the Commission.

Mr. KEEFER: Does the hon. gentleman think that labour should have a representative on the Commission?

Mr. HOCKEN: If another representative in addition to the soldiers is to be appointed on the Commission, I think he should be some man who should represent the service. If the membership of the Commission is to be increased by two, I think that some man of long experience, 5 p.m. taken from the Civil Service, would be more valuable than any other who might be chosen, as the interests of the service are being dealt with all the time. But I am content, Sir, now to argue for the appointment of a soldier. If the membership of the Commission is to be enlarged beyond that, then my position would be that a representative of the civil servants ought to be chosen.

Mr. BURNHAM: Does not the hon. gentleman think that the women should be represented on the Commission?

Mr. HOCKEN: I have just told the hon. gentleman (Mr. Lemieux) that I am not agreeable to the appointment of a woman. I do not think the interests of the women now in the service are going to be prejudiced by having the Civil Service Commission composed entirely of men.

There is another point to which I desire to invite the consideration of the House. When the Bill to amend the Civil Service Act was first introduced, although no mention of it was made to-day, I understood the Prime Minister to say that in the working out of the measure it will probably be found necessary to appoint assistant secretaries who would be located at convenient points in the different provinces and who would be more immediately in touch with appointments for the outside service than it is possible for any member of the Commission sitting in Ottawa to be. I think that is something that ought to be done. In my view assistant secretaries for the various provinces, or for groups of provinces, ought to be appointed. It might be necessary to appoint one in the Maritime Provinces, one for Ontario, one for Quebec, and perhaps two for the West; but I think that in many appointments which have to be made it is not simply the technical qualifications that are the chief consideration, but often the character of the man and his personality will count for more than any technical examination to which he could be subjected. For that reason I believe that in the present Bill we ought to make provision for the employment of assistant secretaries, to be located in the different provinces, to advise the Commission with regard to appointments to the outside service.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: If the hon. gentleman will allow me to interrupt him, I may say that I had that in consideration, but it is not necessary to provide for it in the Bill. The Commission now has power to appoint assistant secretaries and I believe it is its intenton to do so.

Mr. HOCKEN: I would be quite satisfied with that. Of course I am not arguing the case in detail or stating exactly all my reasons or objections. I do not believe in the principle of the thing at all.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. HOCKEN: I do not believe in the outside service being in the hands of the Civil Service Commission.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. HOCKEN: I take this ground, Sir, that the first thing to be done is to see that no man is appointed to the service who is not needed, and that no man shall be appointed who is not qualified. If you only put into the service men who are needed and see that they are qualified, you accomplish all that any civil service commission in the world can give you. After that, much as I would like to escape any responsibility of the kind, I submit that the best man to make a recommendation for an appointment to the outside service, for the position of postmaster, customs collector, or any office of the kind, is the man who represents the constituency in Parliament.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. HOCKEN: I say that, Mr. Speaker, for the same reason that I mentioned a moment ago—that the character of the man is a vital consideration in his appointment I could take you to places in Ontario and find men who could be successful in a competitive examination over any other candidates who might come up, but whose character is such that they are absolutely unfit for positions in the public service. Yet such men could go round their own communities and secure for submission to the Civil Service Commission all the recommendations for character that they might desire or ask. Every man here knows how easy it is to get a recommendation of that kind for a public office. But if such a man came under the scrutiny of the member for the constituency, his character would be the thing that would stand out above everything else, and he would have no more chance of getting a recommendation than he would if he were a convicted criminal

in jail. That is the reason why I am opposed to the principle of the Bill, and I say so frankly.

Mr. PROULX: Would the hon. member have the same privilege accorded to members of the Opposition in the matter of recommendations for appointment as would be accorded to members supporting the Government?

Mr. HOCKEN: Why, surely.

Mr. BELAND: You deserve to be Prime Minister.

Mr. HOCKEN: That principle is inherent in my impartial attitude of mind. I think that I have said enough to indicate my attitude on this question and to let the House know what I am likely to do if I happen, through any fortunate circumstance, to be a member of the special committee, if one is appointed, or when the Bill comes finally before the House for its approval or otherwise.

Mr. CHARLES SHEARD (Toronto South): Mr. Speaker, I wish to make a remark or two with reference to this Bill and the classification which has been tabled, although at this stage I shall not do so at any great length.

I have in the past advocated the principle underlying the appointment and operation of the Civil Service Commission, and I have done so honestly with a view to our getting rid of patronage. I have to the utmost of my effort supported the commission and I am still strongly of the opinion that the principle aimed at is a good one. The principle aimed at is largely to abolish patronage, particularly the improper exercise of, patronage; and to the suggestion that such a thing is desirable I am sure that every one in this Dominion who is interested in good, clean, honest Government will say "Amen."

I wish to express also, with all the emphasis at my command, my desire to support the principle of merit in promotion. If we were to incorporate in the enactment respecting the Civil Service Commission a provision laying down the general principles applicable to promotion by merit and then compel the commission to adhere to those principles, we would do far more, in my judgment, than we shall do by trying to settle every minor detail; for it is absolutely impossible to do that with any measure of justice. All the difficulty, all the objection, so far as I can see, in connection with the whole work of the Civil Service Commission rests in the fact that they have attempted what it is humanly impossible to do, that is, to effect a uniform standardization of various activities of emplyoment and energy in the whole field of civil service labour. For any body of men to address themselves to the task of standardizing, with equity and justice and with an honest regard for the principle of proper remuneration, sixteen hundred different activities, embracing all classes, men and women, various professional labours and other kinds of work, is but to court absolute failure at the start. They have, I say, attempted too much. I wish to refer to one or two instances in the new classification which have just come under my notice.

If you turn to page 798 you will see, under Rank 1, that "Physician" receives a maximum salary of $125 a month, whereas "Junior Law Clerk" receives $140, and "Senior Prison Guard" $140. That demonstrates at once the absurdity of any such classification when it makes any attempt to professional standardization.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: "Physician" in that case would be probably one employed in a penitentiary, not as a convict, but as a professional gentleman attending the convicts.

Mr. SHEARD: If he does it at that salary, he could hardly do justice to the prisoners; I should be sorry for the men who would come under his medical care, whether they were prisoners or not. However, I do not wish to be hypercritical in this matter. I sympathize with the idea of progressing slowly towards the Utopian object which the Government have set before them in this attempt. And to some extent also I sympathize with the member for West Toronto (Mr. Hocken) in his advocacy of a limitation of the application of standardization in this case until we make somewhat equitable the standardizations which are already in working order.

By way of opposing the application of this effort to such a broad field, let me give you an illustration. The Government are building in Toronto a new custom house, which is to cost somewhere in the neighbourhood of one to two millions of dollars. It is such a building that any Minister of Public Works would be justified in taking pride in its construction and character. Even the local member who was supporting the Government at the time of the erection of the building might be excused if he pointed to it with pride as the

work of an honest and earnest Government. The plans have to be approved by the Government; the contracts have to be let under the direction of the Minister of Public Works, but when it comes to seeing that the contracts are properly carried out and the requirements of the specifications lived up to, I think I am correct in saying that the clerk of works or the officer who performs this duty is placed in that position by the Civil Service Commission; the Minister of Public Works has nothing whatever to say about it. Any one who raises a question or finds fault with the manner in which the contract is being carried out is told that the matter comes absolutely under the control and direction of the Civil Service Commission. I make that statement after a consultation which I had last year with the then Minister of Public Works (Hon. Mr. Carvell), on the occasion of my putting some questions to him with regard to this matter. He said to me then: "Well, that is now altogether under the Civil Service Commission." If such be the case—and I believe it is—the House will agree with me that it is an extension of the work of the Civil Service Commission and of the modus operandi of the whole Utopian scheme which goes far beyond what either the public or Parliament or the country ever intended. I think, therefore, that the whole matter should receive not adverse criticism, but careful, sympathetic consideration on the part of a special committee of the House which will be large enough and broad enough to deal with all the questions that may be raised.

One word more and I will take my seat. I am strongly in sympathy with the idea that a woman should be placed upon the Civil Service Commission. We have much to thank the women for in connection with the administration of labour and in all spheres. I want to say this—and I say it without fear of successful contradiction, and I speak now as a scientific man and a physiologist—that a deliberate wrong, an injustice, will arouse the unquenchable ire of a woman and her energies in which she will persevere to the end, far more easily, more quickly and better than it will a man. If I am going to ask for plain, honest justice I will appeal with the utmost confidence to the natural tendencies, instincts and integrities of the woman. For that reason, I think, when employment is concerned, when we have a large number of female employees in the service of the Dominion, we secure to them at least a measure of justice in having a woman on the Civil Service Commission. There are in the service of the Dominion enough female employees to demand that.

I wish, moreover, to emphasize the necessity and justice of having a soldier representative on the Civil Service Commission. I do not think, when all the questions come up relating to the employment and promotions of soldiers, the difficulties under which they labour regarding promotions and the questions in reference to faults that may be raised in employment, we can do to the returned man the full measure of justice which we in this House desire to do unless we have on that commission some one who is fully in sympathy with the returned man. These are only a few thoughts that come to me en passant.

We should, moreover, have in this Bill a clause providing within broad lines how examiners are to be employed. We find that almost anybody can be chosen to be examiners. A question came up in the House regarding certain gentlemen who were appointed examiners, and I do not think it was fully brought out that the examiners had the qualifications to examine. Where it is necessary for the Civil Service Commission to refer a question in dispute to examiners, there should be imported into this Bill some instructions which will, in a broad measure, define what qualifications the examiners must necessarily have. I hope that the whole Bill will be referred to a large and representative committee of this House, and that it will receive very careful study and consideration before the classification as it is brought down is adopted.

Mr. ROBERT JAMES MANION (Fort William and Rainy River): Mr. Speaker, I should like to say a few words regarding this Bill, and, first, I should like to mention something regarding representation of returned soldiers upon the Civil Service Commission. In the last day or two there have been made in the press statements quoting some speaker at a public gathering as stating that the Dominion war veterans were not favourable to the representation of the war veterans upon the Civil Service Commission. In justice to the Dominion war veterans, I wish to state that back in May 1918, nearly a year and a half ago, I was waited upon in this House and was asked by a representative of the War Veterans' Association of the Dominion of Canada to support the appointment upon the Civil Service Commission of a Great War Veteran representing the soldiers, or, at least, the representation of the Great

War Veterans upon that commission. I took the matter up in the House on May 17, 1918, and on page 2133 of Hansard of that date may be seen my remarks advocating the appointment upon the Civil Service Commission of a returned soldier. At that time, the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) rather gave me to understand that this would be favourably considered. Again, on May 28, 1919, just a year after the other, as shown on page 3013 of Hansard, I reminded the hon. gentleman (Mr. A. K. Maclean) who is bringing forward this Bill, of my remarks of the previous year and asked him if the question was going to be dealt with, and he, also without promise, rather gave me to understand that a returned soldier would be put on the commission. I mention this because it is only just to the representatives of the war veterans in this city, who have, to my mind, been maligned very atrociously at times, that it should be known publicly that they asked a representative of this House to support the matter of representation for the veterans on the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: They made direct representation to the Government some time ago.

Mr. MANION I am glad to have the minister corroborate that; it brings out the point more strongly. I do not, therefore, think that statements that are absolute falsehoods should be made with regard to men who, in my opinion, are taking a high-minded stand, as the representatives in this city of the Dominion of Canada War Veterans, on all subjects referring to the veterans of the war, and they should not be maligned. I wish to make that statement in justice to them, and I am glad the minister supports me in it. I wish to close that part of my remarks by saying that I am personally and absolutely convinced that the hon. members for Toronto South (Mr. Sheard) and Toronto West (Mr. Hocken) are correct in supporting the idea of a returned soldier's being on the commission.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What about a woman?

Mr. MANION: I have nothing to say about that. I would, perhaps, say with the hon. member for Toronto South that I would certainly have no objection to a woman's being upon the commission, but, of course, every class cannot be represented on the commission. The hon. member for Port Arthur (Mr. Keefer turned to the hon. member for Toronto West (Mr. Hocken) and asked him: " What about labour?"

Nobody has a greater respect for the labouring and working classes than I have, but I do not think it so necessary that other classes be represented upon the Civil Service Commission as returned soldiers who number some half a million in this country and to whom we have made a promise that we would give them a preference in appointments to all Civil Service positions. I wish to put myself on record for the third time in this House as being favourable to the representation on the Civil Service Commission of the returned soldiers.

I agree with the hon. member for Toronto South (Mr. Sheard) that there are in this classification many inequalities or unfairnesses with which a committee will have to deal. I jotted down on this programme a few that came to my mind to show that these inequalities should be dealt with very seriously by the committee which is appointed to deal with this Bill. As regards physicians, the minister drew our attention to the fact that a physician would probably be living in a penitentiary or other institution. Nevertheless, a physician is marked down on page 798 at $125 per month, and the senior prison guard, as shown on page 816, gets from $115 to $140.

Mr. DAVIS: May I call the attention of the hon. gentleman to page 540 where the duties of a physician are dealt with, and he will see that the salary is just for part time.

Mr. MANION: I see. I shall go on with a couple of other cases. The Supervisor of Char Service in the Government buildings who, from the description in the book is the man who supervises the women who clean up the rooms, sweep and dust, and so forth, is to receive a salary of from $1,680 to $2,160, while a junior translator (p. 800) who has to speak two languages and have a high school education I believe, gets from $75 to $100 a month. An oiler for various machines gets from $85 to $100. A teacher in an Indian school (p. 797) gets the magnificent salary of $55 to $90 a month; that is, the minimum and maximum is less than that of the oiler by $30 and $10 respectively. I give these instances simply to show the tendency in our country to minimize the importance of educational requirements. I think the committee which is appointed to deal with this matter should take up this question. I believe that those who are required to have a high school or university education should be given some consideration. Otherwise, we are simply belittling the value of education, and we certainly should not do that.

I wish to put myself on record as being strongly in favour of the principle of this Bill. The classification is far from perfect. The minister admits that, and everybody knows it, but at the same time I think the attempt is very well worthy of the support of the House, in order that we may have some regularity and system in the handling of the Civil Service. Everybody who has only a smattering of knowledge of the Civil Service knows what a great number of irregularities there are. One man will be getting $600 and another man as high as $1,800 for doing exactly the same kind of work. That lack of system is attempted to be corrected ultimately by this Bill, and I believe the principle is sound. I am also in favour of the principle of abolishing patronage as we knew it in the past, except that, in making certain appointments, if anybody in a district has to be consulted, I think the proper person to be consulted is the member of Parliament. Where no such consultation is necessary I think examination by an impartial commission is the fairest and most honest method of making appointments. I repeat, however, that where somebody must be consulted the proper person to consult is the member for the district, whether he be a supporter of the Opposition or the Government.

Last year there was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the civil servants I happened to come across over the classification, and one of the reasons why I should like to see the Bill given a fair support this year, is because I have yet to hear any civil servants saying they do not wish it to go through. There may be many, but I have not happened to meet them. On the other hand, I have received a number of telegrams and letters from various Civil Service organizations asking me to support the Bill, and I have received no communications to the contrary; so apparently the classification is satisfactory to the Civil Service. I think the principle of the Bill should be supported, especially when we have the minister's assurance that any case of injustice which may be found to exist after the Bill passes may be corrected upon proper representations to the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. J. W. EDWARDS (Frontenac): I should like to place myself on record again, as I did when the matter first came up, as being opposed to the principle of this Bill in so far as it applies to the Outside Service. I think it has been amply demonstrated that the Civil Service Commission have more than they can attend to now in connection with the Inside Service. So far as the Outside Service is concerned, if an appointment is to be made in the county of Frontenac, for instance, it seems to me absolutely ridiculous that three or four men sitting in the city of Ottawa should ask the advice of any person in that county except the member who was elected by the people to represent that county, and who will be held responsible for the person appointed. But that is absolutely the situation to-day, and under this Bill. I say here and now, as I said on a former occasion, that I am absolutely opposed to the principle of the Bill so far as the Outside Service is concerned, because I think it is illogical, unfair, and absolutely unreasonable. When this matter was first brought up these gentlemen who were brought here from Chicago to classify the service were referred to as the experts from Chicago, but their title has been changed, and by no less a person than the minister who has introduced this Bill. At the last session of Parliament he changed their title to the "so-called experts" from Chicago, and in any criticisms I have to make I shall refer to them as the "so-called experts," because I think the minister was well advised in so referring to them, instead of calling them experts. I think that a committee of men could have been chosen by the deputy ministers of the various departments, who would have given a more reasonable and a more just classification than the so-called experts who have been working on it for several months.

That the Civil Service Commission has more work than they can attempt to attend to, there can be no doubt. For instance, one department of this Government which is more responsible than any other for raising the revenue of the country is the Customs Department. Yet that department is without a deputy head at the present time, and has been without one for some months.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: That is not the Commission's fault. They do not appoint deputy ministers.

Mr. EDWARDS: That is right. Then it is the fault of the Government, and it should be rectified at the earliest possible moment. Let me give another case where the Commission may or may not be at fault. The largest penal institution in the Dominion of Canada is that situated at Portsmouth. The position of warden of that institution has been vacant for some time. The position of physician to that institution is also vacant,

and has been for a short time. Why are these positions not filled? Would I be right in blaming the Commission if they are not filled? I do not think perhaps I would, because I understand that the Commission never advertises a vacancy until a requisition has been received from the head of the department asking that applications be called for, and I do not know whether that requisition has been made on the Commission. I do know, however, that the positions are vacant and have been for some time.

In regard to the personnel of the Commission, I entirely disagree with those who say that there should be on the Commission a representative of the Civil Service. It has been suggested that some one in the Civil Service should be appointed a Civil Service Commissioner. From what branch would he be taken? No matter from what branch of the Civil Service he might come he would be an expert in his particular line and would be no better than any one else so far as effective representation of the other branches are concerned.

However, in regard to the appointment of a returned soldier as a member of the commission, I think there are very strong reasons why such a step should be taken. In the first place, it has been very properly laid down by the Government as one of the principles in the making of appointments that preference shall be given to returned soldiers, and thousands of them have already been appointed, while thousands of others will be appointed as vacancies occur. So that the soldiers are entitled to representation on the commission. Now, Mr. Speaker, I am glad that this matter is being handed over to a special committee, because I believe that there are very many inequalities and injustices which call for rectification. A cursory glance at the report which I have convinces me of this fact, and I have no doubt that a special committee could make such recommendations as would tend to secure a satisfactory readjustment. I think we would be making a very grave mistake if we decided to rush this Bill through in any haphazard manner. The civil servants occupy important positions in the administration of the affairs of the country, and it behooves us to give very careful attention to this matter. By placing it in the hands of a special committee, members may have ample opportunity to go thoroughly into the whole question between now and next session of Parliament, which will afford us plenty of time to pass definitely upon it.

Mr. H. M. MOWAT (Parkdale): When the Bill was introduced in 1918 I was one of the strongest supporters of the minister who brought it in on that occasion and who is now introducing this Bill in amendment, and I have seen no reason whatever for changing my opinion expressed at that time. In fact, I think that the change from the old system to that which is now in operation is one of the most important improvements that have been made by this Parliament. A measure of Civil Service reform was promised in the election platform set out by the Prime Minister, a platform which we supported on this side of the House; and although that reform did not constitute the principal issue in the election of 1917 it formed a very considerable ground for discussion at the different political meetings that were then held. And the approval with which the discussion was received, and the opinions expressed regarding this policy, showed that the country was quite prepared for the change. That they approve of the change that has been made is, I think, undoubted. But it is evident from the remarks of several hon. members that the old idea that a member of Parliament should take a hand in local appointments is not by any means dead. Some hon. members have grown up in an atmosphere fraught with this idea and have therefore come to regard it as a privilege or prerogative to have some participation in the making of appointments, and to some extent they have been looked up to by their people in the filling of vacancies to the public service. This, however, seems to me to be a principle which should not influence us here. It is of pre-eminent importance to give the public a good Civil Service, and I venture to say that in a very few years a Civil Service appointed by merit as well as personality will so discredit the old system of patronage that members who yet have a liking for it will infallibly see that they were wrong. Now, in order to have a good Civil Service it is necessary that you should have educated and self-respecting civil servants who are under no particular obligation to members of Parliament or to politicians, so that they may be entirely unhampered by fear and may be able to devote their full time and energy to the service of the public. Eventually there will grow up in Canada, as in Great Britain and the United States, a very much improved Civil Service. We must get into the Civil Service ladies and

gentlemen who will be content and free to devote their time to their public duties, having no irrelevant matters to worry them, such as anxiety to please politicians. I have been told by a civil servant since this Bill came in that they now consider themselves free from bondage under this system. I think that was the expression that was used. If that is so, is it not highly probable that the civil servants, imbued with this spirit, will undertake their duties with increased vigour and interest and give the best of their lives to the service of the public? I think the object of the Bill is to obtain a good Civil Service, and in principle I support it and adhere to the opinions I expressed when the matter was first introduced. I think that, if it is given a fair chance, in a very few years we shall see that no mistake was made when this important change was effected.

Mr. E. B. DEVLIN (Wright): I desire to say a word or two, not upon the principle of the Bill, nor directly in relation to any of its clauses, because, when the Bill comes before the Committee of the Whole House, as it is bound to come sometime or other, I hope to be able to make inquiries of the Government regarding certain of its sections. However, I want to place myself on record as being opposed to a reference of the Bill to a special committee. The time has come when some action must be taken with reference to the Civil Service. The civil servants throughout the country were led by the Government to believe that immediate and urgent action would be taken by them. We are now informed that the opinion of the Government is that it would be preferable to refer the Bill to a special committee. But it is well known that we are now in the dying days of the present session, and the labours of the special committee would cease concurrently with the conclusion of the session, with the result that the Bill would of necessity fall. I think that the better way—and I suggested to the minister—would be to refer the Bill to a Committee of the Whole House in order that we might dispose of it one way or the other.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): In making a few observations upon the Bill, I may say in the first place that I have never had the opportunity to exercise patronage in my riding and probably never shall. But I have made a fairly exhaustive investigation in different parts of the country and I must say that the conclusion has forced itself upon me that this Bill is not wanted by either the members of the House or the country at large. I think we may as well be honest about the matter, because hon. members—if you can believe their opinions as expressed in the corridors and in the lobbies—are absolutely opposed to the measure, while my experience and that of others, as it has been expressed to me, shows that a member cannot divest himself of responsibility for what occurs in his riding. When you tell them that the Civil Service Commission does it, they will not believe you and they ask you point blank: "What good are you any way?" I think we might as well be honest about it. Every member in this House knows that what I am saying is true. There is no use in trying to camouflage it any more. I think the principle of handing the patronage of this whole Dominion over to three men who are responsible to nobody is wrong. It is not getting away from patronage; it is only transferring it from a responsible head to an irresponsible one. I have an open mind on this question. I have not taken part in any further discussion. But this is the impression that I have got from members of the House and from talking with people in different parts of the country that I have visited. I, like my hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards), think that this is too big a question to start in upon now. I have looked over the classification somewhat and I find that there are undoubtedly glaring inequalities in it. I do not think this Parliament is capable of rectifying them in the ten days or two weeks that it is likely to be in session.

The question has been brought up again to-night, as it was before, about having a soldier on the Commission. On two former occasions in this House, in May, 1918, and also in 1919, I brought this question up and it was brought up by others. We were practically promised on both of these occasions —in one case by the Prime Minister—that this appointment to the Commission would be made. I am not saying that things would be any better, but I am saying that the presence of a returned soldier on that Commission would be in the interest of the country, because it would allay dissatisfaction. The soldiers would feel that they had some one to whom they could appeal and we could tell them, when they came to us with their complaints, that they might see Mr. So-and So. We could say to them: "There is a member of your own organization on that Commission and we believe that he is anxious to look after your interests and will do so." I believe it is in the interest of peace in this country and that it is in the

interest of the Government. I have investigated these things, I have discussed the question with members of this House, I have discussed it with people in my own constituency, I have discussed it with judges in the country, and the impression I have gained is that the country does not want this method of making appointments to the Civil Service. The people want their member to be responsible for what goes on in his district and they want to hold him responsible for it. I do not know how you are going to run political parties—and we might as well be honest about it—if you are going to take away from the member every privilege he has except that of standing up in this House and speaking and voting. The member ought to have some say in the running of this country and in appointments in his own constituency. We cannot divest ourselves of responsibility, because the people will either not believe us or else they will tell us that we are absolutely no use and they had better get somebody else to represent them.

Hon. T. W. CROTHERS (West Elgin): Mr. Speaker, I realize that it is perhaps a little late in the day for me to express the view which I am about to place before the House concerning the principle of divesting ministers and members of their responsibility and placing it upon an irresponsible commission. I was always opposed to the Civil Service Commission and much more so since the authority of the Commission has been extended to the outside service as well as the inside service. I think it is wrong in principle and I am sure it is undesirable in practice.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Was not my hon. friend a member of the Government when this principle was adopted?

Mr. CROTHERS: I am not discussing that now. I admit that it is a little late but I feel it to be my duty to express the conviction which I hold upon this question. I say that I have always been opposed to the principle of divesting ministers and members of their responsibility for appointments to the Civil Service and placing it upon men who are irresponsible. It is wrong in my opinion in theory and it is unsatisfactory in practice. It is contrary to the first principle of responsible government. The Government is supposed to be responsible for these appointments. The members are regarded as being responsible for appointments and ought to be in my judgment, in order that the people whom they represent, through them, may have something to say about the matter.

In practice, has there been any improvement in the character of the Civil Service since the Civil Service Act of 1908 was enacted? Who are the best men we have in the Civil Service to-day? I am speaking now of the inside service. Are they men who were appointed under the old system? Almost every one of them. I undertake to say that there has been no improvement, since the Civil Service Act of 1908 was passed, in the character or efficiency of the Inside Civil Service and that amongst the best men that we have in that service are the men who were appointed under the old system where the Government was responsible to Parliament and the members were responsible to their people. Under that system the people had some protection.

Take a concrete case. An important vacancy occurs in your constituency. You are looking forward to the next election. You know that the press has its eye upon you, you know that the public has its eye upon you and you know that the great majority of the electors in your constituency are not looking for public positions but that they are demanding that there shall be in the public service men of ability, of efficiency, of character and that you dare not recommend to the Government the appointment of a scallawag to that position because you know that the general public would not support you in the next election.

To-day, under the present system, while the member has nothing to say about it, while the minister has nothing to say about it, the appointments are not, to put it mildly, more satisfactory than they were under the old system. Whose recommendation is accepted now? What is the modus operandi? The Civil Service Commission advertises a certain position and applicants are notified that they are required to send in the names of three references. These names are sent in and the Civil Service Commission writes to each of the three men named and they are guided by their report. Now get down to practice. Suppose a position of some importance were advertised and you desired it, and knew that you would have to send in the names of three men and that they would be communicated with by the Civil Service Commission, whose names would you send in? Would you apply to independent men or would you try to find three friends of your own—friends politically, or by reason of church, or other affiliation? You would

probably try to find out from each of them what kind of report he would make. "Will you report favourably on me?" You might ask, "Well, I have known you for several years, John; I am afraid I could not report very favourably on you." "All right," you say to yourself, "I will not send your name in. I will find some fellow who will probably report favourably on my application;" and the Civil Service Commission in its innocence and simplicity, are controlled to a very large exent by what these three or four men who are given as references say about it. Why those of us who have had any experience in life would not give a brass nickel for a bushel of recommendations or testimonials sent in by friends. If you will pardon me one moment I would like to give you a little personal experience. I was in a position for seven years where I might have done something for some of my relatives or some of my friends, as many others have done. During the whole of that seven years I never recommended a relative of mine to a position in the public service, although I had lots of them. I said: "You cannot get any help from me, there will be no nepotism so far as I am concerned." I never recommended a relative for a position in the Civil Service during the seven years, and no such one has ever been appointed to either my department or any other. Further than that, I made it a principle when I had some influence in that direction, never to recommend a man for an important position who applied for it—speaking generally. There are exceptions, I realize, but speaking generally the man who is looking for a position in the public service declares by that very act his inability to work his way in the open fields of competition; and, during my time I never recommended a man to a position of any importance who asked for it. Let me illustrate: The best office, perhaps, in my constituency, became vacant owing to the death of the previous holder, and you can imagine that I had a great many applications for that position. The war was on at the time. Several of the applicants were men of military age, several of them had sons of military age, but there was not one of them, or a son of any of them, proposing to fight for his country. I said, of course to myself, "I will not recommend one of you." I looked around the constituency. I said: "There is a man who is well qualified for this position. He has only two children in the world, and they are both fighting in France. If he will accept this position I will recommend him. I wrote to the man in question and he accepted the position and has filled it in a manner perfectly satisfactory to everybody. Afterwards I got twenty-four letters from as many Conservatives, some of them being men who had applied for the position themselves, saying: "That is the best appointment you ever made." I got eight letters from leading Liberals in the city of a similar character. When the next election came around, of those who wanted the position, some voted for my opponent, some would not vote at all, and some voted for me. I think at least five Liberals in my town voted for me, by reason of that appointment, for every Conservative I lost. Mr. Speaker, you can trust the plain people of this country—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. CROTHERS: —and if you have in your mind the public interest in making these appointments, as you always should have, the public will support you. You are responsible to the public, the public feel that they are making these appointments through their representative, and I see in the new system no improvement on the old. It is wrong in theory, unsatisfactory in practice, and has been no more satisfactory than the old system. Can any one of you point to a man occupying a position to which he was appointed under the old system who is a scalawag?—a postmaster anywhere in this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a collector of customs, or a collector of inland revenue? You cannot point to one. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, and I want to repeat now—it is a little late for me to speak about this matter, although it has long been my desire, I have always been opposed to it, and I am opposed to it now. The present system is not working any more satisfactorily than the old system, and I think it will work out less satisfactorily as the years go by, because the Civil Service Commission cannot, in a big country like this, know personally anything about the applicants for positions in the service. If a janitor is required for the post office in Vancouver and he is to be appointed by the Civil Service Commission in Ottawa, who is going to advise them about the character of this man? Who ought to advise them, who is interested in advising them, who protects the public at Vancouver in making the recommendation? The member; and when you get a man—a member of Parliament, a minister, or anybody else—in a position where he cannont benefit

himself without benefiting the public, the public is pretty safe.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON (Algoma East): Mr. Speaker, when the Bill respecting the Civil Service was before the House at the last session of Parliament I expressed myself in favour of keeping the Civil Service out of politics, and I have not since had any occasion to change my opinion in that regard. I do not agree with those who have said that the putting of the outside Civil Service under an independent commission is wrong in principle; I believe that it is right in principle, although it may be weak in some of its details. But I do not think we have any good reason to complain if the Act has not got down to as smooth a working basis in one year as we might have hoped it would. It is like every other innovation; it will take a little time to get it working smoothly. I believe that if the Civil Service Commission is given a reasonable chance it will improve the Civil Service and relieve politics of a good deal of the odium that has attached to it in times past.

My personal experience has not been that of those who know of no case where a man who has been appointed through political agencies to a position in the public service has not been fitted for the position. As a matter of fact, my experience has been the very reverse. I can recall the names of a considerable number of men who were appointed not because they could give efficient service in any sense of the word but purely because of the service that they could give at or near election day.

It has been stated that the country has been almost universally opposed to the placing of the Outside Service under the Civil Service Commission. A member of Parliament might use that argument at a ward association meeting, but I question very much whether many members of this House would go into Massey Hall, Toronto, and make that assertion, or would make it at all before the public generally. If I have understood anything of the political situation in this country, there was, prior to the last general election—indeed, there has been for the past ten or fifteen years—a definite demand on the part of the public that patronage should be taken out of politics. I believe that in this Bill we have an honest and sincere effort to accomplish that end, and for that reason I am going to support it.

I wish, however, to be frank. In the short time that I have had an opportunity of glancing over this book that has been placed in our hands I have discovered some anomalies which will ultimately require to be corrected. However, I do not want to see this measure passed over to another session of Parliament, whether in the hands of a special committee or otherwise, because I know of a large number of men in the Outside Service who are subjected to injustice on account of their waiting for this reclassification to be put into effect. I shall refer to only one class, the railway mail clerks. I believe I am within the mark when I say that increases which in the ordinary course should have been made to these men twelve months ago are still pending, awaiting the putting into effect of this classification. In my judgment it would be preferable to put the re-classification into force at once and then, if necessary, amend at a future session the anomalies to which hon. members have referred. If this is done, those who are justly entitled to increases which will come to them under this re-classification will get them. I believe that the country will back the Government up in putting this legislation into force.

Mr. J. H. BURNHAM (Peterborough, West): Mr. Speaker, I believe it is a rule of order that when a member expresses an opinion decidedly against a measure under consideration, he shall not be put upon the committee appointed to consider that measure. All those members, if I am right, who are expressing a hostile opinion to this Bill are therefore excluded from the committee, and the consequence is that the committee, being composed of men who have expressed a favourable opinion, will necessarily bring in a favourable report.

Putting the Outside Service under the Civil Service Commission means a vast expense to the country. A few illustrations will show what I mean. A member told me this afternoon of the case of a postmistress, located 130 miles north of Kingston, in the backwoods, and receiving $80 a year, who resigned. It was necessary for the post office inspector to go to that locality and make inquiries. Had he been permitted to do so, he could have inquired of the member for the constituency and had the whole question decided for next to nothing. But he went to the locality and back to Kingston; then he went to the locality again and back again to Kingston. Three or four

times he had to make that journey, with the result that the expense ran up to hundreds of dollars. In my own constituency a postmastership in the back country—a trifling affair, but a very great convenience to tourists and others who visit that district in the summer time—became the subject of inquiry in the same way. The inspector kept racing back and forth, whereas if he had inquired of me he could have dealt with the whole situation in a few minutes.

If the member is not fit to make a suggestion about a matter of this kind, why, put the member out. The principle of a member representing his constituency and being asked various things in connection with it for the benefit of that constituency is perfectly sound. That there are some members who are unfit to give an opinion, may be possible. Well then, bring in a Bill to prohibit those members from having anything to say about such matters—or leave it to the people, who may be trusted to rectify the matter in very short order.

Mr. LEGER: The member is responsible to the people.

Mr. BURNHAM: The member is responsible to the people; the people have elected him on that understanding; and for the central authorities in Ottawa or anywhere else to go sneaking round and making inquiries from all sorts of irresponsible persons in the constituency is disgusting, it is insulting, and it cannot work. It cannot last and it won't last; no such principle as that can possibly continue in existence very long. No self-respecting member, no man who has any respect for himself at all, would put up with it. I quite understand why it is that there is such seething discontent in the House; members are beginning to realize what they did when they put the mark of the beast upon themselves.

To exclude women from this commission is an absurdity. Women comprise at least half of the electorate of the country; women are in the Civil Service. It naturally follows that they should have representation on the commission. The soldiers and labour may be left to take care of themselves; they are well able to do it, and they certainly will do it. But I make the plea for the poor member that he be represented on the commission. The poor outcast—do let him, Mr. Speaker, be represented on the commission, because if he is not fit to be consulted in such a trifling matter as this, why should he presume to give an opinion upon the business of the country? It is an absurdity. We are here—what? A gathering of men declared morally unfit to do the business of the country—not only to do the business of the country, but to do the most trifling things connected with the various constituencies that we represent. Certainly this is a matter that ought to be looked into and the principle recognized that the people of this country, including members of Parliament, are respectable people unless they are shown to be otherwise.

Mr. THOMAS FOSTER (York East): Mr. Speaker, the more we discuss this Bill, the more unpopular it seems to become. It is not necessary for me to make comparisons as to the various salaries in the classification; but there seem to be great inequalities, and however often we revise it, it will never be satisfactory. Experts or specialists were brought in from the United States to classify the various employees of the Government. After that classification was completed, there was a good deal of criticism, and it was thought that a further revision might be undertaken by a commission of Canadian experts or Canadians who had had experience in the Civil Service. But, notwithstanding their expert opinions and revisions, the classification is still unsatisfactory, and it is now suggested by the minister that we refer it to a special committee for further revision. It will then come back to the House, and the natural result will be, of course, that it will be still further revised. If we could cut out many of those things to which we object, by the time we got through revising, there would be nothing left but the outside covers.

During the latter part of 1917, when the classification of the Civil Service was a plank in the platform of the Unionist party, it had many supporters. I thought myself that it might be a good thing, and during the first session in 1918 I stated that I thought it was worth while to give the matter a trial. But I was rather suspicious that it would not be a success and would not prove to be satisfactory to the public generally, and I believe it has worked out in that way. People who at that time felt that this was a move in the direction of reform have changed their minds. It will be noticed that under this new condition of things the reform party or association or the Conservative Association or any other association that calls for gatherings cannot attract a corporal's guard at any of them. Formerly if the Reform Association or the Conservative Association or any other simi-

lar body sent out a notice of a meeting, hundreds, sometimes thousands, would respond. Why is there that change in the response? Under the old conditions, the selection made upon the recommendation of a representative of the people, who was a responsible person, almost invariably proved successful; but the strong feeling now is that something has been inaugurated for the benefit of the people but it has proved to be a failure from many standpoints, and the new condition of things has grown unpopular, and those who receive notice to attend a party meeting say: It is not worth while to respond to this notice and attend the meeting. The feeling would express itself about in this way: Under the old conditions I, or some one of my friends might be an applicant some time for a position in the Government. They looked forward to that and they were anxious; they were ambitious; they attended; they enthused. That is not the condition to-day. They stay away; there is nothing to look forward to except to get out and work hard. While it may appear that this is a good thing to have out of politics, I venture to say that if you divide the members of this House outside on this measure, the majority would condemn it and would go out of existence; but as it has been introduced by the Government, some members would be slow to express a candid opinion. Many have already expressed their candid opinions and they have not been in favour of this Bill. Under the system of examinations, a position may be advertised to be filled by competitive examination, and many young men may apply who have no special qualifications, who have no special ambitions, who are not so energetic, but who can pass an examination. There is another young man who, perhaps, cannot so successfully pass an examination, but who, if selected by a representative, might prove to be far the better man; he would be more industrious, more energetic and more anxious to make a name for himself as against the young man who has always been a drone and who would be one upon the Government if selected by the Government as passing the necessary examination and given a position. We might venture to say that in many cases he would not prove a success, but when he is once placed in that position, it will take a good deal of strenuous work and energy to displace him. Therefore, even under present conditions, I do not think we get the best results, that is to to say, the best men for the positions.

It has been suggested—and I think the minister is disposed to accept the suggestion—that the commission should be enlarged. It has been suggested that a returned soldier, or a woman or a labour representative, should be placed upon the commission. I am very strongly in favour of placing upon the commission a returned soldier with the proper qualifications. As to the women, their interest should be well looked after, and I believe if we had a fair expression of opinion of the women themselves, they would prefer to have their interests left in the hands of the men rather than have a woman represent them on the commission. But since there are two members to be selected, a labouring man might be selected as one of the commissioners. We are giving a great deal of attention to the labouring interests; we are trying to create harmony between labour and the industrial world, and this is an opportunity, where labour is all labour. This is not a manufacturing, commercial industry that we are considering to-day; it is labour from "A" to "Z." The employees all report to their positions at a certain hour and retire at a certain hour, and they give their best services. It is said there are some fifty or sixty thousand of these employees, and it is only fair to say that those fifty or sixty thousand who are labouring every day for their living might reasonably be represented by a labour representative. Therefore, the minister in giving this matter his further consideration, should consider, with the question of appointing a soldier representative, that of appointing a labour representative on the commission. This Bill is a very important one, and it has been suggested that it should be referred to a special commitee for further consideration. Perhaps that is the best thing we can do, but I think it might be as well before sending it to a committee to have a division just to find out what the feeling of the House is on the Bill. I venture to prophesy, from the murmurings I have heard among members for many months now, that this measure is so unpopular that a vote would mean the end of the Bill. The Outside Service, if they had an opportunity to express themselves, would be found to be entirely against coming under the Civil Service Commission, and there are many thousands in the Outside Service. There are hundreds of cases where injustice has been done in this classification, and if we went on with it I am sure that very few members of the Civil Service and very few hon. members would be satisfied when we had finished revising it. A great many members, appar-

ently, are reluctant to give their candid opinion of this Bill on the floor of the House, but if they would only get up and express themselves freely I am sure it would be found that the Bill had very few supporters here. From my knowledge and experience I think the classification is unsatisfactory and unpopular, and if we revised and revised it, it would still be unsatisfactory. I think it would be well to withdraw the Bill and let it stand over for another session. In the meantime we should have an opportunity to study the latest classification.

Mr. MICHAEL STEELE (South Perth): I fear that I shall be in that class just referred to by my hon. friend from East York (Mr. Foster)—one of the very few supporters of the Bill in this House—because what I have to say to-night will be, comparatively speaking, in favour of the Bill. I am not aware that the question before us for consideration in this Bill is the wisdom or otherwise of the abolition of patronage and the putting of the Civil Service entirely under the control of the Civil Service Commission. If this Bill were defeated on a vote, as prophesied by my hon. friend from East York, it would not mean the return of patronage to him or to any other member. This is a step further in the direction than was taken by this Government when the Outside Service was placed under the Civil Service Commission. No great step like that, which was a revolution in the Civil Service, could be expected to be thoroughly successful within a year or two; we could not expect it to be entirely relieved from criticism within that time. When Great Britain took a similar step, criticism continued for at least fifty years, and it is only within the last ten or fifteen years that the British Civil Service Commission has been largely relieved from criticism. In Great Britain the Commission passed through the very same stage that our Civil Service Commission is passing through now. The United States Civil Service has been under a Commission for ten or twelve years. That Commission also has passed through the very same stage that our Commission is going through now. We must expect the Commission to be criticised for a number of years longer until the people of Canada and their representatives in this House become accustomed to the changed conditions.

I do not think that the conditions which arose and existed under the old system of patronage have very much to commend them. The chief evils that exist in the Civil Service to-day are the evils that developed and continued to exist under the old system. What are some of these evils in the Civil Service to-day? Last session we had a special committee appointed to investigate the working of the Civil Service, and I would commend to the reading of every hon. member of this House who has not already read it the evidence taken before that committee. While the evidence was taken hurriedly, and there was not time to go into the matter fully, many things were revealed that should be known to every member of this House and to the people of this country. One evil that we found to exist, and which ought to be remedied, was the vast amount of time lost through civil servants being absent from duty. Civil servants are allowed, in addition to the statutory holidays, three weeks' holidays every year; but we yet found in some of the departments an amazing amount of time lost through civil servants being absent from duty over and above their regular and statutory holidays. In the Department of Agriculture, for instance, the average number of days absent over and above regular and statutory holidays was 14.4; Immigration and Colonization, 14.2; Interior, 20.9; Militia and Defence, 12:6; Post Office, 20.8; Railways and Canals, 15.4; Trade and Commerce, 13.9, and so on. In the year 1918 the days absent from duty on the part of civil servants in Ottawa made an aggregate of 94,633, which is equal to 315 working years. Resolve that into dollars and cents, and what do we find? The average salary of civil servants is $800, so it means that about $250,000 a year was lost owing to civil servants being absent from duty over and above their regular and statutory holidays.

Mr. CROTHERS: Were these conditions due to the method of appointment?

Mr. STEELE: That was the condition that existed under the old methods of appointment.

Mr. CROTHERS: Have those conditions changed?

Mr. STEELE: They ought to be changed, and that is one of the reasons I intend to support this Bill. These conditions have existed for many years, and it is time they were changed. The first step taken to change them was to place the Civil Service under the Civil Service Commission. Further steps will have to be taken by the Commission, and I am sorry they are not taking them a little more rapidly; but we know that they have been overloaded with work ever since

their appointment, and they have been asked to undertake a task which no three men should be expected to undertake and accomplish in such a short time.

We also found that the Civil Service was overmanned, and in order to relieve the service from this overmanning and to improve conditions generally, the first step to be taken is the passing of this Bill and the adoption of this classification, which will strengthen the hands of the Commission in carrying out the reorganization of the service.

I regret that we are expected to get through with the matter as quickly as the minister evidently anticipates. If I were the minister I would not allow myself to be influenced to too great an extent by the clamour of some of the civil servants for a hurried passage of this Bill. The matter is one of great importance. It is a business matter that deserves very mature consideration, and any action taken by this Parliament in connection with it should be well considered. The responsibility rests not with the civil servants but with this Parliament for putting into effective operation a system which will improve present conditions and remove the imperfections of the Civil Service as it exists. So that when we are asked to shoulder this responsibility I think it is our duty to see that the work is well done in order to avoid as far as possible any criticism in the future. If the Bill does not pass and become law this session, I trust it will when next parliament meets. But I do think that before it is passed this classification should be gone into thoroughly by a special committee, whether it requires a week, or a month, or even six months; however long it may take to deal with it let us see that the whole subject is considered in all its phases; let us make sure that the work is properly done before we ask Parliament to give its approval to it.

I desire to call attention to another matter which, so far has not been mentioned in the discussion and which, I think, may appropriately be considered at this moment. One thing that is indispensable to a satisfactory condition of affairs is a scheme of superannuation. The committee found in its investigations last year that there were a great many—I can hardly say how many, but there were at least from one hundred to four hundred—employees in the Civil Service who, owing to age or physical disability were incapable of giving the best service which the remuneration they received entitled the country to expect. It is difficult to dispose of these civil servants by merely dismissing them and turning them out on a cold and uncharitable world, but they could be dealt with, to the advantage of both themselves and the country at large, by a proper scheme of superannuation, and I had hoped that when the Government introduced this Bill they would announce their intention of adopting some scheme that would relieve the Civil Service of its older and disabled members to permit of the promotion of younger men, at the same time removing from the service many of younger years who are physically incapacitated for hard work.

I trust that this Bill will receive due consideration, and that it will be referred to a special committee which will give adequate time to a thorough investigation of the matter; and when that committee reports to the House I sincerely hope that hon. members will see that it is to the advantage not only of the Civil Service—which after all is a secondary consideration—but to the whole of Canada to pass the Bill, adopt the classification and continue in operation a system of filling positions in the Civil Service without reference to the old practice of patronage.

Mr. THOMAS FOSTER (York, E. Riding): I just want to ask the hon. member one question. He says that under the old conditions the departments were overmanned. Under the new conditions have things changed, and are the departments over-manned, under-manned or properly manned? I ask the question because only a short time ago, I think, the hon. member himself said that there were hundreds of employees in the various departments who should not be there.

Mr. STEELE: The old system has been in operation for fifty years, during which time no improvement has been effected in regard to over-manning. Surely it is now time to try a new system, and if in much less time than that it does not result in an improvement the removal of the commission should be considered.

Mr. FRANK S. CAHILL (Pontiac): I desire to ask the minister for some light on this important subject. He introduced a Bill this afternoon and practically said to the House: "Here it is; you may kick it out if you want to." I should like to know from him and the Government if it is the intention to see the Bill through this session? I understand that it is not the ordinary course to take to introduce a Bill

and then suggest to the House that if it wants a committee it may have it. I have a very distinct recollection of a Bill coming before this House at the last session and when we asked to have it go to a committee, one having already been provided—I refer to the Railway Committee—the Government informed us that it was not customary to submit Government Bills to committees. Now if this Bill is anything it is a pledge of the party—what party I am not prepared to say—on the other side. We were told this afternoon by the minister who introduced the Bill that this measure was to implement the pledge of the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) made previous to the last election.

Mr. BUREAU: And made during the election.

Mr. CAHILL: Yes, made during the election and used as one of the campaign cries to gain popularity for the Government. This afternoon the minister said there was some opposition to the Bill from the Liberal party by reason of the fact that when appointments were made the appointees were probably not Liberals. He said that the same thing applied to the other party. But Mr. Speaker he did not tell us what he meant by "the other party". About two years ago we had a Conservative party and until yesterday, as far as we know, we had the Unionist party. There was a caucus this morning and now we have "the other" party, and I presume that is what the minister meant. I am surprised, Mr. Speaker, to find a number of the staunch Tories, the old line Conservatives who are supposed to be backers of the leader of the Government, rising in this House and one after another repudiating their leader, affirming that they do not believe in the policy or platform on which he stood at the last election. We were told no later than this afternoon, by the minister that this was one of the planks of the Unionist party, or the Conservative party, and apparently he is not very anxious that it should be carried out because I understand that if this Bill is submitted to a committee the life of the committee will cease at the end of this session.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: My hon. friend has no right to make that statement.

Mr. CAHILL: If I have not, I trust the Speaker will call me to order.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: It is not a question of order but of fact, and I say that the hon. gentleman has no right to make the statement he has made.

Mr. CAHILL: The hon. member this afternoon, if I gathered his remarks correctly, virtually said: "Here is the Bill, do what you like with it." He introduced the Bill, it received its second reading and was moved into committee, when the minister put on the brakes, so to speak, reversed his gears and went back a couple of miles, starting all over again. He practically said: "Here is the Bill; Do you want it? There is nothing very important about it. We can pass it, but the session is drawing to a close, and we are all anxious that it should close at an early date". If I understood the minister correctly that is the purport of what he said,—that the Bill might be passed or might be submitted to a committee. Now, if he wants to submit it to a committee, I desire to ask him—and that is my reason for rising—will he see that Parliament sits until the committee makes its report and this Bill is carried into law, or does he mean to submit it to a committee merely to have it shelved? I think the House is entitled to an answer.

Mr. DEVLIN: No answer.

Mr. GEORGE BOYCE (Carleton): I have just a word or two to say, Mr. Speaker. This Bill has been so ably discussed in all its phases that there is, I fear, hardly anything left for me to say, except to remark in passing on the great applause which I received.

It is nothing new, Sir, for them to applaud most of these things, especially when they have reference to elections. They are beginning to get over the very great defeat they suffered. It took them two years in sackcloth and ashes to recover from it, and I am not surprised that now they are getting into a more pleasant mood.

We have been told that this Commission ought to be improved a little. I quite agree with those who suggest that there ought to be a soldier on the Commission. I heard some hon. gentlemen advocating very strongly that there ought to be a woman on it, but upon inquiry I find that those who support that suggestion so strongly are bachelors. If they think so much of the ladies they should have taken advantage of their opportunities and each of them should have arranged to secure for himself a partner to accompany him on the journey through life.

However, there is one part of the Civil Service which has not received the consideration that it is entitled to. That is the rural mail service, including the country mail carriers and postmasters. I said a few words in regard to this in the course of the

last two sessions. While I do not take the ground that the member should have everything to say in regard to appointments, I do say that he should be consulted in regard to certain appointments in the county. I do not think there is any one better qualified to give advice as to the appointment of a postmaster in a county than the member representing that county. He is to a certain extent held responsible for these appointments, and justly so. I have heard different parties ask: "What have we a member for; is it not to do our work?" Yet we have no right to interfere in any shape or form. I trust something will be done in regard to the remuneration of the rural mail carriers. I went on several occasions to the Postmaster General, but he told us he could not do anything until the law was changed. I hope that this House, in justice to these men, will see that they get a fair remuneration for the work they do. Take a country postmaster; many of them only get $50 or $75 a year. Men are paid less than $1,000 a year for carrying the mails sixty or seventy miles. Those men, considering what it costs them to keep their teams, and the time they give to the service, are not being fairly paid. Some provision to improve the position of these members of the public service should be incorporated in this Bill.

Whether the Bill is disposed of now or left over until next session, I do not think matters very much. It cannot be gone into in an intelligent or satisfactory manner this session, and I do not think there would be much harm done by leaving it over until next session. But, if you do leave it over, there is one thing that I would urge very strongly upon the House and the Government, and that is to give the rural districts a fair show with regard to whatever patronage there may be, because I believe that by so doing you will be promoting the welfare of the country.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (South York): Mr. Speaker, I am in favour of taking the Public Service of this country absolutely out of politics, and mainly and in the first place for this reason: I have had a rather long connection with recommendations from the political point of view. My experience has taught me that if a person goes into the Civil Service he ought to have recognition of his merit, if he shows merit, and I believe that a commission of this kind, guided as it must be more or less by the experience of the different departments, will recognize merit and give it promotion. That is a principle which should be recognized more than anything else in connection with this new Bill. The most satisfactory appointment that has been made in the city of Toronto since this new Act came into force was the promotion of the deputy postmaster to the postmastership. If you ask the citizens of Toronto, irrespective of party, you will find that they endorse the principle of the recognition of merit as exemplified by the promotion of the deputy postmaster, an officer of long experience, to the position of postmaster of Toronto. I want to see the same rule adopted in regard to the customs and every other department. I believe that throughout the whole service there should be a recognition of merit in the way of promotion when it is deserved.

But, I have another reason for favouring the recognition of this principle. I believe in the nationalization of railways and we have heard a good deal about it in this country. We have turned our railways over to a board of directors. I might prefer that there should really be a board of experts to run our railways, but I should have no hope whatever for the public ownership of railways if the operation of railways was to be made a political consideration. The great thing in the administration of publicly owned railways is that a man's merit will be recognized and he will be promoted irrespective of politics. The one thing that is creditable to the whole railway administration of America and of the Old Country is that they have recognized merit; the man at the top of every railway administration in this country has risen from the ranks. That is a great principle, and if we propose to undertake the administration of 20,000 miles of railway, politics must be eliminated to get the best results.

I wish to refer to what the hon. member for West Elgin, the ex-Minister of Labour (Mr. Crothers) said in regard to responsible government and his assertion that if you carry on the administration of the public service by a commission you do not have responsible government. I deny that. The greatest example of responsible government in the world to-day is in the Mother Country where they have de-politicalized their civil service. They have promotions there. The men who make the promotions are held responsible, and the public men of Great Britain, I think, are glad that they do not know of such a thing as being responsible to their constituents for the administration of the civil service. The United States is coming to it. It takes a long time, as an hon. gentleman has already said, to bring these things about.

There have been mistakes made in connection with our public service. The departments have been overloaded. Perhaps they are more or less overloaded now; but certainly to my mind the path leading to better things is in the direction in which we are now moving.

When we are talking about the public service there is one thing that I want to say; I referred to it the other day. We have to change our way of constructing administration buildings. We cannot have any more of these gothic buildings with the small rooms; we must not neglect to do what modern administration of business affairs suggests to us.

If you want to have a most efficient public service you have got to change your buildings, you have got to get the new kind of administration buildings. You have got to have large buildings, with lots of light, with big rooms where you have your departments under heads who are in the very rooms. It is an absurd thing to run up big administration buildings and cut them into small rooms, and then expect to get a chance to recognize ability in those employed. You want large rooms, you want lots of light, and every member of the service there ought to be under the eye of the chief. Even the chief ought to be under the public eye more or less. They do not divide up modern administration buildings now into small offices with two or three clerks in a room; large open buildings with large flats are constructed. You can go into any modern administration building and see the opportunity that is given for recognition of ability. Under such conditions those who give good service can be given consideration. We have got to get that business principle in the administration of the business affairs of this country.

Having had experience in exercising patronage—and while I did exercise a good deal of it in connection with the administration of public affairs in Toronto, I turned it over in every case to committees of the party, and took their recommendation—but after my experience I have to say that I am glad to get rid of it. It may be different with other members, and it may be more or less identified with party considerations. I do not dispute the position of those members, but I do hope we are gradually growing out of it, and that we will get a better system. Lots of faults and mistakes will be made; but if there is responsibility on us as public men, there is also responsibility on public officials, and when they do not do right we still have the responsibility to us in Parliament, more or less, and we can hold everybody responsible just as well under the new conditions as we did under the old. I believe the public opinion of this country, on the whole, is in favour of the recognition of this principle of taking the public service out of politics, and, with that making the underlying principle of the administration of the departments the recognition and promotion of merit, and using it now as a means for recognizing the returned soldier. Nobody can do it better than the commission appointed for that purpose who will be held responsible for what they do.

Mr. BURNHAM: Supposing the Civil Service Commission makes an appointment in a riding that is entirely unsatisfactory to the people, who is held responsible for that?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Well, the Civil Service Commision in a way. But supposing a mistake is made, how many mistakes have been made by men who are responsible? You have got to settle this question, as in all political questions, by the ballot—that will settle whether the public is in favour of the proposal or against it. Now the opinion of the people of this country, and they declared so in the last election, is that they were in favour of taking the public service of this country out of politics. And the Liberal party is committed to it—I believe they introduced this principle. A lot of us gave pledges—I know
9 p.m. I did—in regard to taking the public service out of politics, and I am prepared to go back to my riding, if I have to go back there on any occasion, and to justify this one thing, of giving that pledge. I have seen how well it has worked out, and while all has not been satisfactory in every direction the movement is in the direction of redeeming the pledge we gave, and in the direction of the benefit of the public service. Now just one other point.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON: Would the honourable member tell us how many members of this House he thinks are in favour of that policy?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I am not the keeper of the conscience of the honourable members of this House—I would not like to have that responsibility. I am going to speak for the member for South York (Mr. W. F Maclean), and when I do that I have got all I can undertake to do.

I want to refer to just one other matter: Speaking about the railway administration of the country, I was in the House in the old days when the Intercolonial was a

political adjunct of both political parties. I think there has been some improvement, not as much as I would like to have seen, perhaps, but I believe there has been an improvement in the administration of that railway, and the young men of the Maritime Provinces now can go into the railway on merit, and they can rise to the highest position in the administration of the public railways of this country. They did not have that opportunity, I think, in the past, and this is my final argument: in view of the fact that we are going into the nationalization of our railways, if we break down the civil service and politicalize it, what is going to happen to the national railways and to the national telegraphs if they come within the domain of politics?

Mr. CROTHERS: You have had a good many years experience under the old system, did you ever recommend a man for a public office who was not clearly well qualified to discharge its duties?

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I thank God, I did not, and I do not think many bad recommendations have been the case, but the onus is on my honourable friend to give specific instances where incompetents and scalawags, according to the expression he used this afternoon, have been appointed

Mr. CROTHERS: The honourable gentleman is only proving my case as he admits he does not know of any.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: That is not the point. The hon. member said this afternoon that the danger lay in the recommendation and that under the old system scalawags were not appointed. I will not go into that but it is incumbent upon him to say, when he used that argument, that under the new system scalawags are getting into the public service. I do not agree with him in that respect but I will leave the matter to the judgment of the House. Now, coming back to the consideration of the Bill, I did not quite understand from the minister when he introduced the measure this afternoon that he was "abandoning the baby" and leaving it to the charge of the House. I think it is a Government proposal and they are following on the lines of their committments. They have introduced the Bill, they have had some experience of it, and are trying to improve it; and in that we have the responsibility now just as much as in the past. The responsibility for the due administration of the law is on this House and the members of it and the people who sent us here, and with that interpretation of responsible government I will resume my seat, merely saying further that I am in favour of the passing of this Bill and of giving it a fair trial. It may be imperfect, it is imperfect, it has the mistakes of some years against it, but on the whole it can be improved. The Commissioners, I hope, will improve the Bill, and even if this enormous volume, this re-classification—which I do not propose to read—is not right, it can gradually be made right. That is what the Commissioners are for, and we will have to leave it to them. It may be necessary at a subsequent session to revise the whole thing and to go into it very fully; but let us try this proposal before we condemn it. Let us give it a fair trial, and if we find it wrong, then repeal it.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Springfield): The point which the hon. gentleman has just made with regard to the railway administration is one which was in my own mind and which I had intended bringing to the attention of the House. I cannot conceive of anything more disastrous that could happen to the state-owned railways, or to any successful administration, than to allow the patronage system to enter into the appointments.

In connection with the administration of our national railways a board has been appointed with powers independent of the Government or Parliament, and I am satisfied that a degree of efficiency is being attained in that administration which would not otherwise have been possible. To look back upon the appalling inefficiency that existed in connection with the administration of the Intercolonial railway during a period of thirty or forty years is surely enough to cause hon. members to look with disfavour upon a continuance of the old system.

For thirty or forty years the appointment of a Collector of Customs at Winnipeg was one of political patronage. While I do not wish to impugn the integrity or reasonable efficiency of many of those who have held that position, I am satisfied that they do not equal in any way the efficiency of the recent appointee. For the first time in the history of Winnipeg the Collector of Customs of that city has been appointed by the Civil Service Commission, the appointment having been made by the promotion of Mr. Allan, one of the most efficient officials of the Customs Department in Winnipeg, who has served in that department for some thirty or forty years. Now, that could not have happened under the old patronage system. The great drawback about the old

system was that appointments and promotions were usually the result of political pull. When the better positions, as well as many of the minor offices, are, as was the case under the old system, filled by means of political patronage and on the recommendation of members, civil servants are deprived of any incentive to continue their work or to do their very best. Under the old system they knew that it did not make any difference how efficient they were; unless they had political pull they would not receive promotion. Under the present system that is all changed.

I recall, as a resident of the West for many years, that in the early days, before the provinces there were organized, the West was made a stamping ground for political heelers and men who had rendered service to one political party or the other. I recall one instance—I shall not mention the name of the gentleman concerned, but the appointment was made by Sir John A. Macdonald; it must have been forty years ago; I remember the man very well.

Mr. BUREAU: Oh no, you were not born forty years ago.

Mr. RICHARDSON: Now, Jacques, I will have to ask the Serjeant-at-Arms to remove you. This man received an appointment in the Indian Department, and he got so gloriously drunk on receipt of the notice conveying the news of his appointment that he wired Sir John A. Macdonald as follows:

> Sir John Macdonald,
> Ottawa.
> Send on your damned old Indians.

And very properly he was dismissed instanter by telegram by the then Prime Minister.

Mr. BUREAU: What code was that?

Mr. RICHARDSON: One hon. member suggests that under the present system the Prime Minister could not do that. That is quite correct. I am perfectly satisfied that the Civil Service Commission would not think of appointing any man who was not qualified for such an office. If they did follow any practice of that kind, Parliament or the Government have their remedy; they can change the personnel of the board whenever they choose to do so.

Mr. BURNHAM: Does the hon. gentleman consider that the members, upon whose character or judgment, or whatever he likes to call it, he is now casting aspersion, are nevertheless fit to go on the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. RICHARDSON: I am casting no aspersion upon the character of the members of the commission. I say that if they made appointments of men not qualified for the positions to which they were assigned, the Government and Parliament have their remedy; they can change the personnel of the commission. I am not saying that, generally speaking, members of Parliament would not make reasonably proper recommendations. But I believe it would be a retrograde step to return to the old system of patronage. The commission idea has proved most satisfactory in the Old Land, to which we are accustomed to look for precedents. I am satisfied that if we continue this new system, eliminate patronage and cause appointments to be made on a higher plane, the result will redound to the credit of the Canadian people.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I must remind hon. members that it is absolutely against parliamentary usage and parliamentary rules to refer to members of the House by their family names, much less by their given names. Members should always be referred to as "the hon. member" with the name of his riding. This rule is necessary to preserve the decorum of Parliament, and I hope that it will in future be faithfully observed.

Mr. F. N. McCREA (Sherbrooke): Mr. Speaker, a committee was appointed at the last session to investigate and report upon conditions in the Civil Service. I was a member of that committee and the member for South Perth (Mr. Steele) was chairman. That hon. gentleman has explained quite fully the findings of the committee as far as they went, but whether it was because of lack of time or because of lack of attention to the business in hand, we did not complete our investigation. So far as we went, however, we found very great need of improvement, very great need of some method of remedying the existing conditions. I do not think I need repeat what the member for South Perth has said with regard to the work of that committee. It is possible that the Government have not had time fully to study and deal with this matter, and that may be the reason why, as I understand, the minister who introduced the Bill (Hon. A. K. Maclean) said that the House might deal with it as the House saw fit.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: I must correct the hon. member. I made no such remark.

Mr. McCREA: I was not in the House, but I understood that was the statement. I do not think that the Government would be well advised if it would take the necessary time to give this matter full consideration and appoint a commission to deal with it. I do not think they can make the condition any worse than it is, and I am sure they can improve it very materially.

As the member for South Perth has said, and as everybody knows, civil servants have three weeks holidays besides all the other legal holidays which occur throughout the year. In addition to that, the committee found that in practically every department whenever civil servants felt disposed to have a day off they reported sick and not fit for duty—and their time went on just the same. One of the causes of unrest in this country to-day in the farming communities and among labourers generally is the fact that civil servants are being fairly well paid, with very short hours and little work. I am not complaining about the pay. I would not even object to increasing the pay of civil servants, but I would want them to increase the work which they do to the extent of about a hundred per cent. I would want them to double the labour, and I would give them a small increase in wages. If the Civil Service were reduced by about fifty per cent and reasonable work exacted from them, they would not even then be overworked. That would be in the interest of the country and of everybody, in the interest of allaying the unrest that is now rampant throughout this country. The ordinary hours of labour for the Civil Service are, I understand, in summer 5½ hours and in winter 6½ hours. If they were giving every one of those hours to diligent and attentive labour, the condition would be better than it is; but if you go into any department, you will find it is a place of visiting—come in late; go out early; do practically as they like. This Government would be well advised and would act very wisely if they would take the necessary time to study out a plan and then appoint a commission of the best men they could get to try this out and see what the Civil Service would be under a commission that would look after it properly.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: Mr. Speaker,—

[Mr. McCrea.]

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The minister rises to address the House. I must advise honourable members that he is exercising his right to close the debate. If any other hon. member desires to speak, he should do so now.

Mr. PROULX: I should like to ask a question. Some years ago a report was made by Sir George Murray, who came from England and who was employed by the Government to make a report on the Civil Service. Has his report been considered by the commission in the classification?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Mr. Speaker, I shall answer the hon. gentleman's question before I resume my seat. I wish to refer, without any pretension to any system or order, to some of the statements which have been made by hon. gentlemen during the course of the debate. The hon. member for Pontiac (Mr. Cahill) requested from me some light upon this measure. I fancy that he did not employ the right term to express the idea he had in mind, because I think what he was seeking was confusion and darkness, and therefore, I do not think I need answer him. He, however, made reference to a point to which I must allude. He stated that the suggestion came from me that I was indifferent to the fate of the Bill, and that I did not care whether it should be considered by the House or by a special committee. In a sense, that is true of my statement, but it is not altogether accurate. I said this afternoon, in moving the second reading of the Bill, that I was quite content personally to deal with the Bill in the House and without reference to a special committee; but if, during the course of the debate, it appeared that any body of hon. gentlemen desired to see the Bill go to a special committee, I would be content with that. That was a perfectly sound position for me to take, because this is a Bill which, by the very nature of its bulk and the minutiae of its details, should go to a special committee if there was any desire expressed by any considerable number of hon. gentlemen to that effect. I am satisfied, after hearing from hon. gentlemen this afternoon, that they desire that the Bill be referred to a special committee, and after this motion for the second reading is put, I purpose making a motion to that effect.

I do not anticipate that the committee will enter into a consideration of the details of the classification. It will be rather foolish if they attempt to do so. At the very

most, I think, they should take into consideration the general principles involved in the course of the classification scheme. They will have an opportunity of having before them members of the Civil Service Commission and their corps of assistants by whom it will be explained what principles were adopted in making the classification. I do not purpose dealing with the criticisms made this afternoon of the details of the classification. To do so, would be unenlightening to the House; it would not be satisfactory to the critics of the Bill, and I think I can safely say to those who have referred to certain details, that they have not had an opportunity of understanding fully all the facts surrounding these cases.

The hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Hocken) spoke of the classification of those employed in the printing service of the country. I venture to admit first that possibly some improvements might be made, but I should be quite willing to go to a jury of my hon. friend's own selection and get a verdict against him for any substantial criticism he might make of any part of the classification of that particular service.

Reference was made to the salaries or compensation intended for clergymen attached to certain penitentiaries. I have had an opportunity of making an inquiry of the Commission in respect of this matter, and I am informed that clergymen are paid a salary quite equal to that paid by any comparable congregation in Canada to its pastor, and we cannot do more than that. The Civil Service should not expect to be paid upon a higher basis than that of any other class of people in this country rendering similar services. We should be model employers, but I do not mean to have it understood, when I use that term, that the servants in the employ of the State should receive a compensation altogether in advance of that received by employees in private businesses in this country.

Some hon. gentleman has suggested that this matter might well be delayed. I ask: Why delay the adoption of the classification? The debate this afternoon has largely centred upon a piece of legislation enacted eighteen months ago, and I am not purposing to amend that to-day. I am bringing forward a measure that has been presented to Parliament in pursuance of the express direction of Parliament, which direction every hon. gentleman in this House, on your left, Sir, as well as on your right, supported. I can conceive of no ground whatever on which any hon. gentleman can oppose classification. I might admit that the principle of appointment to the public service by an independent commission is wrong, and yet I could successfully contend for the adoption of this classification. I gave to the House this afternoon numerous instances wherein persons in the public service performing identically the same service were paid different salaries varying by $100 even up to $1,000. Surely no hon. gentleman in this House will pretend to argue that anomalies and inequalities of that nature should not be corrected, and in the classification which has been presented to Parliament there is an effort to make this correction. I think it will be found that, in the first place, by this classification no injustice is done to any member of the service. Public interests have been well conserved in that document. I concede that it contains many defects, or errors, or whatever you choose to call them; but I also pointed out this afternoon that the Bill provides a method by which these defects and errors may be corrected by the Civil Service Commission, and they will, with the approval of Parliament.

I want to remind the House that it is not very long ago that it unanimously approved of the enactment of the Civil Service Act of 1918, which Act directed the Civil Service Commission to prepare a classification of the service. Therefore, I am going to assume that the House will unanimously support the efforts of the Government to carry out the statutory directions which this House made a year and a half ago.

Some hon. gentleman has referred to the great expense incurred in the preparation of this classification, and I think it was the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Hocken) who inquired where the Civil Service Commission got its authority to engage in this work. My answer to the last question is that the authority is to be found in an Act of Parliament known as the Civil Service Act of 1918, which directed the Civil Service Commission to do this work, and my hon. friend from West Toronto supported that direction and that Act of Parliament. I need say no more about that.

Some other hon. gentleman also urged that somebody in Canada could have been found to prepare this classification. I gave an emphatic denial to that proposition this afternoon, and I repeat it now, and in the repetition I deny that I am doing any injustice to Canadian talent. Some hon. gentleman suggested that the deputy ministers might have prepared the classification. I deny it. In the first place, they could not

possibly make a pretence at a classification of the Civil Service after the scheme now before Parliament within a decade or two, and if you gave them even a greater period of time I doubt if they have had the experience in that class of work to prepare a classification which they would care to submit to Parliament for approval.

Several hon. gentlemen have said that members of Parliament have suffered an indignity through the power of recommendation for appointment to the Public Service being taken away from them, and that this power should be restored. Now, I do not think the House can say that I was not frank with them this afternoon, because I did say that the legislation of 1918 was revolutionary, but in the right direction, that it was in pursuance of the pledge of the Prime Minister, and that I believed it had the moral support of the Canadian electorate. I said further that I believed it would in the future meet with the approval of all classes. I am personally glad to have been associated with this work, and I hope to see this legislation a permanent thing in the political life of this country. I am not, however, surprised that there is opposition to the Bill. I can understand the feelings and the hearts of members of Parliament who may feel that a great factor in political organization has been taken from them. I think, however, they can overcome these difficulties to their own advantage and to the advantage of the country. I shall touch on that later. The point I wish to make now is that this Parliament in 1918 solemnly and deliberately placed the power of appointment to office in the hands of an independent commission, and this Parliament without a single protest voted for the classification of the public service. The Government, in obedience to the direction of hon. gentlemen, have had the same prepared through the commission, and it is now presented to Parliament for approval.

I do not accept the proposition myself—and I want to be generous to the men who think differently from me—that it is part of the duties of a member of Parliament to recommend to office. The hon. member for West Toronto suggested the restoration of this power to the hon. members, and my hon. friend from Prescott (Mr. Proulx), who was a little more credulous than I thought he would be, accepted the statement of the hon. member for West Toronto that the Opposition members would participate in the power of recommendation. He seemed to be quite pleased with the answer the hon. member for West Toronto gave, and apparently accepted his statement as one likely to work out in practice. Now, there is no doubt in the world that if the power of recommending appointment to public office is restored and the old practice is continued, that power will rest with the members supporting the ministry. It would be absurd to expect anything else, and the man who did so would be demonstrating conclusively his incapacity and unfitness for a seat in Parliament— and quite properly so, for if the proposition is sound, that power should only rest with members supporting the ministry.

The hon. member for West Peterborough (Mr. Burnham) objected very strongly that the power of appointing a postmaster in some place in his constituency, where tourists resort for a few days in the month of August was taken from him. I am sorry the hon. gentleman is not in the House, because I should like to say to him, whom I know to be a distinguished member of Parliament, a man of intellect and vision, who conceives and studies ideals and endeavours to put them into practice in this House, that I should be surprised if he seeks the support of his constituents upon the ground that he desires to fulfil the duties of nominating persons to small country post offices. I am sure the hon. gentleman is qualified for much nobler and more important national work than that while he is a member of this Parliament, and I hope he will not rate himself so low in the future.

I think there are two other important reasons why it is desirable that the power of nomination, once resting in members of Parliament, should be placed in an independent commission at the present time. The hon. member for South York (Mr. W. F. Maclean) referred to the policy which this country, rightly or wrongly, is embarking on of state ownership and operation of railways. It is a serious policy for any country to embark upon, and one which has given me a great deal of anxiety as to its outcome. I say that you cannot have government ownership and operation of railways in this country and at the same time have the Civil Service appointed other than by an independent commission, such as the Civil Service Commission. It is utterly impossible to conceive of appointments to the Civil Service by members of Parliament, and appointments to a state-owned and state-controlled railway system

by a railway board or any other management.

Mr. McKENZIE: Is it the intention to apply this classification to the railroads?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I was just going to remark that railway employees do not come under the operation of this Act. I do not know of any way in which that could be done practically. I say that the effect of making appointments to the Civil Service by an independent commission has made it possible for the Canadian National Railway Board to operate the National Railway System and select their own employees free from political interference, and I make this statement that if you take from the Civil Service Commission the powers they now possess under the statute you will immediately have a reversion to political appointments upon our national railway system.

Mr. CROTHERS: No.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The hon. gentleman says, "no," but I have had experience in that connection in the Maritime Provinces where we had Government ownership and operation of railways, and it would be impossible for any hon. gentleman, not excepting myself, if he had the power of nominating persons to public office, not to intrude himself and his influence, if he had any, upon the management of the Canadian state-owned railways. The Canadian National Railways to-day have 42,162 employees, and the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Grand Trunk have 30,185 altogether 72,346, and upon that ground alone I say to you candidly that it became absolutely necessary that the power of appointment to public office should be placed in the hands of an independent body. Otherwise appointments to the state owned railway system would be largely political, and that would mean the bankruptcy of the roads.

There is another reason why I think that hon. gentlemen should be glad to be rid of this power of recommendation. Under the statute returned soldiers have preferential treatment in appointment to office, and it is a fact that at the present time practically every appointment goes to a returned man. In the circumstances I cannot conceive of any hon. member wanting to distinguish between the merits of rival applicants to public office when they all come from the same class. What would be the tendency? If I had the recommending power—and I venture to say that this assertion will be applicable to all others—I would desire to support a soldier who I thought was politically friendly to me to-day or might be to-morrow if I were continuing in public life—a soldier who would support my colleagues and my Government. But the soldier would not submit to that, because it would be an unfair proposition to say to a soldier who chanced to be a political opponent of mine that he was not entitled to public office and was not to have an opportunity to such appointment. And the result would be that members of Parliament in the end would refuse to exercise the recommending power if they had it; and if they did exercise it they would do it partially, which would be unsatisfactory to the soldier. So that I think it would produce a condition of social and political disorder which would not be acceptable to any one. Some one has said that it is not democratic to have appointments to public office made by an irresponsible commission. Well, I do venture the assertion that if there is anything democratic in the world it is the very system which we are discussing to-night, because it is designed, and on the whole I think it works out that way, to give an opportunity to every one; and democracy, if it means anything at all, means an equal opportunity for all. Where appointments to public office are in the hands of the Government in power they naturally go to the friends of that party. Experience indicates that. So that, after all, that practice is not very democratic, because an opportunity comes only to those who happen to be friends of the ministry. I venture to make the prophecy that a few years will demonstrate the fact that the Civil Service Act of 1918 was an expression of wisdom on the part of hon. gentlemen who upheld the principle of the measure. As I said this afternoon, it will have some effects upon our political life. It will give greater prominence to real issues. A great many of the shibboleths of party which we heard a great deal about in the past during elections have gone, and, I trust, forever. Issues and men will count for something in the future politics of this country, and nothing that happened before 1914 will count for anything. Considering the great economic burden now resting upon this country, and the necessity for the business affairs of Canada to be administered in a real business way as far as possible, I think it was important that the principle of the Civil Service Act should have been adopted. I trust it will be continued, and I have no doubt that in the course of a few years it will have the approval of the leaders

of all political parties then prevailing in this country, and that there will be no desire on the part of any to revert to the conditions which prevailed prior to 1918.

Mr. T. J. STEWART: I should like to know—if the minister will permit me to ask him the question—why Hamilton was put in grade 5 along with Calgary, Edmonton, Halifax, London, Regina, St. John, Saskatoon and Victoria, while Ottawa is put in the grade with Vancouver, although Hamilton has a larger population than Ottawa?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I am sorry if any affront was given to the citizens of Hamilton by that classification, but it would be impossible for me to give my hon. friend the principle upon which the distinction was made. In the grading of post offices population was not the only factor. Volume of business, the amount of mail distributed from certain cities and several other factors were considered. However, it is a matter which I am sure can be explained to my hon. friend, and if the city of Hamilton deserves better company than it has been accorded the error will no doubt be rectified.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the second time.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Mr. Speaker, I move:

That Bill No. 18, An Act to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918, be referred to a Special Committee, composed of twenty-five members and to be named hereafter, for the consideration thereof, with power to call for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses under oath and to report from time to time, and that Rule 11 be suspended in relation thereto.

Motion agreed to.

ALLEGED MANIPULATION OF SOLDIER VOTES.

DEBATE RESUMED ON MOTION FOR PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE.

Debate on the proposed motion of Mr. McKenzie for the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the alleged manipulation of soldier votes in the general election of 1917, resumed from Wednesday, October 1.

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers): Mr. Speaker, when the House rose at six o'clock yesterday I had put on Hansard a certain number of names of soldiers whose votes had been "switched", to use an expression that has been used since the commencement of the debate. I stated at that time that I did not want to put any more names on Hansard but I desired to make the statement that I had hundreds of the names of soldiers whose votes were not polled in the constituencies where they resided and where they ought to have been polled. I also yesterday cited a circular that was sent out by Lieut.-Col. Machin to show that there was a general organization—I might say a general conspiracy—which was carried on with the knowledge of the Government to try and influence such voters. I stated also that Lieut.-Col. Machin was the man who was charged with the carrying out, I might say, of the Military Service Act. We were assured in 1917, when the Military Service Act was before the House, that it would be administered with equal justice to all. During the debate, when the other day the hon. the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) put up his so called defence, he stated that he was not the sponsor of the Bill but that the hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) was. I would like to give to the House a few—I will not say the assertions—but promises made by the Minister of Justice that this Act should be properly administered. If you take Hansard of the 20th August 1917, page 4688, you will find that the Minister of Justice said:

The principle of the Bill is that our soldiers should be afforded an opportunity to vote at the coming election and that adequate provision should be made to enable them to register their vote, precautions, however, being taken to ensure the regularity, fairness and genuineness of that vote.

That was one of the guarantees that was given to us by the sponsor of the Bill as to its provisions and as to how they were to be put in force. In view of the suggestion made by the then member for St. John, N. B. the Hon Mr. Pugsley, that under the provisions of the Bill there was a possibility of grave fraud being carried on and that therefore the Bill should be administered by an impartial tribunal the Minister of Justice said, page 4742:

I do not think I am making a profession of any superior virtue, or being particularly unctuous, when I say I desire to work out the measure on as fair a principle as it can be worked out on, but while I desire to do that, I am not prepared to accept the suggestion that, with regard to this election, and to the law which should govern the election, this Government should abdicate the functions which belong to it, and which have belonged to the Governments of Canada so long as there has been an election law. We must be responsible for this law.

I gather from that, that Parliament was responsible for the law, but it was suggested or stated by those who took part in the debate that the Government was responsible for the administration of the law. In whatever manner the law is administered, they have to take the responsibility. In this case I charge that this law was wrongly administered. I charge farther that, from the facts which I have brought forward and putting the circumstances together, the law was wilfully wrongly administered and we are asking for this committee to show exactly that the statement I make now that the law was wilfully wrongly administered for party purpose is true.

If you want any further professions of faith on the part of the Minister of Justice you will find that on the same date, August 21, page 4708, he says:

> May I point out that the number of votes that will be covered by this provision with regard to men who have not previously resided in Canada will not be very considerable?

Fifty thousand of them have been thrown out. Thousands in addition to those of the voters whose names I cited yesterday were switched and put into counties where the men did not reside. The measure was passed for the purpose of providing for a number of votes which would not be very considerable. I cite these facts to show that this system could not have gone on unless there had been a general organization to carry it on and there could not be a general organization without the Government being aware of its existence. As I stated yesterday the Minister of the Interior said that if there was an organization that was carrying on the switching of votes throughout this country he was willing to take the responsibility and he had nothing to repudiate.

On the same page of Hansard the Minister of Justice said:

> If you take the men who could not define their constituencies and all the men who never resided in Canada and crowd them all into the places in which they were enrolled, you would in regard to many constituencies take these constituencies boldly out of the hands of the people actually resident in them and transfer the control of them to these men who gathered there accidentally merely for the purpose of voting.

I admit that the Minister of Justice was right. If we had determined that the soldiers should vote in the places where they were enrolled it would have been unfair and it would have defeated the will of the residents of the county where the vote was taking place. But in this case it is not only at certain points of enrolment that this was done but it was spread all over the Dominion of Canada wherever the Government were in doubt about a constituency because they were taking not only those men who did not reside in Canada or who could not define the constituencies wherein they had lived, but also the men who actually knew where they came from and instructed them to apply their votes in one constituency or another. The examples I cited in Cumberland, Nova Scotia and the few names I read into Hansard were designed to show that we had the information—number, name, place of residence, where he was born, where he enrolled, in what county he voted, and where he swore he was living for the purpose of voting.

At page 4720 my hon. friend again says:

> Are we going to hive all the votes in the places where the soldiers happened to have enlisted? Is that fair to the constituencies where the largest enrolment took place?

I am with him and the reproach that I make to the Government is that when the measure was before the House they explained exactly what they wanted to guard against. They explained that they wanted the soldier to vote—we all agreed with that—and that they wanted the soldier to be master of his vote and not to be coerced to vote in one place instead of another.

On page 4722 of the same Hansard, on the same day, the Minister of Justice said:

> The only man who is to have the chance to indicate where he desires to vote is the man who neither knows the name of the electoral constituency nor is in a position to name a place or places in which he resided, or from the naming of which the constituency can be ascertained..... There is no ground to apprehend difficulty in so far as regards a man who knows where he lives—whether he knows the name of the constituency or not, that man will vote in the constituency in which he lives.

I will not quote any more of these statements. The intention of those who were the sponsors—to use the term of the Minister of the Interior—for this legislation are very clear; the idea was to give the man a vote where he lived, and to give the man who had no residence in Canada a vote somewhere but where to be indicated by the man himself. There was no contemplation of any "vote at large," there was no contemplation of any "allotment" to any particular constituency under the Act by any one whomsoever, and the words "at large" and "allotment" in the telegram show exactly, and constitute evidence per se, that there was an organization and that there was an army going across the seas and all over America allotting votes and dis-

tributing them to meet the purposes of the parties interested. And who were they? Surely it was not the Opposition who wanted the Union Government to be elected? The parties interested were the Union Government and those who were organized by them, under them, and for them.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I spoke about the feeling that was general in the country, and I said at the time that this feeling was sufficient to justify the Government—no, not justify the Government but force the Government—to grant the committee of investigation which we are now seeking. Allow me to read a letter which was received from a sergeant-major, and what he has to say about this matter. Among other things he says:

> Well, I see by last week's paper that the overseas elections were the subject of a controversy in the House of Commons the other day—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. gentleman is not in order in reading a document from an outside party having reference to proceedings in the House.

Mr. BUREAU: I cannot read anything coming from outside the House?

Mr. SPEAKER: Not which makes comment on the proceedings in the House.

Mr. BUREAU: I thought, Mr. Speaker, without taking exception to your ruling, that I had a right to read an article from a newspaper having reference to the proceedings in this House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have given my ruling. The hon. gentleman is not in order in reading a newspaper or a letter commenting on, or having reference to, any proceedings in the House.

Mr. BUREAU: Then I will read a letter having reference to and commenting upon events overseas that were taking place at this election. Here is what the writer says:

> From my own experience, first as an agent at the polls and later as a special returning officer, counting and allocating the votes, I have no hesitation in saying that it was the biggest travesty on the franchise of a supposedly free people and the most barefaced steal ever perpetrated in the name of the sacred ballot.

Now then, Mr. Speaker, that has reference not so much—

An hon. MEMBER: No comment.

Mr. BUREAU: I have no comment to make because this comes from a soldier who was there and saw what was going on. He was a sergeant-major.I will not give his name but he will come before the committee, if you will grant one, and he will tell about this dirty work that he is speaking of and some more.

Mr. GRIESBACH: At what poll and in what country was he acting in the capacities mentioned?

Mr. TOBIN: Give us the committee.

Mr. BUREAU: He was a special returning officer counting and allocating votes, he does not say where. He was not a civil special returning officer because there was no allocation of the civil votes that were counted by the regular returning officer. That was only done—I hope so, although it may have been done elsewhere—in the case of soldiers. If my hon. friend wants to cross-examine me now, I will give him a chance to cross-examine the man himself if he will vote to grant the committee for which we are asking. Here is another statement, Mr. Speaker, one that was made publicly by Doctor (Major) Cryus McMillan, Professor of McGill university, Montreal. Speaking publicly in Prince Edward Island he said:

10 p.m.

> Shortly after he was sworn in he received a letter from General Embury asking him to inform the soldiers that if the Government was sustained they would get three months' furlough. Major McMillan also says that he and other deputies were instructed to hurry up the polling, and then to make a return of the number polled, with a list of names and addresses of those not polled, and that they were to be voted (personated) at the base.

At the base, How could they be voted there? They could be personated. Now, Mr. Speaker, if that does not constitute a conspiracy to switch votes I want to get all the best authorities in this country to give me a definition of conspiracy, for I do not understand the word. Let me give another example and I quote further from the statement made by Major Cyrus McMillan. He also said:

> Many English and Americans did not wish to vote in Canada, and were voted or personated in this way.

I may say, Mr. Speaker, that Major McMillan intends to write his experiences having to do with elections overseas, and to publish them in a pamphlet for the edification of the public of Canada and show how much and how hearty was the support of the Union Government at the last election.

I have another letter here from Lieut. A. C. Campion, who was a poll clerk at Carlisle in Scotland, but I will only read a part of it. I want to establish my case showing conspiracy and that we are en-

titled to this committee. Lieut. Campion says:

> We were advised by wire from London of constituencies where the election would be close and would have the voter vote in that riding. A voter was supposed to be able to vote in any riding he chose if he weren't quite sure where he voted before at the previous election.

Now I ask you, Mr. Speaker, is that the intent, or is that the wording of the law, and are those the instructions that were sent to London to be given to the presiding or to the deputy presiding officers? I read last night, and I produced a letter of Mr. Purney, who was giving his opinion and saying that those who did not answer questions 5, 6, and 7 ought to be counted as voters. This was reversed afterwards but reversed and the Government were satisfied they had done enough switching, stealing and personating to win the election without the 50,000 votes. This lieutenant further says:

> A voter was supposed to be able to vote in any riding he chose if he weren't quite sure where he voted before at the previous election. So this afforded an opportunity to switch the votes to any riding and if the voter were not quite sure of the candidate he wished to vote for the name of one of the close ridings before mentioned was suggested to him.

Was suggested to him! He did not suggest where he wanted to vote, but it was suggested to him. By whom?

> By the officer in charge and the voter, as a rule, marked his ballot so that the officer could see that he voted for his man.

I do not want to go on further. I have got statements like those I have quoted by the stack, and I do not want to encumber Hansard because I have enough confidence in the judgment and honour of the House to believe it will grant the committee believing as I do that I have made out a good case.

In the earlier part of my remarks I alluded to the tragical gesture of the Minister of the Interior when he demanded the production of this telegram and asserted that the time to produce it was "now—now." I do not see that this telegram has to be produced, and I say this for two reasons. Your warrant does not issue on the evidence as adduced to convict a man; you make out a prima facie case by swearing that you have reason to believe that the man is guilty. But let us talk about the telegram. The Minister of the Interior says:

> The message might have been sent; it might have been sent by me; it is a message which might have been sent by any honest man.

Well, here I pause. Where is the honest man who, in the ordinary course of business, sends an honest message for an honest purpose to another honest man and uses a code cipher? And on what occasion would such a message be sent if the cipher was not in the possession of and agreed upon between the sender and the receiver?

Mr. GRIESBACH: Did the hon. member ever receive a cipher telegram? If he ever did, was either the sender or the receiver a dishonest man?

Mr. BUREAU: I have received cipher telegrams the purpose of which was to shorten the wording of the message and reduce the amount to be paid to the telegraph company. It is for this purpose that codes are employed in sending cablegrams; it is for this purpose that codes are adopted for the ordering of parts from automobile factories. It is agreed between the sender and the receiver that a certain word means a certain part, and orders can be sent without the use of lengthy messages. But in ordinary business like this, why should you use the cipher? Because you did not want it to be known to the people through whose hands the matter was passing. If this was an honest transaction, why should you hide it from the telegraph operators or from those who might hear it on the wire? It is not a matter of business about which you do not wish your neighbour to learn; it is not a price you are quoting which you do not wish your neighbour to know. You are asking that a certain provision of the law be put into force. Well, every man is supposed to know the law; why should you use a cipher? The words "at large" and "allotment" are the two crimes perpetrated by this telegram—then there is "amphibiological" and certain other words that would scare an army of soldiers. But would that cipher telegram be sent if at the other end they could not decipher it? That in itself is evidence that he who sent it and he who received it knew the cipher and had an agreement between themselves as to how it should be used.

I do not see that the production of the telegram would better conditions any. The Minister of the Interior said:

> But if a man, however vaguely or obliquely—

"Obliquely"—that is fine; it is just like the Minister of the Interior. In fact, his answer is itself rather oblique (reading):

> —alleges wrong-doing, surely the onus is on him to produce the facts; surely it is on him to establish the truth of his allegations; surely it

is on him to produce the proof. The time for a prima facie case is now—now.

Our friends on the other side—leaving out of consideration the people at large, leaving out of consideration the House of Commons—acting as though they were kings or kaisers, have been wont to carry on the business of the country with a high-handed czarism the like of which was never known in this land before. Perhaps men like that would make charges from their seats in the House without having the proof. But here a member rises in his place and says: "I have seen the telegram; I have the telegram"—and that is sufficient to constitute a prima facie case. Even without the telegram, the facts that I have stated and which I now assert constitute a prima facie case, a case which should bring about a verdict against those who were guilty of this conspiracy or of this organization.

It is not a question of political corruption. In the past there has been the buying of votes; there have been things of that kind; but that is not the question here. The question is one which involves the great principle of the sacredness of the ballot. Some people may say: The member for Three Rivers has been in politics for a while, but he may not have a proper conception of what the sacredness of the ballot really means. On this point let me quote the views of a man whose opinion on any subject is authority in America,—Cardinal Gibbons. It may not please all those who are within the sound of my voice, but here is what he says:

> The ark of the Covenant was held in the highest of veneration by the children of Israel. It was the oracle from which God communicated His will to the people. Two chedubim with outstretched wings were placed over it as sacred guardians. Oza was suddenly struck dead for profanely touching it. May we not, without irreverence, compare the ballot box to the ancient ark? Is it not for us the oracle of God because it is the oracle of the people? God commands us to obey our rulers. It is through the ballot box that our rulers are proclaimed to us. Therefore, its will should be accepted as the voice of God. Let justice and truth, like two cherubs, guard the sacred instrument.

This is what I want to emphasize, Mr. Speaker:

> Let him who lays profane hands upon it be made to feel that he is guilty of a grievous offence against the stability of Government, the peace of society and majesty of God.

That is the way Cardinal Gibbons describes the sacredness of the ballot. Let us have the ballot respected in this country, if we want stability of Government, peace in society and reverence for the majesty of God.

Further in the same address, Cardinal Gibbons says:

> I claim that the man who undermines our elective system is only less criminal than the traitor who fights against his country with a foreign invader. The one compasses his end by fraud, the other by force.

I do not know that I like the man who compasses his end by force less than the man who compasses his end by fraud. The former takes his chance; he shows some courage; he knows that if he does not attain his end and the enemy apprehends him, he will be put to the wall and shot. He does not hide his face in shame; he does not cry: "Win the war; make sacrifices" to hide his wrong-doings. There is the difference between the two. Those who manipulate the ballots, those who throw aside the sanctity of the ballot—the basic foundation of our institutions and our liberties—are aptly defined in the quotation which I have made from Cardinal Gibbons. We ask for this committee in order that the people may be assured that what has been going on in this regard will cease. We desire that these things shall be made public, because if they are made public there is enough self-respect left in the members of the Government to cause them not to continue a condition of things which has been the cause of bringing shame to this country.

There is another question, the question of the honour of this House. There have arisen in the history of the world great questions where the ballot had to be resorted to, where the result of the ballot was great in consequence, and where the switching and the tampering that have taken place in this election did not take place. Let me take for instance the establishment of a dynasty which was the stake when France elected Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor. Napoleon Bonaparte's most bitter opponent never suggested, indeed, never attempted to influence the army, and there was a question just as important as the one that was fought in 1917. When Napoleon III was elected Emperor there was no suggestion of undue influence with either the army or the civilian population. When Russian officers were tightening the screws on Finland in the early nineties under Bobrikoff, there never was the shadow of an attempt to restrict the Finlanders in the free use of their franchise, and they elected to their Parliament time and time again the most bitter opponents to the Russian regime. When the Democratic press in the United States

charged that election frauds had taken place in districts that had given a majority for Hayes, which, if true, had effected Tilden's defeat, the Republican leaders declared that Hayes could not be inaugurated until this matter was cleared up, and a tribunal was appointed by the courts to investigate the charge, and it was not until they were proved to be without foundation that Hayes was declared to be President of the United States. When France discovered about a quarter of a century ago that the President's son-in-law had been fraudulently dealing in national decorations—that is within the memory of all those who are hearing me now—although the President was in no sense a participator in the proceedings, he was compelled to resign the Presidency of the great republic of France. When General Maurice, in a communication to the London press a year or so ago, accused Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, of giving unreliable information about the war to the House of Commons, the matter was regarded as so serious that Lloyd George offered—he did not wait for a motion to be made—to refer the matter to an independent tribunal to be appointed by the House. These are samples of the sense of national honour in other countries. Are we, a nation within the Empire, who have just taken the step of taking part in deliberations on national matters, less sensitive about our national honour than France, than England, to whom we are a sister nation? Are we going to let these things stand when the honour of this country and of the whole House is at stake, and say: No, we shall not grant the investigation? I for my part cannot go that far. It was said the other day that there were various standards of morality and ethics. Let every man be the judge, as I said, but I speak as a member of the House of Commons, as a Canadian citizen, and I say that this shadow over the House of Commons and over the Canadian people I desire to see cleared away. If there be any guilty parties, let them be punished. If the parties be innocent, so much the better for them, and we shall take our medicine for having been foolish enough to be fooled by other people.

Before I resume my seat I have only one more word to add. The other day the honourable member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) challenged my leader, saying to him: You claim there have been threats made that those who would not support Union Government would be sent to the front or to the trenches, I dare you to mention some names. The honourable member for Frontenac has not usually such a short memory as that. He ought to remember that on the 22nd, May 1918, the honourable member for Westmorland (Mr. Copp) read in this House original affidavits from two privates, Private Darcy and Private Audy, alleging that they had been transferred on account of their political affiliations. The Government has so far made no reply, and referring to Hansard of May 22, 1918, page 2414, I find the following. I will not read the whole because it is too long, but I will start just about the middle of the page. The honourable member for Westmorland had been citing something, and he continues:

That is their statement in regard to charge No. 11.

Charge No. 12 was:

That military electors in non-combatant regiments were threatened with transfer to fighting line regiments if they did not mark their ballots for the Government in the presence of and in the manner prescribed by the Deputy Presiding Officer.

The honourable member goes on to say:

I have on that, Mr. Speaker, two affidavits, which I desire to place before the House to prove to what lengths the presiding officers and those in charge of the election would go for the purpose of carrying their point. The first affidavit is as follows:

I, the undersigned, No. 2245479 Pte. Darcy D., make the following statement:—

While a private with the 403rd Forestry Battalion, at Sunningdale the Adjutant of the same Battalion called me in his Office and told me: "Darcy, you are going to vote and in this Battalion the vote is an open vote.

Now I want you to vote for the Government or else, you will have to go from here." I answered "I will vote for Laurier for in the past I always voted for Laurier and every member of my family and more than that I am against conscription." The Adjutant told me: "I am giving you an order to vote for the Government and hurry up, vote here (pointing the reserve space No. 2 in the ballot): If you refuse to vote here as indicated, you will be transferred to an English infantry battalion, and more than that you can be punished." So I had to vote for the Government against my will.

Mr. TOBIN: Shame.

Mr. BUREAU (reading):

After having read the said statement and knowing that the above declaration has the same effect as one taken under oath, I have signed.

(Signed) Dona Darcy.

Witness,
E. B. Bastien,
198th Canadian Infantry Battalion.

Here is another affidavit in proof of the same statement:

I, the undersigned, No. 2245525, Pte. Audy, make the following statement:

While a private with the 43rd Forestry Battalion at Sunningdale the Adjutant of the same battalion called me in his office and said to me

"Audy, are you going to vote for the Germans or for the Government?" To that question, I answered, "Sir, I am going to vote for Laurier." The said Adjutant then said: "If you do vote for Laurier, you will immediately be transferred to an English infantry battalion; you know that you are afraid of an infantry battalion by the fact that you cannot drill." I answered: "Sir, you can send me anywhere you like, but I am going to vote for Laurier just the same...," you can put me in the clink if you care to do so, but you cannot change my vote and I am going to vote for Laurier." Then the Adjutant sent me back to my hut. After a few minutes, Sergeant Lalende came to see me and addressed me in this way: "Audy, do not make a fool of yourself; vote for the Government, and everything will be all right and you will stay with us." I answered "You can do and they can do what they like, but I am going to vote for Laurier." Sergeant Lalende then took me to the Adjutant's office and this last gentleman told me: "You know that there is nothing like a secret vote here" (pointing out the reserve space marked No. 2 on the ballot). The adjutant giving me an order, I was forced to vote and I did vote for the Government. After that, the said Adjutant told me, "Now, Audy, get ready, for you are already transferred to the 156th Battalion, where I am now."

I do not know whether the 156th was in the trenches, whether it was a fighting unit, or what it was. My hon. friend is in a better position to know. Anyway the man was transferred, and I do not suppose he was getting a promotion after having repeatedly stated he was going to vote for Laurier no matter what happened. It goes on:

The same intimidation was given to many soldiers for getting their votes for the Government and some of them were transferred to some infantry battalion.

After explanation made to me of the said declaration and knowing that the said declaration has the same effect as one taken under oath, I have signed.

(Signed) Joseph Audy.

Witness,
E. B. Bastien,
156th Canadian Infantry Battalion.

If that is not coercion I do not know what it is. If I put a pistol at your head to make you sign a deed, and anybody has the gall or the consummate nerve to say that your signature was the free act of a man who wanted to sign that deed, he is welcome to his views because he does not belong to my gang. I think I have made a case, and I do not want to detain the House any longer, but before I resume my seat let me quote a paragraph from a newspaper which has supported Union Government very strongly, the Toronto Star. In its issue of September 27, 1919, it has this paragraph:

Representative Institutions on Trial.

When representative institutions are under fire—when it is said that they are of little value to working people, and that direct action should be substituted for political action—it is of the utmost importance that ministers and members of Parliament should uphold the dignity and independence of Parliament and the most scrupulous fairness in elections. It is of course right that a charge of fraud or unfairness should not be taken as equivalent to proof.

We are willing to take our chances if we cannot prove what we say. We are not asking for a verdict, but for the constitution of a tribunal which will pronounce a verdict upon the evidence adduced. It goes on:

But it should be treated in a manner which shows that the House attaches importance to freedom and fairness in elections, as if it set a high value upon free institutions.

There is no force in the plea that neither party is free from the reproach of abusing its power by practices which defeat the will of the people. The offences of the past were punished or ought to have been punished. They are to serve for warning, not for example or excuse. Especially is it necessary that our representative institutions should be above reproach to-day, when they are upon trial and subjected to attack as useless and undemocratic.

I close with these few remarks. To-day there is a condition of unrest in the country. This condition of unrest is due to the fact that the people of this country have no longer respect either for Parliament or the Government. They have not respect for Parliament, because Parliament has been unable to maintain and hold its own privileges. They have been taken away from Parliament time and again by the Government. They have no respect for the Government because the Government is under a cloud, with accusations and suspicions of their conduct coming from every quarter, not only in the matter of elections, but in the matter of patronage, in the matter of the expenditure of public moneys. It is to these things the unrest is due, and I say it is high time that we, the members of the House of Commons, following the examples of the nations which I have cited, get up and tell the people "We are willing that you should scrutinize our conduct. We are willing to appoint men who will listen to every one of you. Every man that has a grievance let him come forward and submit it. Those who are guilty will be punished, and those who are innocent will be so proclaimed, and those who have accused falsely will bear the odium of having persecuted men who were innocent." It is not a question with us of making political capital. We do not care for that; we do not require it, because this Government is defeated already in the opinion of the people. I see smiles on faces of hon. gentlemen opposite who will

never smile again in this House after an election, because these men will never come back. We are asking for this inquiry because we want to show people that if the men who have been covering themselves with the mantle of the war are not sincere, we are; that if they are not democratic, we are. We stand for liberty and free institutions, for the free expression of the will of the people at the polls, the same as for the free expression of the thought of hon. members in this Parliament. We do not believe in curtailing the rights and the privileges of any one in this country, and I for one say that for the honour of this House and the honour of this country, the committee asked for by my leader ought to be granted. Not only have we made a prima facie case, but we have adduced here evidence sufficient to convict those who have been guilty of the facts charged. We have brought forward facts sufficient to connect at least one member of the Government with the organization. He pleads guilty. He is a self-confessed member of that organization, and he ought no longer to sit in the Government if the facts which we allege are proven true, and if his connection with this organization is as stated by my honourable leader. For these reasons I shall support the motion.

Brigadier-General W. A. GRIESBACH (West Edmonton): Mr. Speaker, I should like to say at the outset that I know nothing about the conditions which prevailed in Canada, in England, or in France, outside of the Canadian corps, during the last election. But within the Canadian corps I do know the facts, and I feel it my duty to lay them before the House, inasmuch as there were 100,000 men included in the corps and many gallant officers whose reputation has been aspersed by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. I shall confine my observations to only one aspect of the discussion, I refer to the statement made by the leader of the Opposition that officers from the rank of general downwards threatened men under their command that if they did not support the Government they would be sent to the front line. Now, I was a candidate myself in the last election, and I was also a general commanding a brigade. In passing, I may say that a good deal of interest was taken in the election, purely from the point of view of the question of conscription and the securing of the reinforcements that were so urgently needed. I did not see anybody, I did not meet anybody, I did not hear of anybody throughout the whole of the Canadian corps who had any intention of voting against conscription and in favour of hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House.

And when out of that one hundred thousand men it was discovered at the close of the polls that some two or three dozen had voted for the Opposition every one was somewhat surprised and wondered where those votes had come from. I was a candidate but I did not canvass any one. I did not ask any man for his vote, nor did I issue any orders. I said nothing to any soldier calculated to influence his vote, but on one occasion when I went down to my old regiment for the purpose of presenting some decorations that had been won, in the course of a conversation concerning the military situation and training that was then being undertaken for operations that were in prospect I was asked, as the men were all present, to express an opinion in regard to a piece of propaganda which was in circulation at the time to the effect that if the men of the Canadian corps would vote against the Government and defeat conscription, then the corps, for lack of reinforcements, would be taken out of the firing line and set to work on lines of communication. I need scarcely say that there was not very much doubt in the mind of any man there as to where that propaganda had originated. As I say, I was asked for an expression of opinion concerning the matter, and I was also asked to state whether or not I thought that the brother of a man who had volunteered who was at home supporting a family could be conscripted. Upon these two points I gave my opinion, and that was the only occasion on which I had anything to say in connection with the election.

Now the charge is made by the leader of the Opposition that Canadian officers, from generals down, threatened their men with transference to the front line if they did not support the Government. Well, Sir, the front line is not such a fearful place after all, and it has no particular terrors for the soldier. Thousands of men lived more or less cheerfully in the front line and many of them died there willingly. So that there is no particular dread for the soldier in connection with the front line, and the only officer who would dream of making use of such a threat is a man who would himself be impressed by the threat,—in other words, a man who is himself a coward. And the threat, to be at all effective, would have to be addressed to men who were cowards. It could not otherwise be advantageously used, and I desire to say

to the leader of the Opposition that the number of officers who were cowards in the Canadian corps were mighty limited—the same remark being absolutely true of the men. The statement is therefore an insult to the officers and men of the Canadian corps. It is one which is based upon a conception of cowardice and could only be used by cowards. It could only influence cowards, and I make bold to say that it can now be repeated only by cowards on behalf of cowards.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. McKENZIE: I rise to a point of order. Is the hon. member directing a charge of cowardice to me as a member of the House?

Brigadier General GRIESBACH: If the cap fits the hon. member he can wear it.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. BUREAU: May I ask the hon. gentleman a question? Just now I read affidavits regarding threats that had been made. Does the hon. member mean to say that the reading of those affidavits constitutes cowardice?

Brigadier General GRIESBACH: I am speaking of the Canadian corps in France. The affidavits which the hon. gentleman read pertain to facts that occurred in England, and to a soldier the statements contained in those affidavits are so absurd that I do not believe them, even if they are affidavits.

Mr. BUREAU: That is not an answer to my question. That is not the statement that was made by the hon. member, who makes the charge that the persons making use of those affidavits in the House are guilty of cowardice.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No, no.

Mr. BUREAU: That is what I want to know.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Has the hon. member (General Griesbach) anything to say upon the point of order?

Brigadier General GRIESBACH: I have developed an argument in which I say that no officer, unless he is a coward, would dream of using a threat of that sort. I have said further that no person would use such a threat to a soldier unless in the belief that the soldier was a coward. The whole argument is a cowardly one and can be used only by those who countenance cowardice and who believe that men could be influenced by the threat that is suggested. I say, it is a coward's argument and can be used only by cowards.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. BUREAU: I rise to a point of order and ask the hon. member to take that back.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Hear, hear.

Mr. BUREAU: He will do so if he is a gentleman and soldier as I think he is.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I can only say that if the remark was addressed to any hon. member of this House, it certainly is not parliamentary and the hon. member should withdraw it.

Mr. BUREAU: Abuse is not argument.

Brigadier General GRIESBACH: The remark I understand may not properly be addressed to any member of the House and of necessity I withdraw it in so far as it applies to any gentleman sitting here. Of course, this is not the first time we have heard of this. Another gentleman who officially represented hon. members on the other side and who is not a member of the House has made use of the same statement in the public press of the country and I direct my observation to him. The leader of the Opposition was not in France. He was not in the Canadian corps, and consequently the statement he has made is one which has been communicated to him by some one else. Now, with regard to that statement, let me say that it reflects upon the honour and credit of Canadian officers and soldiers. That statement which my hon. friend (Mr. McKenzie) has repeated and which was communicated to him by some unknown person is a deliberate, a calculated, a malicious, and a damnable lie.

Mr. BALDWIN: I want to ask the hon. member a question. Is it not a fact that the soldiers cast for you from ten to seventeen hundred votes which Mr. O'Connor disallowed because the voters had votes in other constituencies than yours?

Brigadier General GRIESBACH: I have no knowledge of that. At all events, I could not control the votes, even if that statement is correct.

Mr. BALDWIN: Let me ask you another question. How many polls in West Edmonton had ballot boxes containing anywhere from one to three hundred ballots short?

Brigadier General GRIESBACH: I was in France at the time and consequently I do not know what happened.

Mr. DUFF: I understood the hon. member to say that he knew all about the whole Canadian corps and how they had voted,—both officers and men.

Brigadier General GRIESBACH: No.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON (Algoma, E., Riding): I desire to say just a few words with regard to the resolution that is now before the House.

In doing so I wish at the outset to say that the resolution, and the debate that has taken place, have at least served one purpose. They have shown clearly the fact that hon. gentlemen opposite will never forgive the Canadian soldiers for the part they took in the election in December, 1917. In my judgment there are two reasons for this. The first is that it was the Canadian soldiers, and the things for which the Canadian soldiers stood, that made the issue that proved so disastrous to the reactionary elements in the political life of this country in 1917. It was the knowledge of the situation facing our boys in France, it was the realization of the situation with which our Allies were confronted, and it was the plea sent home by our boys "For God's sake send us reinforcements before the line breaks", that caused the right-thinking people of this country to stiffen their backs and to determine, let the consequences be what they would and the circumstances be what they might that Canada was going to back these boys at the front to the extent of the last man and the last dollar. When you add to that the fact that these men in France, and the men in England who were preparing to go to France, presumed to mark their ballots for candidates whom they knew would support any effort necessary to furnish them with the reinforcements they so urgently required, you can readily understand, Sir, why it is that the hon. gentlemen are prepared to pour their anathemas on the heads of the Canadian soldiers.

Mr. BUREAU: I deny that statement. I never poured any anathemas on the heads of our Canadian soldiers. I said they were the best boys in the world. The anathema is on the Government and I do not want the hon. gentleman to impute any motives or to put into our mouths words that we did not utter.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I am not imputing motives and if the hon. gentleman will possess his soul in patience for a few minutes I think I will be able to demonstrate to this House that hon. members opposite, including the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) have poured anathemas on the heads of Canadian soldiers who presumed to mark their ballots in 1917.

Mr. BUREAU: I say that is a false statement and ought to be withdrawn. The only people accused are the Government. We never said anything against the soldiers; on the contrary we have praised them.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: Mr. Speaker—

M. BUREAU: I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman has no right to put into my mouth, since I am included with the others, words which I never uttered.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I never put any words into the mouth of the hon. member for Three Rivers.

Mr. BUREAU: You put anathemas.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: It is not necessary for me to put any words in the mouth of the hon. member for Three Rivers. If my sense of hearing has been good I think he has been able to utter sufficient words of his own to demonstrate clearly the position that he occupies in regard to this question. If he will possess his soul in patience for a few minutes I think I will satisfy even him that the statement I have made is correct. There were some of us in this country, who thought, perhaps due to lack of our ability to explore the depths to which hon. gentlemen will go in their efforts to stigmatize the motives of those with whom they do not agree, that after the fiasco we witnessed in this House in 1918 we would hear no more of this question. But when we realized that the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) himself had taken to his bosom, and become the personal champion of, the political buccaneer who prepared the brief upon which this case is based we were forced to ask the question: "vindictiveness, where are thy limitations?" What, after all, is the burden of this resolution?

Mr. McKENZIE: I rise to a point of order. I do not want to interrupt my hon. friend, but I desire to tell him and this House, that no man living or dead prepared one line of the brief with regard to anything I said in this House but myself.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: Mr. Speaker, at the moment, I am not going to be

diverted even by the leader of the Opposition. I will come to that a little later on and the House can judge for itself from the words that the hon. gentleman used in presenting this resolution whether he prepared the brief himself or not. What is the burden of the so-called charges that have been made in this resolution and the burden of the statements that have been made by hon. gentlemen opposite in supporting it? It is true the leader of the Opposition would undertake to have us believe that he is endeavouring to build up an argument, to support a contention, that the Government were guilty of some pernicious act in connection with the election of 1917. I for one, do not believe that even the leader of the Opposition is sufficiently simple minded to expect the members of the House of Commons to believe that that was what was behind his resolution. It is true the leader of the Opposition, and those who supported him, have undertaken to establish what they call a conspiracy. I am not a lawyer, the hon. member for Three Rivers and the hon. leader of the Opposition I understand are, but my judgment at the moment is that you cannot enter into a conspiracy unless there are two parties to that conspiracy. The Government cannot conspire with itself; there must be another party to the conspiracy. What are the allegations that the alleged conspiracy involves?—a system by which the votes of the soldiers were going to be switched in England and in France by a process of perjury, personation and intimidation. In order that that might be accomplished who would they conspire with? The only persons that were involved were the Government and the soldiers in France and England. If there was a conspiracy, as alleged, who was the second party to that conspiracy? Was it not the soldiers in France or the soldiers in England, and are they not the men who have been charged throughout the whole of this debate with having committed all the crimes within the political calendar, such as perjury, personation and intimidation? I wonder if the hon. member for Three Rivers will rise in his place now and say that he has not charged that the soldiers who cast their ballots in France, in England, in Scotland—

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: In St. Johns.

Mr. POWER: In Quebec.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: —I will come to that in a little while—did not commit these crimes?

[Mr. Nicholson.]

Mr. BUREAU: Do you want me to answer? I charge, in answer to the question of the hon. member, that there was a conspiracy between the Government and certain heads who had the administration of the Military Service Act to despoil the soldier of his vote.

Mr. NICHOLSON: Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman—and I will quote extracts from his own statements in a few moments—read to us name after name of the men who he charged with having committed perjury—

Mr. BUREAU: I said, Sir, they were the victims of this conspiracy and as a result they had to do that or else be ill-treated by their superior officers.

Mr. NICHOLSON: If you will turn, Mr. Speaker, to page 770 of Hansard, October 1, 1919, you will find that the hon. gentleman filled almost the whole of one page with the names of men who he told this House swore to having been residents in a part of the country that he claimed they were not residents of.

Mr. BUREAU: Under the threat of the officer who was presiding, Mr. Purney.

Mr. NICHOLSON: There is no word of that in print.

An hon. MEMBER: Take it back.

Mr. NICHOLSON: Does the hon. gentleman want to add to the allegation that he has already made against the Canadian soldiers the charge that they were so ignorant and so puerile that 50,000 or 100,000 of them would walk up to a desk, take a Bible in their hand, and commit perjury because some one stood over them and told them that they had to do it?

Mr. BUREAU: Does the hon. gentleman want me to answer the question? They were never sworn, but they were entered in the ballot as having sworn, and the officer —Captain Burke, a brother-in-law of Mr. Speaker—did it. There is the guilty party to the conspiracy.

Mr. NICHOLSON: The hon. member may squirm as he chooses.

Mr. BUREAU: I may do what?

Mr. NICHOLSON: The hon. member may squirm as he chooses.

Mr. BUREAU: You are doing the squirming.

Mr. NICHOLSON: Am I?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Yes.

Mr. NICHOLSON: I readily understand that hon. gentlemen opposite have misapprehended the position they were getting into the whole course of this debate.

Mr. BUREAU: I do not want to be guided by you; do not worry.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. BUREAU: Get another argument.

Mr. NICHOLSON: I will read what the hon. gentleman said:

> Mr. Bureau: I have pages of this. This is as far as Springhill is concerned. Let us see how votes were polled in Amherst. These are some of the names that are given: No. 457723, J. H. Skinner, swore that he resided in Amherst. On looking up the records of the Militia Department, we find that Mr. Skinner is a resident of Montreal, Que. No. 406212, Sgt. Wiseman, swore that he resided in Amherst. We find that his residence is in Brantford, but that he enlisted at Hamilton, Ont. No. 736956, A. Russell, swore that he resided in Amherst.

Is there anything in that, Mr. Speaker, to indicate that somebody by the name of Burke was committing this perjury? In each of these cases the hon. gentleman states that the soldier swore he resided in these places, while he goes on to say that the statement made by the soldier is incorrect and that he did not reside there.

Mr. BUREAU: That is indicated on the ballot and those ballots were irregular, as has been sworn.

Mr. NICHOLSON: If the hon. member will be patient, I want to be perfectly fair with him.

Mr. BUREAU: You cannot be.

Mr. NICHOLSON: I want to be at least as fair as the hon. gentleman himself.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I must ask hon. members not to interrupt the speaker without his consent and then only to ask a question. In doing so, they must rise and address the Chair.

Mr. BUREAU: I bow to your ruling, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. NICHOLSON: I can readily understand the fact that the hon. gentleman, reading this information, would be under the impression that there was something in connection with these statements that might lead to the conclusion that these men had committed perjury. But if he had been associated with voluntary recruiting in this country, if he had been living in a part of Canada where voluntary recruiting was taking place, he would have found that it was a perfectly natural consequence of the system under which 400,000 Canadians were enrolled in the overseas forces that men might, and in the majority of cases naturally did, enlist at points that were not their residence. I can give the hon. member some concrete cases. The town in which I live furnished more than 300 men for the overseas forces, and only 57 of them enlisted in that town. The reason for it was that it was not established as a recruiting station until the second year of the war. The balance of them enlisted in Sudbury, North Bay, Ottawa, Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Niagara Falls, Valcartier, and any other point where recruiting was taking place. They were shown on the records of the Militia Department as having enlisted at the point of enlistment, when they came forward to cast their ballots.

Mr. POWER: Is the hon. gentleman not aware that on the attestation paper the place of birth or the domicile of the man in question is given?

Mr. NICHOLSON: Yes, I am aware of all that, but the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau), in his remarks to the House yesterday, said that in the record of the Militia Department it will be shown that these men enlisted at different points in Canada. I repeat that the town where a man enlisted is no evidence whatever of where his residence was.

Mr. POWER: No, but his residence is given on the attestation papers; he swore to it.

Mr. NICHOLSON: Yes, I know. The hon. member for Three Rivers and hon gentlemen opposite have stated he swore and swore what was false.

Mr. POWER: I say he swore to his attestation paper.

Mr. NICHOLSON: Let me repeat it again: The reason why hon. gentlemen opposite find so much difficulty in understanding the fact that soldiers gave their
11 p.m. place of original residence as some other point than the place where they enlisted is because they are entirely out of touch with the system under which men were secured as volunteers for the Canadian overseas forces.

Mr. BUREAU: Tut, tut!

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. NICHOLSON: I recognize the fact that it is my privilege to extend my sympathy to the hon. gentleman for being in such a position. He is the object of the

sympathy of every man who had anything to do in raising that volunteer army. But, notwithstanding the fact that he is the object of that sympathy, I, as one of those who had something to do with the raising of that volunteer army and know something of the men who went over there, am not going to sit silent and hear these men traduced in the manner in which they have been traduced here. I do not want to detain the House but I want to read something else from the speech of the hon. gentleman. Speaking yesterday afternoon, and in a voice that quivered with emotion, he read to the House this statement—and it is of such a character that I ask your pardon, Mr. Speaker, for repeating it, I believe in the face of what we have been listening to during this debate it is worth while:

> The most unspeakable of all crimes is tc violate the sanctity of the grave and to lay profane hands upon the dead.

Mr. BUREAU: Hear, hear.

Mr. NICHOLSON (Reading):

> When there is an earthquake, a fire, or a civil disturbance, with loss of life in some great city, the order first to be given and most readily obeyed is to shoot down without mercy the ghoul found looting the bodies of the dead.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I am glad that some hon. gentlemen appreciate that; it is an evidence to me of a soul-awakening, and I trust that when I get through with this quotation and what it will lead up to, hon. members opposite will realize a little more fully just the position that they have been taking with regard to this whole matter.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Question.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: Don't get excited; the question will come soon enough. (reading):

> But the ghoul who merely takes a few pennies from the body of a stranger lying dead upon the street is a petty offender in comparison with the vampire who breaks into the sacred tomb of the honoured dead and seeks to filch from the departed his good name and reputation.

Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for Three Rivers read that statement in order to fasten on the hon. member from Red Deer the charge of having misquoted the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier. It is not necessary for me to defend the member for Red Deer; he is perfectly capable of taking care of himself, and I have no doubt that in due time he will give answer to the allegation which the hon. member for Three Rivers has made.

I repeated what the hon. member for Three Rivers said in order that I might, if I could, bring him to a realization of the position in which he and the members surrounding him are placed in connection with this whole debate. Mr. Speaker, this country of ours has hosts of honoured dead. We may trace our history back three hundred years, and in all the pages of that history we find records of men whom we are privileged to honour. But in the whole of that host of honoured dead there is no element that will command the veneration and pride of this country throughout succeeding generations in the same degree as will that host of honoured dead who lie to-night in the fields of France and Flanders. What do hon. gentlemen opposite think of the ghouls who open up the graves in France and Flanders in order to take from these men, who stood facing the Hun, and holding the line in order that this country might remain free that the member for Three Rivers might have the privilege of speaking in a free parliament, the reputation that went with them from this country as respectable and honoured citizens?

What is the charge? It is simply this: That tens of thousands of Canadian soldiers who are to-night sleeping in France, in the performance of the last civil act that it was their privilege to perform, committed perjury, personation and all kinds of political crimes, some of them utterly unspeakable. And what did honourable gentlemen opposite add to that charge? I do not hear quite so much cheering from honourable members opposite just at the moment. Let me repeat that I trust that their cheers of a few moments ago give evidence of a soul-awakening that will make them realize something of what the awfulness of this war has meant.

An hon. MEMBER: Get some cheers from your own side.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I quote again from the remarks of the honourable member for Three Rivers:

> it was not to establish the position of the hon. member for Red Deer in this House that he made that quotation. The quotation was made, whatever his protestations may have been, for the purpose of hurting the feelings of the men who sit on your left, Mr. Speaker.

The feelings of honourable members on the other side are very tender. I wonder if they realize what the feelings of the thousands of Canadian fathers and mothers, wives and sisters, must be when they hear

the charge hurled back and forth in this House, bandied about by men outside the House whom honourable gentlemen opposite themselves would not believe on their oaths, that the last civil act that these soldiers were privileged to perform was an act of perjury or personation?

I wish to refer to something that was said by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) as reported on page 565 of Hansard, September 24 last. I quote:

> Their own commanders and officers and every one under their thumb and control, officers who were preaching to these men only the Sunday before the election in such terms as these: "Gentlemen, we do not want 99 per cent of your votes; we want 100 per cent"? That was the exhortation of generals, colonels, and others from the top to the bottom... The soldiers were told if they would not vote as told by their officers they would be immediately sent to the trenches, where likely they would be killed.

The member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) drew attention to that and asked the leader of the Opposition to define clearly what he meant, because, like every other decent man in this House, the member for Frontenac was loth to believe that any man could be found anywhere who would make a charge of that character against the soldiers who were fighting our battles overseas. Whom did the hon. member mean by the "generals, colonels, majors, captains and lieutenants?" One of the generals is sitting in this House. One of the colonels has the privilege of occupying a seat in this House. Did he mean either of these? Did he name any one? No; he simply made a blanket accusation that every general, every colonel, every officer in the Canadian forces gave his men to understand that if they did not vote as he desired he would send them to the front line trenches, where they would be shot. We have from time to time heard many startling accusations against people in this country with regard to what took place at the time of an election, but it remained for hon. gentlemen opposed to assert that there was any man in this country so low that he would say to another: You will either vote as I tell you to vote, or I will have you shot. What is the meaning of that? It simply means that the officers were going to send to the front line trenches men to be shot who otherwise would not have had to go to the front line trenches at all. It means that or it does not mean anything.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what are these charges based on? The leader of the Opposition says that he has a telegram. Whether it is a bogus telegram or a stolen telegram—a document secured from some one—he is not willing to produce it or tell the House who obtained it. We have had the privilege of reading from Hansard statements that were made in this House in 1918 on this same subject, and we have the right to assume that this case was built up in the same way as the case presented then by the member for Westmorland (Mr. Copp) was built up. What did he base that on? The unsupported statements of the most completely discredited political blackleg that ever disgraced the politics of this country. Let me repeat it again—a man that the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) himself would not believe on his oath. That is the basis for this whole charge. If I said to you, Sir, that this whole case from beginning to end was a fabrication of miserable falsehoods, I have not the slightest doubt that you would declare that I was out of order. If I said that the whole case from beginning to end was a miserable, contemptible slander, I believe again that you would declare that I was out of order.

Mr. CANNON: Say it.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: Mr. Speaker, I leave the matter to you and I say to this House that with my limited knowledge and understanding of parliamentary language, I cannot find words with which to express the unutterable contempt that decent men must feel for the spineless class of cowards who would slander by a blanket application of slander, shielded as they are by a privileged position—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON:—a class of men not one of whom they dare name.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order. I must ask the hon. member to withdraw those remarks. The moment he applies them to a class of men shielded by the position which they occupy, it is evident that he is referring to hon. members of this House, and the remarks are absolutely unparliamentary.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I readily bow to your ruling. As I stated a few moments ago, my command of parliamentary language is not sufficient, and I question whether there is in this House a man who can command language sufficient to express—let me repeat it again—the unutterable contempt that decent men must feel for this whole performance. The hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark) speaking in this House a few days ago said that men

never rose very high by endeavouring to pull other people down. I say that if public life is ever going to become what it should be, it will not be by hon. members going down into the slime and filth—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: ——in which W. T. R. Preston chooses to wallow in order that they may possibly get out from those depths a little dirt with which to blacken their political opponents.

Mr. LUCIEN CANNON (Dorchester): Mr. Speaker, I have listened with great attention to the speech just delivered by the hon. member for Algoma East (Mr. Nicholson), and I will pay the hon. member the compliment of saying that my remarks in answer to his speech will be very brief. During the war the Germans introduced into warfare several new methods. They sank ships carrying women and children; they sent out poison gas; but to the horror of the civilized world, in the dying days of the war, the Germans placed lines of women and children that they had taken from French cities, in front of their army, so as to keep the Allied armies from firing upon themselves. The method adopted by the Germans in the field has been adopted by the Government and by the hon. member for Algoma East in this debate. When we call upon the members of this Government and of this House to answer to the country and to the people of Canada for their conduct and behaviour during 1917, they place before themselves the noble army of Canadian boys, and they say: If you fire on us, you fire on them.

At this late hour, I do not wish to detain the House very long; but on this side of the House we have a very high admiration for our Canadian army, and our admiration may be better founded than the admiration that is boasted of on the other side, because we have more disinterestedness; we are not always talking about the soldiers; we are not always talking about the boys at the front. We want to be judged on our own merits, and we have never called on the boys who were at the front to win any battle for us in this Parliament. As regards the hon. member for Algoma East, I have heard him several times in this House viciously attacking the members from the province of Quebec, and particularly attacking myself.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I rise to say to the hon. member that he never heard the

[Mr. Nicholson.]

hon. member for Algoma East attacking the members in debate, and I challenge him to cite a case.

Mr. CANNON: I can only say in answer to the hon. member that then his vices are unconscious, unfortunately so. I have heard the hon. member attack the province of Quebec, attack the members from Quebec.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member should accept the denial made by the hon. member for Algoma East and not repeat the statement.

Mr. CANNON: I bow to your decision. I had said that the hon. member had attacked my province viciously. The hon. member says that he has not attacked it viciously. I substitute for the word "viciously" the word "bitterly", and I say that as far as we are concerned—

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: I say to the hon. member that I never attacked his province, nor any person in his province in any shape, manner, or form, bitterly or viciously, and if he can cite a case where I did, all right.

Mr. CANNON: I can only say to the hon. member for Algoma East that if his remarks made to-night are not an attack on my province and on the members from my province, the hon. gentleman does not generally know what he is saying when he gets up in the House to talk. English is not my mother tongue; my mother tongue is French, but I know enough English grammar, and I have read and learned enough English to understand from the hon. member that he was attacking this side of the House when he spoke a minute ago, and when he did speak, he attacked us viciously and bitterly. The hon. member for Edmonton West (Mr. Griesbach) addressed this House. I have nothing to say as regards the military record of that hon. member. I admired his career at the front; I followed his promotions at the front, and I think every member of this House is proud of the military record of that hon. member.

But if the hon. member for Edmonton is a noble soldier whom everybody in this House admires, he still may not be a good parliamentarian. He knows everything about the military art. Whenever he made an attack it was made in accordance with the best rules of warfare, but I have some advice to give to my hon. friend: Let him learn the rules of parliamentary warfare as well as those of actual warfare. If he had known those rules I do not think he would have taken any part in this debate.

He is a gentleman who was elected over the Hon. Frank Oliver, although the civilian vote gave Hon. Frank Oliver a majority of over 800. The hon. member's election was contested. Fraud was alleged. There were seventy-three different charges of fraud against the hon. member, and I think that in a debate of this kind the noble and gallant member for Edmonton should have remained silent.

I said that I did not wish to address this House very long. But I want to say a word with regard to the campaign waged by a newspaper, called The Montreal Gazette. The Montreal Gazette is a paper printed and published in the city of Montreal. It represents the Tory ideas in their most advanced form. The Montreal Gazette, like any other newspaper, has a right to combat for and defend any principles it chooses to advocate, but I say that The Montreal Gazette and any representative of The Montreal Gazette in the press gallery of this House has no right to insult the members of the House. I do not care who writes for The Montreal Gazette nor who represents The Montreal Gazette, but a principle which the journalists in Ottawa as anywhere else should never forget is that when they are admitted to hear and report the debates of this House they owe some respect to the members of the House. The Montreal Gazette says that in this debate the Liberal party is only bringing on a discussion which is a slur on the soldiers. We are not making any slurs on the soldiers, but we say that if the Government of Canada, or the officers of the Canadian army in France, forced the soldiers to vote in a way they should not have voted, the Government of Canada and the superior officers of the Canadian army should be brought before an investigating committee and every fact ought to be known.

The Montreal Gazette says that the Liberal party in this debate is trying to air old grievances. These are not old grievances. As far as the members for the province of Quebec are concerned, we are not afraid of the stand we took during the war. The stand we took during the war was the stand that we considered Canadian. We might have been wrong, but we were sincere, and I think that is more than lots of other people can say. The Montreal Gazette says that we are bringing on a debate which is nothing but petty politics.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. CANNON: The gentleman who writes these articles and the members of this House who say "Hear, hear when I mention petty politics seem to be ignorant of the history of the constitution of England. They seem to forget that at the basis of this very question we are discussing there is the great and eternal question of the freedom of the people.

I have heard members on the other side of the House on several occasions ask: "Why should the member for Dorchester discuss matters of this kind? He only had six military votes in his county." Mr. Speaker, the time has come for me to make a brief explanation as far as my county is concerned. In 1914 when war broke out, who represented the county of Dorchester in this House? Was it your humble servant, Mr. Speaker? No. It was Hon. Mr. Sevigny, who was then Deputy Speaker, or Speaker, of the House of Commons. He was the man responsible to the Government of Canada and to the people of Canada for the conduct and behaviour of his people. I was then member for the Local House. I had nothing to do with enrollment or enlisting as far as federal laws or federal politics was concerned. Not only did Mr. Sevigny, the colleague of the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen), not do anything in 1914, but when the Minister of Militia of that day, Sir Sam Hughes, wanted to mobilize the 92nd Battalion, which is the battalion of Dorchester, Mr. Sevigny interfered and told him not to do it, because it would hurt his political chances. The war went on, and the situation became more and more serious. What did the then member for Dorchester do? We have in the House to-night the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Reid), and the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), who were colleagues of the Hon. Mr. Sevigny at that time, and I defy them or any member of this House to say that the then hon. member for Dorchester in 1914, 1915, 1916 or 1917 ever held a single recruiting meeting in the constituency of Dorchester which he represented. But it is against me that the reproaches are made; it is against me they direct their attacks. As I have already said, I was then member for the Local House, and whenever the Premier of my province, Sir Lomer Gouin, proposed anything to promote the cause of the Allies I always gave him my vote, because I believed in the sacredness of our cause. Then, in 1917, Mr. Sevigny, on account of his patriotic efforts which I have just related, was chosen by the Prime Minister of this country to be a minister in the Borden Government. A by-election took place, and I resigned my seat in the Local House to run against Mr. Sevigny. Why? Because I thought that his

past history precluded him from properly representing the people of Dorchester, and from advising His Majesty the King in the troublesome times we were passing through. I resigned my mandate and said to the people of Dorchester that a Nationalist should not be chosen. I ran against Mr. Sevigny, and the Government directed all their efforts towards my defeat. The sum of $100,000 was spent. Never in the history of Canada was such a fraudulent election carried on. I was beaten, but when I went down to defeat I could say that my honour was still safe, because I had done nothing that I could reproach myself with. Mr. Speaker—and I call the attention of the ministers to this fact—in those days hon. Mr. Sevigny proclaimed on every hustings in Dorchester that never would there be conscription, because he had the Prime Minister's word for what he was saying. The colleague of hon. Mr. Sevigny at that time, a man who ran in two constituencies in Quebec and was defeated, hon. Mr. Blondin, who was rescued from disaster by a benevolent Government that sent him to the Senate, said in the parish of Ste. Rose in the presence of my hon. friend from Rimouski (Mr. d'Anjou): "Never will we have conscription. But if we should have conscription why worry about it? The American border is close by; you will go to the United States and escape the law." Mr. Speaker, in this debate, when we ask that the honour of Canada and the honour of Parliament be safeguarded, I hear men like the hon. member from Algoma (Mr. Nicholson) make the charge: "You are not patriotic." Well, my answer is—and it is an answer given long ago—"Very often patriotism is but the last refuge of a scoundrel."

I do not wish to detain the House at any great length, but—

Mr. TOBIN: Go on.

Mr. CANNON: —I cannot allow this debate to close without replying in a few words to the speeches delivered on the other side of the House, and especially the speech of my hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards). The hon. member for Frontenac answers the attack against the Government—

An hon. MEMBER: This is a love feast.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: North and South.

Mr. CANNON: He replies to the attack upon the Guvernment by the old tu quoque.

Mr. MORPHY: Translate.

[Mr. Cannon.]

Mr. CANNON: For the translation I shall refer the hon. gentleman to Cicero who said, "Contumelia non est argumentum." To my hon. friend from Frontenac, I say: Don't mention political scandals in this House, because if you want to refer to political scandals in connection with the Liberal party you must go back twenty-five years ago, whereas on this side, if we care to mention scandals, we have only to turn to pages of recent history and ask the hon. member for Frontenac to read, for his edification, the trial of Roblin, Caldwell, Montagu and others in the Winnipeg criminal courts. Before leaving my hon. friend from Frontenac I wish to tell him this: When I first arrived in this House I was told that the hon. gentleman was a very good fighter, and he is; and I like good fighters. But this year I notice that he loses some of his punch, some of his pep; and while I was listening—

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: The lure of the Senate.

Mr. CANNON: —I said to myself, "He is training for the Senate."

Another hon. gentleman who spoke on the Government side is my friend the member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark), who is not here.

Mr. BUREAU: Where is he?

Mr. CANNON: The member for Trois Rivieres had a few things to say about the member for Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark) and I shall not add very much to what he said. But I will say this—and that gentleman can read it in Hansard—that when he gets up in this House and gives us his lessons in English history, I challenge him to show me, in justification of such conduct as that which we are now discussing, one line, one word, one syllable that can be found in any of the speeches of those at whose knees he is supposed to have learned his politics—Bright, Cobden, Gladstone, all those great Liberal statesmen. It is a great thing to say, "I represent Liberalism: I know what Liberal principles are, and I enunciate those principles for you to follow." It is easy enough for the hon. doctor to get up in this House and change the roles and become schoolmaster, but I will refer him to a French author whose name was Molière, and who said many years ago: "Medecin, guéris toi toi-même"—Doctor, cure thyself.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the last member to whom I shall refer, the last but not the least, is the Minister of the Interior

(Mr. Meighen). I say candidly, Mr. Speaker, that I admire that hon. minister. My hon. friend from Three Rivers does not seem to have as high a degree of admiration for him as I have, but I do admire his talent and his eloquence, and I admire his legal knowledge. But I will tell him one thing, and that is that this Parliament is a serious court of justice, and if he wishes his talent to be admired in the future he must come before this House with serious arguments worthy of his own capacity. The hon. minister said: "It may be right, it may be wrong. It may be anything at all." He uttered the watchword, "Patriotism," and wrapping himself in the Union Jack he turned to his supporters and said: "Cheer! cheer! I represent Great Britain and the British Empire." Mr. Speaker, the speech of the minister may be summed up in a few words. According to him, the end justifies the means. Would that hon. gentleman or any other member of this House say that rape was excusable because it was a process to motherhood? Mr. Speaker, I can say to this House that the minister has no right to talk about patriotism after the conduct of the Government during the last election. I have seen soldiers who came back from the other side. An hon. member on the other side said that we had no soldiers in Quebec. Well, I have seen soldiers from my constituency, I have seen soldiers from Quebec, and there were soldiers from my own family, and I know what took place on the other side. Official canvassers appointed by this Government went to the soldiers overseas and told them to vote in favour of the Union Government so that they might be enabled to go back home. Is that patriotism? Patriotic motives.

Mr. Speaker, very often in this country we hear of profiteers, and the greatest war profiteers that we have are the members of the Government.

If it had not been for the war they would not have been in office. Since the armistice they have only remained in office on account of the war. I am not surprised that we have not yet ratified the treaty with Bulgaria. This Government is in no hurry to terminate a state of war, it is its only safeguard and protection, its only means of remaining in power.

When we say anything, these hon. gentlemen cover the heap of iniquity with the Union Jack and say, "We are at war; be careful; do not say anything; the British Empire is in danger; we are saving the Empire; do not interfere with our work". The people are getting sick and tired of seeing you gentlemen saving the British Empire. New doctors will have to be called in.

The question before the House may be summed up as follows: The action of the Minister of the Interior is either legal or illegal. If it is legal why should the Government object to an investigation; why should the Government refuse an investigation to enable the Opposition to prove something that is lawful and legal? If it is illegal, not only is an investigation useful, but it is necessary. I do not wish to go into the details of this case. You have heard the facts as they have been brought before the House. We have a prima facie case of fraudulent conspiracy. An investigation should be granted. Moreover, if we have this investigation, if it is shown that, according to law, as the minister contended, he had the right to send the telegram he sent, it is high time that the law should be changed. If he had no right to send that telegram, it is high time the minister should be punished.

I will finish these few remarks but I will ask these hon. gentlemen on the other side to remember the day when in this country we fought for the freedom and the liberty of the ballot. The last principle to be conquered was that of the freedom and the secrecy of the ballot. That principle has come to the people of this country as a result of the effort of the Liberal party. If there is anything essential to the constitution of the Canadian people it is the independence of Parliament from interference by the executive. Go back to the history of England, to the time when Sir Robert Walpole was premier, to the time of the placemen, when the executive used to choose the representatives of the people; go back to the time of the Duke of Newcastle; go to the time of the Georges when the executive used to choose the members of Parliament. England in those days was suffering because of a lack of parliamentary freedom. But her institutions have been improved. To-day her executive does not tamper with the choice of the people's representatives. At this last election the Government of Canada did interfere, and if we have an investigation, if the facts are brought forward, if a report is made, the new electoral law that will be brought in will be an electoral law of such a nature that two elementary principles will be safeguarded—the freedom of the ballot and the independence of Parliament.

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Privy Council): Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to enter upon a lengthy discussion of the matter before the House but I desire to draw attention to the terms of the resolution submitted by the hon. the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie). After reciting the telegram alleged to have been sent by the hon, the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) to my right hon. friend the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) the resolution proceeds:

—and, whereas, the said telegram indicates the existence of a widespread system of manipulation of votes, under the direction and with the approval of ministers of the Crown, for the purpose of defeating the will of the Canadian people as expressed at the polls, and

Whereas, such scheme of manipulation involves not only the honour of the ministers concerned, but the constitutional rights of the people.

And that therefore this committee should be granted.

I desire, Mr. Speaker, to draw the attention of the House to the terms and basis of the resolution. The basis upon which a parliamentary committee is asked is that the telegram discloses a scheme for the manipulation of votes and involves the honour of the ministers concerned. There is no question that the resolution directly challenges the honour of the Prime Minister who is said to have received the telegram, and of the Minister of the Interior who is said to have sent it. That is the basis of the resolution before the House. There is a well understood and thoroughly constitutional practice, as was pointed out by the Minister of the Interior, when any hon. member desires to impugn the honour of another member of the House, and particularly of a minister of the Crown. If the leader of the Opposition had, upon his responsibility as a member of the House, made a charge impugning the honour of a member of the Government, he would be entitled, as a matter of course, to a committee of investigation. The hon. member has not done that but has based his charge upon this telegram.

It has been suggested that if the law permits such a telegram, such a law should no longer continue in existence. The law under which the vote was taken was the Military Voters Act. It was passed by this House in the year 1917. It was the law for taking the votes of soldiers overseas and in Canada in the General Election of 1917. That law is no longer in operation. It has ceased to be effective. It no longer affects any election that may be held. If the desire is to secure a change in the law, that cannot be accomplished by this motion for the law has ceased to be effective.

Hon. members may challenge the law; they may say that the provision of the law whereby men who had no settled residence in Canada were given the vote should not have been adopted. That was a debatable question. That question was debated in this House in 1917 and the House decided that these men should have a vote. Therefore, under this law, these men became entitled to vote. We cannot now pass under review that legislation. It was there for better or for worse. We must take it as it stood. Then the only question that arises now is whether that law was honestly administered in so far as the ministers of the Crown were concerned, and that is the question raised by this motion.

The question is whether the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior acted honestly and in pursuance of the law of the land, in any action they took or were guilty of some fraudulent conspiracy, as the hon. member has said, to defeat the will of the people by acting contrary to the law.

I was not in the House in 1917 when the law was passed. I did follow the discussion in the House and gathered something of the meaning of that legislation; and I want to say that in respect of no Act that passed this Parliament in recent times has there been more widespread misunderstanding than in respect to this particular piece of legislation. I know it because of the enquiries I received from candidates contesting constituencies in the province of Ontario and from men representing both sides of the House. The opinion appeared to be widespread that there was some power somewhere in the Government to allot ballots to particular constituencies, and I received communications from different candidates, from some members of the House even, asking me to see either that ballots were allotted in favour of certain candidates, or that ballots were not allotted against some other candidate. I had to reply, and was glad to reply, that the law made no provision for any such thing, that there was no right to allot ballots to any candidate in any constituency but the voter himself must determine the constituency in which he desired to vote. There was no right of selection unless he had no previous residence in Canada; if there was no previous residence in Canada, then he had the right

to select his constituency. There were some ten or twelve thousand voters, it was said—I do not know how many there were—who had this right of selection. There is no use shutting our eyes to the fact that so far as those ten or twelve thousand voters were concerned, men on both sides would seek to persuade them to place their ballots in the constituencies where they thought they would do the most good.

An hon. MEMBER: Or harm.

Mr. ROWELL: Or harm, as my hon. friend says. That was the legislation. There is not an hon. member in this House who will not say that that was the way that law would be worked out, and the only way it could be worked out.

An hon. MEMBER: How many of them wrote overseas to get an allotment?

Mr. ROWELL: There may have been several who wrote overseas to get an allotment. But let us look at the matter frankly. What was the situation? Ten or twelve thousand men entitled to vote, not having previously resided in Canada, not knowing any particular constituency, desired to place their vote in favour of either the Government or the Opposition—in fact the great majority of the soldiers who did have a domicile in a particular constituency, did not vote for a particular candidate; the record shows they voted for the Government or the Opposition, as the case may be. Then, so far as those ten or twelve thousand voters were concerned, the position of the Government or the Opposition would be this: to communicate with these soldiers and induce them by legitimate and proper means to give their votes in the constituencies where it was thought they would be most effective for the Government or the Opposition, as the case might be—for whichever side they chose to vote. Now that was the situation. Then this telegram is produced. The Minister of the Interior has made his own statement about it and he has told the House, that, while he has no recollection of sending it, if he did send it that is what the telegram meant.

12 midnight. It meant that they desired that in case of the voters who were entitled to place their votes wherever they liked they should ask them to place the votes in the constituency mentioned according to numbers indicated.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. ROWELL: It is perfectly clear that that was the law and they were entitled to do so. You may not agree with the law, some members of the House did not agree with it, but that was the law.

Mr. DEVLIN: Does the Minister assert that seriously?

Mr. ROWELL: I assert absolutely that the soldiers who had had no previous domicile in Canada and were British subjects were entitled under the law to vote in any constituency which they might choose.

Mr. DEVLIN: Without answering the three questions?

Mr. ROWELL: No, I did not say without answering the three questions. I said their right was to place their vote in any constituency they might choose. Of course they must vote in accordance with the terms of the law, or their ballot would be rejected, as thousands of ballots were rejected because the voters had not done so.

Mr. CAHILL: What was meant by the words in the telegram: "Springfield, no matter what our allotment may be." How does that comply with the law?

Mr. ROWELL: I do not know what was meant—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. ROWELL: But I can very easily—

An hon. MEMBER: Only one thing.

Mr. ROWELL:—I can very easily suggest what might be meant by it. If there were ten or twelve thousand voters at large, and the Government hoped to get about ninety per cent of these votes, as they did over ninety per cent of all soldiers' votes, then they might endeaver to see that a certain number of those soldiers voted in Manitoba. That might be what is referred to. That might be a very natural explanation—I do not know whether it was the explanation or not.

Mr. CAHILL: What about Springfield?

Mr. McKENZIE: With this promiscuous voting going on over two continents, of this very class of soldiers that the minister speaks of, by what means, scheme or device could three hundred, or one thousand votes be put in any particular county?

Mr. ROWELL: They could not be placed in any particular county. All that could be done would be to indicate to whoever might be the Government representatives, scrutineers in any particular district, that they would like two hundred or three hundred of these voters to place their vote, when they voted, in a particular constituency. When

you come to canvass a man the point is this: Instead of canvassing him to vote for John Brown you canvassed him to vote for the Government in a particular constituency. You canvassed five hundred to vote in constituency A, you canvassed five hundred to vote in constituency B, and you canvassed three or four hundred to vote in constituency C, and if the men wanted to vote for the Government, or wanted to vote for the Opposition then they would seek to place their vote in the constituency in which they were advised it would likely do the most good. Now that, it seems to me, is the situation, and you have there a full explanation of the whole telegram.

Mr. DUFF: Does the hon. member know the telegram was dated November 3 and the vote was more than half over at that time?

Mr. ROWELL: I am told it was not half over at that time.

Mr. DUFF: When did they start?

Mr. ROWELL: I do not know.

Mr. DUFF: You ought to know.

Mr. ROWELL: So long as there were votes not polled that would apply to any such votes. In addition to what I have stated, I know this: It was the desire of the Prime Minister that that vote overseas should be as fairly and legally—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. ROWELL: —and honestly taken as a vote could be taken, and in order to secure that result the Prime Minister named Mr. Orde, K.C., of this city, as the chief Government scrutineer in Canada. There is not a more honourable, straightforward citizen in Ottawa than Mr. Orde. Then he named Lieut.-Col. Thompson, of this city, as the chief Government scrutineer in England. Lieut.-Col. Thompson is an ex-Liberal member of this House, and a man who enjoys the confidence and esteem of men on both sides of the House. No member on either side will impugn the honour or integrity of Col. Thompson. The chief Government scrutineer in France was, I believe, Major Thomas Gibson, of Toronto, an officer serving overseas, a man of equally high standing in his profession, who enjoyed the confidence and esteem of men of both parties. The Government appointed the best men they could secure in order to ensure that this vote should be honestly taken and correctly counted in accordance with the provisions of the law. That irregularities did occur I do not question. The fact that thousands of votes were thrown out shows that irregularities did occur. The fact that they were thrown out shows that the vote was honestly counted and that no ballots were counted excepting the ballots that were legally and properly cast.

As my hon. friend knows, both sides had scrutineers. The Act so provided. The law was so framed that both sides should have the opportunity of naming their own scrutineers and thus securing a fair vote and an accurate count of the vote. That is the general situation as I understand it relating to the taking of the vote.

As I said in opening, in this motion my hon. friend has impugned the honour of two ministers of the Crown on the basis of a telegram which is not proved and which is capable of a perfectly innocent and honourable explanation in accordance with the terms of the law. I repeat that the Prime Minister has no record of the receipt of the telegram. The Prime Minister is not in the House to answer for himself. The Prime Minister is not in the House because during five years of war he has been giving of his ability and of his energy disinterestedly in the service of his country. If hon. gentlemen opposite will forget for the time being their party feeling and party prejudice I believe that not one of them will get up and say that he believes that the Prime Minister deliberately and dishonestly sought to manipulate the soldiers' votes in the last election. If any hon. member did say so, the people would not believe him. We may differ and we do differ on public questions; we may differ and do differ on great matters of public policy. But surely men should be big enough and broad-minded enough to respect the character of public men who are devoting themselves unselfishly to the public service. In view of the statement of the Minister of the Interior with reference to this telegram, the leader of the Opposition would do credit to himself and to the House if he would accept that statement and withdraw his motion. I am sure that without any hesitation, without any reservation, with a clear conscience, believing that they are only doing what is just and right, hon. gentlemen on this side will to-night vote down a resolution which impugns the honour of the Prime Minister of Canada.

What I have said of the Prime Minister's desire to have an honest and legal vote is, I believe, equally true of the Minister of the Interior. He was a strong party man. He takes strong grounds on public ques-

tions. We may differ from him; you may differ from him; I may differ from him sometimes. But I am confident that no hon. member believes that the Minister of the Interior would deliberately join in a conspiracy to defeat the will of the people by switching ballots or manipulating votes. Members of this House, in the same spirit and in the same feeling, will vote down this resolution so far as it concerns the Minister of the Interior.

Mr. DEVLIN: Did the Minister of the Interior not say that it was all right and perfectly legal, if I may remark?

Mr. ROWELL: Well, is that not a good answer to the allegation made?

Mr. DEVLIN: Does the minister persist then, in saying that whilst the men—because the minister was arguing that the men had the right to place their votes—that whilst the men had that right, their superior officers also had that right and that the Government could collude with those officers?

Mr. ROWELL: I did not say that the Government had the right to do it; nobody had any right except the men themselves to place their votes.

Mr. DEVLIN: Exactly.

Mr. ROWELL: The Minister of the Interior has told you that is what the telegram means, and that is what it refers to.

Mr. DEVLIN: Oh, the telegram is here.

Mr. ROWELL: It is here, and the statement of the Minister of the Interior is here too.

It is unfortunately the case—every man who is in public life recognizes it—that in the heat of a political contest men do things which they would not do in their own business, which they would not do for themselves. It has been the habit to attempt to justify these things.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. ROWELL: On both sides. Well, to excuse, then.

An hon. MEMBER: You should not excuse.

Mr. ROWELL: I am not excusing; I am simply stating what every hon. member knows. One thing that has prevented some men from entering public life is the conditions which exist and have existed in this country in connection with elections.

Mr. POWER: It has put a great many out of public life.

Mr. ROWELL: It should be the desire of hon. members on both sides of the House to put a stop to that sort of thing. There is absolutely no excuse for ballot manipulation, for ballot stuffing, for ballot switching, for political corruption of any kind. If any military officer told his men that unless they voted for this Government or voted for somebody that he named they would be sent into the front line trenches, that military officer should be prosecuted to the full limit of the law, and if responsible members will make a charge against any military officer, so far as I am concerned I will use all the influence I have to see that that man is prosecuted. Any man who seeks to defeat the will of the people, to violate the law, to thwart the will of the people as expressed in the ballot, deserves to be punished to the full limit of the law.

Mr. EULER: Does the minister realize that the action of the Government in inducing these soldiers to place their votes in certain constituencies had as its only possible object the defeat of the will of the people in those particular constituencies?

Mr. ROWELL: I do not recognize that, because it must be obvious to my hon. friend that the only reason why votes were given, whether it was right or wrong to do it, to soldiers who had no domicile in Canada, and the reason why those soldiers were permitted to place their votes in any constituencies they liked, was to enable those soldiers to vote for the Government or the Opposition in such constituencies as would do the one or the other the most good.

Mr. EULER: Would it not of necessity defeat the will of the bona fide residents of any particular constituency?

Mr. ROWELL: All I have to say, Mr. Speaker, is that that was the law. I will admit that arguments could be advanced against that law. There were also arguments in its favour. It was argued in its favour that the men who enlisted in the army of Canada and offered their lives for the defence of Canada should be entitled to vote and have a voice in selecting the Government which was to administer the country's affairs. But whether we take one view or the other, that was the law, and the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Interior, or any member of the Government, in carrying out that law, so long as they did it honestly and fairly, are not open to any censure or criticism at the

hands of this House. If there was any wrong, it was the wrong of the last Parliament in passing the law. That law has ceased to be operative; and no good purpose can be served by pressing a motion of this kind.

Let us at least give credit to our public men for trying to do the straight and honourable thing. Let us differ on matters of policy on which we may honestly differ. But it will tend to the elevation of public life in this country; it will tend to make politics cleaner; it will tend to improve the whole tone and character of political discussion in Canada, if we give credit to our public men for sincerity in pursuing their public duties. There will then be plenty of room for honest, right-minded, public-spirited citizens to differ on great questions of policy affecting the future of this country. I am sure that when the Prime Minister leaves to-morrow to take a rest he sorely needs, because of the tireless service he has given to Canada, to the cause for which Canada was fighting and to the British Empire of which we form a part, he will go away with the consciousness that the Parliament of Canada repudiates and resents the suggestion against his integrity and his honour contained in this resolution. I say the same with reference to the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen).

Mr. DEVLIN: Is the Minister of the Interior going away for a rest too?

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to keep the House for more than a very few moments. What my colleague, the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) has just said sums up very fairly and clearly the real position with regard to the motion before the House. We have travelled, with the aid of the magnificent imaginative powers of hon. gentlemen on the other side, a very great distance away from this telegram, and we have had flights of eloquence and denunciations of practices of all kinds and a most admirable quotation describing the sanctity of the ballot box. Hon. gentlemen in this House have evidently been roused up to a very high pitch of indignation by a number of things that we have been told about in the course of this debate that have been made to rest, in some instances, on anonymous letters, or letters of gentlemen who did not like their names to be given, and in one or two instances upon the affidavits of particular soldiers who seemed to think, if they had the grave complaint that their affidavits set forth, that, instead of going to those in authority over the military officers who are charged with having done this wrong of threatening the soldier if he did not vote in a particular way, instead of going to the superior officers of those men, who have it in their hands to do them justice, it was a wiser and more effective way to hand those letters in to hon. members of the Opposition who have also apparently thought that the wiser way to have those wrongs rectified was to keep those letters in their pockets until they could use them in support of a motion directed not against the people who threatened the soldier, not against the people who perpetrated the wrong that is alleged to have been perpetrated, but until they could use them in support of a motion in itself based upon the flimsiest of grounds and one directed against the honour of the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) of this country and against the honour of the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen). Hon. gentleman who have been able to connect these isolated cases, to which they have referred as the basis for their eloquent indignation, with anything that is contained in the telegram, have proved themselves certainly masters in the field of imaginative deduction. What have they done and what has this motion given them? It has after all, roused, in this House a feeling which does not make for that concord between the people's representatives which ought to exist at the present time and be an example to those people themselves that we might hope that they would follow, as we certainly ought to appeal to them to follow it. Surely the present time is no moment for the opening up of old sores in a manner which can have no effect but one, that is to say, to rouse what there may be of latent feeling of animosity in the breasts of any or all of us, arising out of incidents of the last election. Surely this is a time for us to be occupying ourselves with those things that may bring us together in co-operation in the building up of this country; and surely the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) should not have expected this House to be in a disposition of mind to waste its time in acrimonious discussion about what happened in the recent election.

Mr. Speaker, let me not be misunderstood. I am not standing here deprecating any practical method that might be taken to bring to justice any man who was guilty of any offence in connection with the carrying on of the election, whether that man be soldier or civilian. But there are ways

of enforcing the law, and there are ways of using unfortunate incidents, that may be discovered to have happened in the course of a general election that took place upon two continents, for the sole purpose of rousing political passion and making an appeal to the people of this country for the purpose of discrediting men who, as has been so eloquently pointed out by the President of the Council, have, for the last four or five years, but especially for the last two years, given, without hesitation, unstintingly of the very best that is in them in the service of the country. And we are asked to do that on what? On an inference, on an interpretation of a telegram. I am not going to deal with that phase of the thing. The President of the Council has, I think, sufficiently pointed out how this telegram is perfectly susceptible of a perfectly innocent interpretation. Hon. gentlemen said: But it was on the 30th of November and voting had been going on long before that. True, voting had been begun, but voting went on until the 17th of December, and surely there were thousands, and thousands, and thousands, of votes amongst the soldiers on the other side and on this to be polled when the intimation was made that the sender of the telegram would like, that, in the requesting and direction of voters anxious to know where they should vote, one thousand should be asked to cast their votes in the province of Manitoba. We have had some discussions of different standards of ethics. For my part, I entirely fail to see what reproach would have been made to the leader of the Opposition if he found himself in face of soldiers entitled by law to vote at the place that they selected, either they asking him for advice or he not waiting to be asked for advice because he, in the patriotic conviction that the interests of this country demand the return to power of the party of which he is a distinguished member—face to face with those electors entitled to select a place of voting—had felt that it was his patriotic duty to advise them to cast that vote in the place where it would be most effective to produce what he believed to be the patriotic purpose of having returned to power the party in which he had confidence.

Certainly I would not reproach him if he acted so, and certainly—I do not know whether I am going to condemn myself in the eyes of hon. gentlemen on the other side—I would have had no qualms of conscience in giving that advice. Surely if we go into public life and engage in an electoral contest earnestly convinced—and I believe with regard to this side of the House and the other that as a rule the men who do present themselves to do as a rule with the honest conviction that the party whose flag they are carrying is the party whose election will be most beneficial to the country—I have always believed that the man who undertook that task owed not merely to his party but to his country the exertion of every honest effort of which he was capable to assure the triumph of the party which in his belief would best serve his country. Unless it can be shown to me that there is something dishonourable in saying to a man to whom the law of this country gave the right to select a constituency in which he could vote, unless it can be shown that there is something dishonourable on the part of one who honestly believes that the success of the party to which he belongs is essential to the good of the country, and that it is a dishonourable thing for the man so placed to give advice which will lead to that vote being used in such a manner as to produce the largest effect of which it is capable in bringing about that result which the adviser believes to be the best result for his country, then I wish to say for myself that an honourable man taking up that telegram and reading it will not see anything evil in it. It takes an ingenuity—and there has been more ingenuity than ingenuousness bestowed upon the interpretation of this telegram—it takes an ingenuity of which I confess I am incapable to read that telegram as necessarily implying anything dishonourable, and if there had been no other circumstances than that the telegram in itself was at least susceptible of an innocent interpretation that in itself should have been conclusive to any man who knows the man to whom it was addressed and the man whose signature it bore, that that was the proper interpretation to attach to it.

Something has been said about the law, and I have been spoken of as sponsor for that law. I have no desire to deny that I put that law through the House, and I have no apologies to make for it. If ever the Parliament of Canada did a thing that under the circumstances was a rightful thing to do, it was when it passed that Act that secured to the men whom we thought good enough to fight for Canada the recognition that they were good enough to vote in Canada. In the face of such criticism as has been addressed to that law, I am quite prepared to say that I happen to be the man who conducted that Bill through the House,

and if it were to do over I would do it again with the same confidence that I was doing the right thing which inspired me when I did it in the past. Let me add that, though at the outset when that Bill was introduced there was a good deal of questioning and carping criticism, before we were done with it the Bill went through this House practically unanimously. It went through with the common consent that every possible effort should be made to secure the vote to the soldiers. We were all equally agreed, too, and none shared in that opinion more heartily and more honestly than myself, that the vote should be surrounded by every safeguard which it was possible to attach to it under the circumstances under which it had to be taken.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: The War-time Elections Act went through under the closure.

Mr. DOHERTY: I am not discussing that Act, but the Military Voters' Act, and I think if the hon. member will carry his memory back he will recall that in the last stages of that Bill there was practically unanimity. I want to pay a tribute to hon. gentlemen who sit on the other side of the House with regard to that Bill. When I introduced the Bill I told the House that I looked for unanimity on the principle that the soldier should have his vote, and we got that unanimity. I told the House further that I recognized the very great difficulties attached to surrounding that vote with proper safeguards, and I appealed to both sides of the House for suggestions. Valuable suggestions came from the other side of the House and were adopted, and the Bill left this House with the operation to be carried on under it surrounded by the best safeguards that the best minds in the House at that time could suggest. We all recognized that there were dangers, and that you could not secure the same absolute control and supervision that you could secure in an election carried on under normal conditions. But I think we all agreed at that day that that if the cost of giving the soldier the vote he was entitled to was the taking of the risk of irregularities, we would all willingly take them. We did take them, and there were irregularities; nobody disputes that; we have had instances. The hon. member for Chambly and Verchères (Mr. Archambault) about a year and a half ago entertained us with an enumeration of irregularities, and he has come back to the charge in this debate. All these irregularities have been dealt with, but he comes back and tells us now that he does not agree with the commissioner who heard the evidence upon the charges that he saw fit to make; he does not agree with him as to what constitutes perjury, and whether those men were guilty or not. To dispose of that subject right off, in the first place it has no connection with this motion. In the second place, the hon. gentleman is full of indignation. For eighteen months he has nursed his wrath to keep it warm. And what was he wrathy about? He said that he not only knew, but that he had in his hands the evidence, that certain soldiers and officers in St. Johns were guilty of perjury and that the commissioner who heard the evidence had not done justice and had come to a wrong conclusion. His heart filled with just indignation in the face of those criminal offences going unpunished. With the courts of his province open to him to lay his charge of perjury and subornation of perjury; with all his confidence that the honourable judge who sat as commissioner was wrong, and with his absolute conviction that a series of crimes had been committed, he just sat by for eighteen months, and now comes into this House which can afford him no remedy. If these men were guilty there was a place where he could easily obtain a remedy, and that was in the courts of the country. To pass from that, however. I say there were irregularities. Under the law they were possible and we knew it. But there were many causes which contributed to those irregularities, and one of those causes was the persistent misrepresentation of the Act that was indulged in throughout the country by people speaking in the name of the party which the hon. gentleman leads. Why, in my own constituency and throughout the constituencies adjoining as well as throughout the province, so far as I came in contact with it, I encountered an honest, earnest and sincere belief that under the law every soldier had a right to vote where he liked; and wherever I came across that belief I inquired: "Where did you get that impression?" and was told in reply "Every Liberal candidate and every Liberal leader is thundering accusations against you as the author of that law. You are being accused of having enacted the nefarious law allowing every soldier to vote where he liked." Leaders of this kind persuaded the people and persuaded the soldiers that they had an absolute right to vote where they chose. They so persuaded them because they thought that in such misrepresentation of the law they found an effective arm of attack against myself and others who were responsible for the law. Well, the

argument has proved a boomerang in the sense that it very widely or largely created that belief on the part of the soldiers. I cannot of my own knowledge speak of conditions on the other side, but some instances were given of representations made there. But I do know what the conditions were upon this side, and to-day, having created and fostered that belief, those opposite ask us to establish a drag-net commission to go out and see what we can find out—how many soldiers we can find who were deceived in that way, and what soldiers we might possibly find who intentionally violated the law. In so far as the result of the election is concerned, as it was pointed out time and again, no useful purpose can be served by a sweeping investigation of the kind suggested. The hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) read us affidavits—and I cannot help asking myself why it is that neither before military or civil authorities did those people who suffered that awful injustice have recourse, as was their right. Among the superior officers of that adjutant referred to, I have not the slightest doubt, it would have been easy to find one who would have meted out the justice that man deserved; but so far as we see, no endeavour was made in this direction. On the very face of it evidence produced in such a way certainly does not commend its sincerity to those to whom it is presented. But as I have said, and as the President of the Privy Council has said, if there are cases of that kind let them be dealt with as individual cases. Let the names of the culprits be given and there will be co-operation to the end that they may be punished; but let them not be used for the purpose of seeking to rouse indignation in this House and among the public generally against the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior who are sought to be connected with it by nothing but a series of imaginative constructions of possible combinations of circumstances. To do that, I submit, is unjust and unfair. Denunciations of violators of the ballot boxes have no application to the members of this Government or the members of the House, who find it their duty to do justice to the two ministers, against whom in my judgment and, I am satisfied, in the judgment of the majority of the members, absolutely no case has been made justifying an inquiry. They ask for an inquiry directed against the Prime Minister of the country and the member for Three Rivers stands up and says: "I have made out a prima facie case because there was an adjutant in France who told a soldier that if he did not vote a certain way he would be sent to the front line or the trenches." On that statement of a soldier the hon. member says he has made out a prima facie case that the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior were engaged in a nefarious conspiracy to interfere with the liberty of the soldier. Can inconsequence go further?

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I should like to know if the hon. member, as Minister of Justice, is ready to approve the instructions which were given in Knouts and Lashings, the paper published at St. Johns barracks—

Mr. DOHERTY: I have never had the privilege—

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:—and which I have read in this House and may read again.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I shall read it if the minister will allow me. It reads:

> You will find instructions as to voting..... Ask yourselves these questions: Will your vote be needed in the constituency from which you come? Will your vote marked for the Government be a means of putting in a candidate in a constituency where your vote is needed? Do not waste your vote. Have your mind made up before you enter the polling booth. Do not hesitate to place your vote for the Government in a constituency where it will count.

I should like to know if my hon. friend as Minister of Justice approves of these instructions?

Mr. DOHERTY: Neither as Minister of Justice nor in any other capacity can I possibly approve of those instructions, but all I have to say about it is that there is outstanding evidence of the successful efforts to deceive the public, including the man who wrote that, into the belief that I made a law to let the soldier vote wherever he liked. So far as the district down there is concerned the entire trouble is that gentlemen supporting the party which the hon. member supports launched a boomerang which came back and struck themselves.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Is the hon. minister aware that this paper—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:—was sent to the Minister of Militia when published?

Mr. DOHERTY: No, I am not aware of the fact. And now, Mr. Speaker, I feel that, probably quite unnecessarily, I have detained the House too long in this debate; I felt that it was my duty to say what I

have said in face of such gratuitous imputations as have been cast upon the honour of a colleague in whom I have the most implicit confidence, and in face—if I may be permitted the expression—in my eyes at least, of the grotesque, the absolutely grotesque, effort to connect that telegram, susceptible of a perfectly innocent interpretation, with every rumour, with every statement, with every letter, anonymous or otherwise, that can be scraped up in regard to the recent elections, and then to say: "We have a prima facie case against the honour of the Prime Minister and of the Minister of the Interior." In face of that grotesque attempt I felt I would not be doing what was just or fair to the distinguished Prime Minister of this country and to my trusted colleague, the Minister of the Interior, if I contented myself with giving a silent vote.

Mr. E. B. DEVLIN (Wright): Mr. Speaker, there are two reasons that prompt me to take part in this debate. The first is that, being paired with an hon. member opposite, I will not have an opportunity of voting for the motion of my honoured leader (Mr. McKenzie), which I would very much like to have done. The second is the speech delivered by the hon. the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) this evening. The telegram which has been the basis of a good deal of discussion during the present debate is one which was sent, or purported to be sent, by the hon. the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) to the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden). It reads as follows:

Canadian Pacific Railway Company's Telegraph.

Winnipeg, November 30, 1917.

Sir Robert L. Borden,

Ottawa, Ont.

Would like one thousand soldier votes at large for Manitoba, of which 300 for Selkirk, balance divided between Provencher, MacDonald and Springfield or same proportion of division no matter what our allotment may be.

Hon. gentlemen opposite have argued from beginning to end that the sole matter before this House is that the honour of the Prime Minister and of the Minister of the Interior is concerned. Some hon. gentlemen opposite say that we must refuse a committee to investigate the charge made because forsooth to-morrow the Prime Minister must leave this city for a rest. Every man in this House and in this country wishes to give full and entire credit to the Prime Minister for the arduous duties which have fallen upon his shoulders during the last few years. I would be the last man who would want to take exception to any man, not in the enjoyment of perfect health, having a well-earned rest. I do not think it was in the mind of any hon. member on this side of the House to make a direct attack upon the honour of the Prime Minister.

The second defence entered by most hon. gentlemen opposite to the accusations brought by the leader of the Opposition and supplemented and amplified in a most able way by my hon. friend from Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) was the cry that it would not be patriotic upon our part to allow an investigation into these charges because it might refer to some of the noble youth of this country who have fallen victims to German methods upon the battlefields of France. In conjunction with other members of this House and every citizen in this country I have done whatever I could to help win the war. I have at times, Sir, if I may be allowed a personal reference, suffered in silence by reason of some of the charges which have been hurled across the floor of this House, but I have been charitable enough to believe that sometimes a man's environment is responsible for his language and that owing to the stress of political events his better judgment does not always dictate the words he uses. I feel certain that many of the charges which have been made in the last two or three years will soon cease to be uttered.

But to say that this resolution is an attack upon the young men who have died in France is to use the weakest of all arguments in a thoroughly bad case. The fact of sending the telegram is only an incident in the charge which is made by the resolution. It is an incident connecting other incidents in this election which form a conspiracy to defraud the electors of this country of freedom to express their will at the polls, and it should not in any sense be mitigated by the members of this House. The President of the Privy Council did not read the resolution. I want to read it to you. After reciting the telegram the resolution proceeds:

—and, whereas, the said telegram indicates the existence of a widespread system of manipulation of votes, under the direction and with the approval of ministers of the Crown, for the purpose of defeating the will of the Canadian people as expressed at the polls, and

Whereas, such scheme of manipulation involves not only the honour of the ministers concerned, but the constitutional rights of the people

Therefore, be it resolved that in the opinion of this House, a Parliamentary Committee should be chosen immediately for the purpose of investigating the matters expressed or implied in said telegram, and that the said committee be vested with all power and authority

necessary for the purpose of said inquiry, including the right to summon witnesses and to cause to be produced all necessary papers and documents.

And that is immediately followed, Mr. Speaker, by the reading in this House by the member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) of affidavits signed by soldiers in France to the effect that these statements are true. Now, Sir, I put it, not to the lawyers here but to the common sense of the House: If you have a charge to make against a citizen you go and swear that you are credibly informed of such and such a thing; then the warrant issues and the trial takes place. That is the common law of this land. Here the leader of the Opposition states that he is credibly informed that such-and-such an occurrence has taken place. Then another hon. gentleman rises and says: To lay stress upon that allegation, I produce two affidavits. Is that ground, Sir, for a trial to take place? Does it give the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), who stands for everything that is good, just, moral and righteous in this country, the right to stand up and say: "Why, that is a thing of the past, we should not investigate that." "And besides," he adds, "the Prime Minister is going on a well-deserved and well-earned rest." Then again the President of the Privy Council adds one further terrifically damning argument in the case, and says that he has absolute confidence in his colleague, the Minister of the Interior. Sir, that is given as an answer and a serious answer—I appeal to the judgment of this House if it is not. Because one hon. member stands up and says, upon the full responsibility of a minister of the Crown, that he has confidence in the integrity and the honour of a colleague, this Parliament and this country must be deprived of an elementary right—a right that has been granted to it by the constitution of the country, a right that has been granted to it by every constitutional practice, and by the traditions of this House. I have read a great deal that has been written and said by the President of the Privy Council, and I have been studying that hon. gentleman for the last two years. I have read the official record in one of the publications of his department, and I have read other publications of his——

An hon. MEMBER: A sermon?

Mr. DEVLIN: Yes, I was going to add I have almost listened to a sermon, as I heard the echo if it. I have particularly read everything that has appeared in print about the President of the Privy Council and, Sir, far be it from me to want to pass judgment upon any member of this House; I want to be in a position of being able to say that the President of the Privy Council means what he says when he makes a statement. Speaking in the province of Ontario on December 17th, 1918, in explanation of another speech which he had made during the election, I find this passage which appealed to me:

> These magnificent results—
>
> Referring to the results upon the battlefield.
>
> —will have a decisive effect upon the whole course of our history. They were made possible not only by the courage and patriotism of our army in France, but also by the courage and patriotism of the people at home who put country before personal or party considerations in the hour of our country's need.

Did the President of the Privy Council put patriotism before personal interest, or love of country before party interests, when he said to-night, speaking with the reputation which he has in his native province, "the soldiers had a right to allot their votes"? Why, every child in this country knows that by this time. But he did not say—mark well—that the officers had the right to allot the soldiers' votes. No, he was too guarded about that. The soldiers had the right to vote but the charge is that the officers allotted certain votes which were not regularly put into the ballot boxes; and the Pre-
1 a.m. sident of the Privy Council who uttered the words that one must put country above party, and above personal considerations, stands up and approves of that conduct because, forsooth, he has confidence in his leader.

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to detain the House, nor was it my intention to take part in this debate. But, Sir, when I heard those utterances to-night—and I hope that I am not more honest than the hon. gentleman is, I trust that I am as honest—I hope that he has never stooped to anything disloyal in elections. I certainly, Sir, have been brought up in a county where we did not know—to the best of my knowledge I say it,—where we did not know, since the days of Confederation, of political dishonesty and corruption. That county has been represented by Liberal and by Conservative, and, Sir, to-night speaking with my fullest responsibility as a member of this House, and speaking in the name of the county that I represent, and in my own personal name,

I want to say as emphatically as I can, if that is the code of morals of the President of the Privy Council, if his morals are such that he can palliate, and endorse such action, then, Sir, so far as I am concerned, I want to place it upon record that I am opposed to all such methods, and if I were voting I would vote with the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Before the leader of the Opposition rises to speak it is my duty to inform hon. members that he is about to exercise his right to close the debate; therefore if any other hon. gentleman desires to speak he must do so now.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Mr. Speaker, this subject has been very ably debated from both sides of the House, and I need make but a few observations in closing.

It has been said repeatedly by hon. gentlemen on the front benches opposite that I had sinister and unworthy motives in bringing this question before the House; that this thing is absolutely all right. In other words, the Government say they passed a law, knowing what they were passing; that they appointed officers under that law who would enable them to put the votes of the soldiers into any county they pleased and bring about any result they desired. That is the position they have taken. They scout the idea of any one taking exception to that position.

The Minister of Justice (Hon. Mr. Doherty) says: I have passed a law knowing that I was giving votes to soldiers who had no stake in this country; I also passed a law enabling the officers of my department and of the Government to place these votes just where they pleased, absolutely regardless of what the will or the wish of the voters might be—because the voters were not to have any will or wish; they were to be subject to the will and wish and direction and control of the Government and the officers of the Government. That is the position of the Minister of Justice, and he gets particularly warm because in construing the same law and in construing the duty of an officer of the law as high up as the Minister of Justice I take sharp issue with him and say that if he passed such a law he did something that he had no business to do; that if he puts such a construction on it he did something that was absolutely wrong and unconstitutional, and that if he authorized officers to carry out such a law, he did something that was absolutely in violation of any principle of justice.

Mr. MEIGHEN: As the Minister of Justice was out when the reference was made by the leader of the Opposition to his speech, I think it is only fair to say that the account the hon. gentleman made of his remarks was absolutely garbled and wrong.

Mr. McKENZIE: Gentlemen in the criminal box usually hold their tongues.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Take it back.

Mr. McKENZIE: Mr. Speaker—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. McKENZIE: What is the "order" about? That was a mere figure of speech; I am sure the minister will not mind.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Does any hon. gentleman wish to state a point of order?

Mr. DAVIDSON: I rise to a point of order. Referring to the Minister of the Interior, the leader of the Opposition said that gentlemen in the criminal box should hold their tongues. That is a base insinuation and should be withdrawn.

Mr. McKENZIE: It is not a base insinuation; it is a figure of speech. I say that the man who is charged should let the thing alone and let the Minister of Justice answer for himself, that is all.

Mr. GAUVREAU: Take your medicine.

Mr. McKENZIE: That is all I meant.

Mr. DAVIDSON: Mr. Speaker—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If the hon. gentleman insists on his point of order, I may say that I had taken it for granted that the Leader of the Opposition had sufficiently explained the remark by saying that it was merely a figure of speech and intimating that he did not intend that the words should have their exact meaning. I should judge that the withdrawal is sufficient to satisfy hon. members.

Mr. McKENZIE: There is nothing to withdraw; there was nothing intended. But I do say that the Government passed this law by a majority in this House, and the instrument for carrying it out, the War-time Elections Act, they forced through the House under closure. The one would be no good without the other. There is no use in saying that there was practically a consent to the Military Voters' Act on the part of the members of the House when the instrument which carried it out and

without which it would be absolutely useless was forced through the House by closure. As far as gentlemen on this House are concerned, as far as Liberals are concerned, away back in the early days they realized what a miserable piece of execution this instrument was and they did everything they could to keep it from becoming the law or at least from becoming effective.

Mr. DOHERTY: Does the hon. member mean to say that he himself and the numerous members sitting behind him did not throughout the debate on that Bill insist that they were as favourable to the soldiers having votes as hon. gentlemen on this side of the House were?

Mr. McKENZIE: As far as I am concerned, upon his Bill of 1915, which was the first one, and his Bill of 1917—

Mr. DOHERTY: Which was this one.

Mr. McKENZIE: —which was this Bill, I differed largely with my party. For myself, I was against it all the time, absolutely against it, and my speeches will show that. I got the majority of the votes of the soldiers in my county who had the privilege of voting—a large majority. But overseas, where there were more than seven or eight hundred voters for my county, I got the magnificent number of thirty-five votes, because the votes of the soldiers there were switched and manipulated by this machine. Their fathers, their mothers, sisters and brothers and the soldiers at home were voting for me; do you mean to say that the boy who was away and whose mother and father were writing him and telling him to vote for McKenzie, would not vote for me if he could? Of course he would, but he could not; so that out of from seven hundred to a thousand votes I got only thirty-five—and that was by some mistake; it was not intended that I should get even that number. That indicates what sort of machine was doing the work.

The difference between the Government and myself is this: I say that no individual or aggregation of individuals, I care not who they are if they be anything short of angels, should have any power or right to interfere with the rights and privileges of the people. I say that no honest machinery is capable of being contrived by which the Prime Minister or any other minister, when votes were being taken on two continents separated by thousands of miles, could honestly pick out three hundred votes here, three hundred there, a thousand somewhere else, and place them here and there all over the country as they wanted them. There is only one way of doing it, and that is the way it was done. These votes were falsely marked; they were put in one pile and then they were divided as you would divide a hundred bags of oats. Hon. gentlemen get quite hot under the collar about this thing; I never saw so much heat in the Minister of Justice since he came to this House as I saw in him to-night—because, forsooth, gentlemen differ with him on the construction of a statute. We are all wrong, it would seem, because we take a different view of that law. I say to the minister, I say to every honest man in Canada, and I will say to the people of Canada when the opportunity presents itself, that the implementing of that telegram—which hon. gentlemen opposite admit was sent; which they admit is correct; which was sent in code in a most dark and mysterious way from one minister to another—was absolutely incapable of performance in an honest way.

There is not a member of the Government, not a man sitting in this House who can more readily get out of an awkward situation than the President of the Council (Hon. Mr. Rowell). Knowing his ingenuity and willing that he and his friends should have the benefit of the answer to it, I put a question to him.

Just after he had sent this telegram saying that three hundred should go to Selkirk, and so many to another place, and so many to Macdonald—aye, Macdonald, the pious, God-fearing man from Macdonald—they were going there—I asked the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell): With this voting going on throughout two continents promiscuously, how could you devise machinery by which you could place so many of them here and so many of them there? Once in his life the acrobat from—I do not know where he is from—was non-plussed and could not tell. Nor any other man in creation could tell; it cannot be told. There is only one way of doing this: Those ballots were got together; they were marked just as they pleased; then a group of some kind of officials—I do not know who they were—got around them and divided them as they would divide a hundred bushels of potatoes or twenty bushels of oats, of something like that. That is the way in which the thing was done. The story is quite easily told, and it is quite easily understood. If that sort of thing is all right, then I am all wrong. All I can say is that the people of Canada, in the innocence of their hearts, did not think that that was the purpose of

the War-time Elections Act, nor of the Military Voters' Act. The Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) says that when he put the law through—and he is proud of it; he will do it to-morrow again—he knew it was capable of that thing and he knew the thing would happen.

Mr. DOHERTY: I want to deny emphatically that I said anything of the kind.

Mr. McKENZIE: We shall leave it to Hansard to-morrow what can be gathered from the speech of the Minister of Justice.

Mr. DOHERTY: I think I am entitled to protest against an hon. gentleman's making a statement that I said something which I never said and then refraining from withdrawing it and merely saying that he will leave it to Hansard. I deny absolutely that I made that statement, and I demand that the hon. member retract it.

Mr. McKENZIE: I shall not retract any thing of the kind.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. member must certainly accept the denial.

Mr. McKENZIE: I cannot do anything else. There is no need to be so pernickety about it. That is all I will do.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Withdraw.

Mr. McKENZIE: What shall I withdraw?

Mr. GAUVREAU: Withdraw the answer.

Mr. TRAHAN: He will correct the proofs to-morrow.

Mr. McKENZIE: The Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) said that we lay on our oars for a year and a half without bringing forward any charges of this kind. The Minister of Justice remembers well that the hon. member for Westmorland (Mr. Copp) in this House about a year and a half ago produced scores of affidavits sworn to by soldiers, and the oath of one soldier is sacred; I suppose, the oath of any soldier is sacred. These soldiers in their affidavits duly sworn to stated that they were tampered with in many ways; that they were not allowed to vote as they wanted; that they were threatened, and all the rest of it. That was laid before the Minister of Justice and the Government very emphatically in this House, and that is all we could do. The Minister of Justice at that time refused to do anything in regard to that charge. Does it then lie in the mouth of the Minister of Justice to-night to come back to us and say that we are too late; that we have slept on our rights, and that we have no business to revive these things to-day? We revived them a year and a half ago and now we are reviving them again; but it is enough for the minister to say: You laid an investigation a year and a half ago; I refused to accept it; now you are reviving it again; I will consider it out of date because you are too late I would not take it at any time, but now you should not do anything about it and you are only reviving old spleen. I would be afraid that the tremendous heat which was indulged in on the other side of the House might spread across to myself, were I not determined that not one word would escape me that would in any way reflect upon the Prime Minister or the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen). I laid my case before the House on the day that I moved my motion, and I leave it to the House to say if I touched the hem of their garments in the slightest way. I kept strictly and absolutely to the facts of the case, saying nothing personal whatever. In reply or in response to that, I have the thanks for my care from the Minister of the Interior who said that I was the lineal descendant of the miserable thief that stole the telegram. That is who I am. That is a miserable Fletcherism of something that took place more than half a century ago in the House of Commons of England. It is not new; it is not fresh, and it did not touch me at all If the statement were original with the minister, I might have thought it clever; but when he had to go back to nearly a hundred years ago in the English House of Commons to find out something that was said about a very distinguished English statesman—and I should be proud to be put in his class because the reference was to Disraeli, the statement being made by the distinguished Irishman, O'Connell—the statement was not new; it was so stale and flat that I paid no attention to it. As to the question whether we should let these things drop and pay no more attention to them, I simply say as I have said before that we have brought them up before; that we have pressed them as hard as we could upon the oaths of members of the service on the other side—I do not know whether they were officers or not; they were at all events private soldiers—and the Minister of Justice refused to comply with our request. We are pressing him again and he now comes back and the whole Government comes back and says: There is nothing wrong; this telegram is all right, and the minister had a perfect right to send it and the Prime Minister of this country had a

right to be a conduit, a chute with a great many holes or arms in that chute by which means votes were to be "chuted" here and "chuted" there, and shot to the other place. That was the kind of octopus the Prime Minister was going to be, and telegrams were coming from all parts of the country, while he was continually turning this crank "chuting" votes throughout the country. That is the position in which the Prime Minister was put. I am not at all surprised that he is tired and sick and wants to go away for a rest.

The matter would not be so very serious if these were only what is called "votes at large," that is, men in Canada who had no domicile here, who never lived in Canada. If those were the only men interfered with or whose votes were to be corralled, or "allotted" is the word, as is pointed out in this telegram, it would not be so serious. But the Minister of Justice and other members of the Government will see the facility with which mills were erected throughout the country making this sort of a vote. All that had to be done was to get a soldier to leave unanswered two or three questions and immediately that man became a soldier at large—he could go anywhere.

At Chambly and Verchères 400 or 450 men were made to say that they did not know where they should vote. Imagine, men who swore before the commissioner that they were born and had lived all their lives in Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, or other towns and cities in the two great central provinces, swearing, in order to vote, that they did not know where they lived. The commissioner said there was no harm in it, but that is what they did. The Minister of Justice says it is all right, and the commissioner found it all right for a man who had lived in the city of Toronto and enlisted there as a soldier to go down to St. Johns in the province of Quebec and swear he did not know where he resided in order that he could vote in that constituency. The commissioner says that is all right, and the Minister of Justice and the whole Government back up the commissioner and say "Certainly, that is all right." That was all that was necessary in order to make as many votes at large as you please. There may have been ten thousand or only a few thousand, but you could multiply it up to 100,000 or 200,000 simply by the process of getting the men to answer in that way. That is what I object to.

We have no knowledge—I do not think the Government has any knowledge—how this voting was done. Take the county of Provencher, for instance, some votes were required for that constituency. Would it not be a proper thing for the people of Canada to know how the soldiers voted whose votes were transferred to that constituency, and so put this trouble to rest forever? What machinery was used to put the votes there, and how did they get there? If the Government can show that everything was all right let us have the actual facts. But they take the contrary course. They say it was all right to do it any way at all since the votes were put where they would do the most good. It has already been said that the good or the bad in connection with an election depends upon party, that if the Liberal party is running everything that would assist them is a good thing, if the Tories are running everything that would assist them is a good thing. Is it proper that either party should have the deciding of what is the right thing, and then be given power under an Act of Parliament to take votes and apply them to that thing which they decide is the right thing?

I said on the day that I introduced my motion that the marking of the ballot is a judicial act which one should do for himself. If he cannot do it for himself, he should not do it at all. It is an abuse of the privilege of the franchise for a man to vote who does not know anything about the matter at issue. If he does not know enough to decide for himself he certainly should not be allowed to exercise the franchise. We differ entirely on this. I say that what was done is capable of being absolutely wrong. The Government says it is capable of being absolutely right. The people of this country must decide for themselves with their own votes the destiny of their country. Honourable gentlemen opposite say that in the stress and storm of war they can do what they please. Imagine, Sir, a man setting fire to another man's barn and when called to account for it saying, "Oh, well, he was a slacker, he and his boys. They sent nobody to the war. I and my boys went to the war, so it's all right to set fire to his barn." That would be miserable logic, but it is just as bad to say that anything wrong can be done in connection with an election provided the intention is the sustaining of the Government that it is believed would be the most favourable to the prosecution of the war.

It is unnecessary for me to elaborate the consequences of corruption in elections. If the Government can keep themselves in power by switching votes, the corruption

will go through the whole fabric of the country. If Governments are a corrupting power what about the administration of justice, what about our judges and our magistrates? What about everything that goes to the safety of life and property in a country unless you have purity in elections, purity in the deciding of them, purity at every stage? That is the only thing in connection with this matter that I am standing up for.

A great deal of fault has been found with me because I did not have the telegram. Here is the original draft of the telegram.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Will the hon. gentleman be good enough to send it to me that I may see it?

Mr. McKENZIE: I have no hesitation. I do not know whose writing it is. It is the original draft. The code is there with it.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The telegram is not in my writing, is not signed by me, the initials are not mine,—were never made by me. Not a word of it was written by me.

Mr. McKENZIE: The Minister in his speech the other day said that if the Committee sent out the telegram he is not going to go back on them. He accepts it. Whether he wrote it or not it came from his office and he is the father of it.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The hon. gentleman has endeavoured to build a case here on the supposition that I sent the telegram. I did not send it. I never saw it. It is not in my writing. The initials were not made by me. It never came to my attention, and the hon gentleman if he does not know that, might have known it, and I think has known it all along.

Mr. McKENZIE: All I have to say is this. I care not whether the hon. gentleman wrote it or not. It has been admitted by his advocates here.

Mr. MEIGHEN: It has never been admitted, and the hon. gentleman knows it has never been admitted. The contents of the telegram are all right, but I did not send it.

Mr. McKENZIE: We will see what the Minister himself said.

Mr. MEIGHEN: It is all very clear now.

Mr. McKENZIE: The minister said in his speech the other night that he might have sent it.

[Mr. McKenzie.]

Mr. MEIGHEN: Read what I said. I should also call attention to the fact that—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order. The hon .member for North Cape Breton and Victoria (Mr. McKenzie) has the floor unless he chooses to yield it to the hon. member.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I ask the hon. gentleman to yield me the floor. He has produced now what is a forgery.

Mr. McKENZIE: I was asked to read what the hon. member said. It is to be found at page 565 of Hansard.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Read what I said.

Mr. McKENZIE: The Minister said:

He read and re-read whatever he could find around him, but he never uttered a sentence to indicate, much less to prove, that there was the slightest semblance of dishonour or impropriety in anything alleged about myself in this motion. The hon. gentleman knows that there was not, and I will tell him why.

He says I refused to charge anything dishonourable against him in regard to the telegram. In other words, he says it was perfectly all right. Further on he says, on the same page:

He says that I admitted writing the telegram. I admitted no such thing.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, Hear.

Mr. McKENZIE: (reading).

I said immediately I heard of the message what I say now—I have no recollection of the telegram whatever. The message might have been sent; it might have been sent by me; it is a message which might have been sent by any honest man.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, Hear.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Read on.

Mr. McKENZIE: Later on he says:

The matters regarding which the wire appears to have been sent, while quite proper, were matters that necessarily could not have been attended to by the Prime Minister.

They were matters that were quite proper and the wire "appears to have been sent"; but the Prime Minister himself could not attend to them. Later on the minister says:

If that telegram were produced and if there is anything wrong with it, it would be a prima facie case if my signature is there.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. McKENZIE (reading)

Still more this telegram, were it actually produced to the world, would be no prima facie case at all for the reason there is nothing wrong with it whatever.

There is nothing whatever wrong with it, says the minister.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Except—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Except for the theft—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. MEIGHEN: And, in view of the fact that my signature does not even purport to be there, I now add, except for the forgery.

Mr. McKENZIE: The hon. gentleman said it was all right. It is the thing they were doing, and it could not be an accident.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No. no.

Mr. GAUVREAU: They are proud of it.

Mr. McKENZIE: The minister says further:

If it was sent by the organization, then I have no desire to repudiate the message—none whatsoever.

He does not repudiate it at all, and if he did not send it himself he had an organization that was looking after these things and that had the authority to send it. The organization also had the right to charge the message to his committee.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Does the hon. gentleman—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. MEIGHEN: It is all right for hon. members to say "order, order."

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. MEIGHEN: But what is the hon. gentleman's evidence that I sent it?

Mr. McKENZIE: At page 567 it would appear that the Minister of the Interior inquired of the Prime Minister: Did you get my telegram?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Will the hon. gentlemen permit me a question?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Sit down.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. SHEARD: Let us have fair play.

Mr. COWAN: They don't know anything about that.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Minister of the Interior asks the hon. member for Cape Breton North and Victoria if he may ask a question. It remains for the member who has the floor to say whether, or not, he may.

Mr. McKENZIE: I have this in mind now and I may as well read it.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Will the hon. gentleman permit me——

Mr. McKENZIE: I have the floor.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McKENZIE: I cannot understand why some hon. gentlemen are so wrathy about this thing. Before the Minister of the Interior came in we had ministers tumbling over one another's heads in their anxiety to say, "This is all right."

Mr. MEIGHEN: Why didn't you produce the telegram——

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. member who has the floor permits the interruption the minister may proceed to ask his question.

Mr. McKENZIE: At page 567 the minister says:

The Prime Minister never received the message. He has had made a most careful and thorough search and he says that it never was received.

If it never existed of course it could never have been received. But why the inquiry? Why does the Minister go to the office of the Prime Minister and ask him: "Did you get my telegram?" if no such telegram was sent. Now, I went through the minister's speech and there was not a great deal in it. These are the main things which he said, and I did not intend to refer to them, but he is in the House to-night himself.

Mr. MEIGHEN: You won't allow me to speak.

Mr. McKENZIE: The Minister of the Interior says it is all right, the Minister of Justice says it is all right, and other gentlemen on that side, particularly those of legal ability, are all unanimous in the opinion that the telegram is all right. There is nothing in it with which to find fault.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON: Except its forgery.

Mr. McKENZIE: Now it seems that it was quite right and proper that hon. members should work their friends up into a passion of fury about this thing, why?—to vote it down; that is all. I say, as I have said before, that to my mind it is an absolutely undue interference with the will of the people and is something that should not have occurred. And when the people of the country have an opportunity of passing judgment in regard to it they will do so in a very different temper from that which is evident to-night.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Will the hon. gentleman permit me a question now?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Question.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Cowards.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must ask hon. members to bear in mind the rule, which is very explicit, that when the Speaker rises, the hon. member who has the floor must take his seat. I understand that the member for Cape Breton North refuses to answer the questions of the minister.

Some hon. MEMBERS: He is afraid.

Motion, Mr. McKenzie, negatived on the following division:

YEAS.

Messieurs

Archambault,	Lapointe (Kamouraska),
Baldwin,	Lapointe (St. James),
Boivin,	Leduc,
Bourassa,	Leger,
Boyer,	Lesage,
Brouillard,	McCoig,
Bureau,	McGibbon (Argenteuil),
Cahill,	McKenzie,
Cannon,	Marcile (Bagot),
Cardin,	Mayrand,
Casgrain,	Michaud,
Copp,	Papineau,
d'Anjou,	Pardee,
Déchêne,	Parent,
Delisle,	Pelletier,
Demers,	Prevost,
Desaulniers,	Proulx,
Deslauriers,	Robb,
Duff,	Ross,
Ethier,	Savard,
Euler,	Seguin,
Fafard,	Sinclair (Queens, P.E.I.),
Fontaine,	Tobin,
Fournier,	Trahan,
Gauthier,	Turgeon,
Gauvreau,	Verville.—56.
Gervais,	
Kay,	
Kennedy,	
Lanctôt,	

NAYS.

Messieurs

Allan,	MacNutt,
Anderson,	McGibbon (Muskoka),
Andrews,	McGregor,
Argue,	McIntosh,
Arthurs,	McIsaac,
Ball,	McLean (Royal),
Blake,	McQuarrie,
Bolton,	Manion,
Bonnell,	Martin,
Bowman,	Mewburn,
Boyce,	Middlebro,
Brien,	Morphy,
Calder,	Mowat,
Chaplin,	Munson,
Charters,	Myers,
Clark (Bruce),	Nicholson (Algoma),
Cooper,	Porter,
Cowan,	Redman,
Cronyn,	Reid (Grenville),
Crothers,	Reid (Mackenzie),
Crowe,	Richardson,
Cruise,	Rowell,
Currie,	Sexsmith,
Davidson,	Sheard,
Davis,	Simpson,
Edwards,	Spinney,
Finley,	Stacey,
Foster (York),	Steele,
Fraser,	Stewart (Hamilton),
Fulton,	Stewart (Lanark),
Griesbach,	Sutherland,
Hay,	Thompson (Weyburn),
Henders,	Thompson (Yukon),
Keefer,	Thomson (Qu'Appelle),
Knox,	Tweedie,
Lang,	Wallace,
Loggie,	Whidden,
Long,	Wigmore,
Mackie (Edmonton),	Wilson (Saskatoon).
Maclean (Halifax),	—79.

PAIRS.

(The list of pairs is furnished by the Chief Whips.)

Messieurs

Borden, Sir Robert,	Murphy,
Doherty,	Marcil (Bonaventure),
Green,	White (Alberta),
White, Sir Thomas,	McMaster,
Burrell,	Chisholm,
Clarke (Wellington),	Truax,
Armstrong,	Fortier,
Peck,	Denis,
Wright,	DuTremblay,
Blair,	Lafortune,
Scott,	Power,
Hocken,	McCrea,
Lalor,	Devlin,
Marshall,	Béland,
Halladay,	Fielding,
Boys,	Pedlow,
Wilson (Wentworth),	Gladu,
Sifton,	Lemieux,
Tudhope,	Sinclair (Antigonish and Guysborough),
Douglas (Strathcona),	Molloy,
Thompson (Hastings),	Vien,
Guthrie,	Jacobs,
Clark, M.,	Lavigueur,
Buchanan,	Johnston,
Ames, Sir Herbert,	Pacaud,

Mr. BELAND: I am paired with the hon. member for East Elgin (Mr. Marshall). Had I voted I would have voted for the motion.

Mr. DOHERTY: I desire to inquire whether the document which the leader of the Opposition produced to this House and laid upon the Table describing it to be the original of a telegram printed in the Order Paper and embodied in the motion, which has just been voted down; is now upon the table and in the possession of the House.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh no.

Mr. DOHERTY: If not it should be laid upon the Table. I desire to point out, Mr.

Speaker, that I raise this question, not for the mere purpose of enforcing what I believe to be the rule, but because the matter involves a question of exceeding gravity. So far as regards the document which the hon. gentleman declares to be the original of what is embodied, what is printed in his motion—so far as there was opportunity to read that document, it bears upon its face that the words "Arthur Meighen" printed in the resolution, do not appear on the face of that document at all; and further,—if my information is correct, I did not have the opportunity of seeing it myself—it appears that the insertion, the printed insertion within the motion of the address, of that telegram as being to "Sir Robert Borden, Ottawa, Ontario," does not appear upon this document produced now as the original. I am not affirming it as a fact, but I am informed by the gentlemen who had the opportunity of observing it that so far as they could observe neither the address to Sir Robert Borden nor the purported signature—if my information is correct the forged signature—in the printed motion, appear on the original document at all. This statement, if my information be correct, will make clear to you, Mr. Speaker, as well as to all members of this House, how very grave a matter is involved —nothing short of deliberate deception of this House—by a false printing of what is not a copy of what the hon. gentleman describes as the original document.

2 a.m.

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not quite understand, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: As I understand it, the Minister of Justice raises the point of order.

Mr. McKENZIE: Well, that is debatable, I presume.

Mr. SPEAKER: I was going to ask the hon. gentleman if he is prepared to debate it.

Mr. McKENZIE: Certainly. This document which I hold in my hand shows anybody what it is. I did not say that it was anything but what it is—it is a photograph.

An hon. MEMBER: It is not a copy at all.

Mr. McKENZIE: It is a photograph. Now whether that photograph is true or not I produced this paper for what it was.

Mr. DOHERTY: May I ask the hon. gentleman—

Mr. McKENZIE: I said nothing, but I produced this paper—

Mr. DOHERTY: May I ask—

Mr. McKENZIE: Just a moment—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McKENZIE: I say, Mr. Speaker, if I am not to be dealt fairly with in this House, I will have nothing at all to say.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not quite understand the hon. gentleman. Does he complain of not being dealt fairly with?

Mr. McKENZIE: I do.

Mr. SPEAKER: In what respect?

Mr. McKENZIE: Of interruptions from the other side of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Minister of Justice repeatedly endeavoured to ask a question, but when it was not permitted he sat down. I cannot see that the hon. gentleman has anything to complain of under the circumstances.

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not want to be misrepresented. The Minister of Justice and some other gentlemen opposite seem to think they have a monopoly of the honour of this House. I draw the line at that. I have been in this House longer than the Minister of Justice and I have yet to be called to task for any want of courtesy or any act of dishonour here—I am not aware of any. This document was put in my possession. It is a photograph, and I have never said it was anything else.

An hon. MEMBER: You said it was an original.

Mr. McKENZIE: The photograph is a draft—that is, what was photographed was the draft of a telegram. At the top of it is the letter "B," which, when it is translated out, I take it, was an indication to the man who saw the code that it is "Borden."

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McKENZIE: At the foot of it are the two letters, "A. M.," which I take to be "Arthur Meighen."

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McKENZIE: The draft that is put in this form is afterwards put into a code—the figures and the letters—and the whole paraphernalia putting it into the code are here. It is decoded into the form of this telegram. It is addressed to Hon. Mr. Borden and a name is to it —I do not say it is signed "Arthur Meighen". That is the whole business. I did not put it on the Table.

Mr. SPEAKER: I understood that the hon. gentleman did put it on the Table.

Mr. McKENZIE: I did not. I am sure that the Minister of the Interior will do me justice. He said: "Pass it over to me" or "Let me see it"—those were his words—and for the purpose of his seeing it I passed it over to the Clerk, not with any intention of putting it on the Table; nothing could be further from my mind. As the minister wanted to see it, I made it convenient for him to see it by passing it over to the Clerk, that is all.

An hon. MEMBER: Lay it on the Table.

Mr. DOHERTY: The hon. gentleman, when the Minister of the Interior asked for the document, did not have it delivered to the Minister of the Interior. He had the boy lay it on the Table.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The Minister is perfectly within his rights in rising to discuss the point of order and hon. members should do him the courtesy of allowing him to proceed.

Mr. DOHERTY: I personally saw it in the hands of the Assistant Clerk. Now, may I also point out that the hon. gentleman's present explanation shows, on his own statement, that the document as reproduced in the printed motions has been falsified...

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Minister of Justice is perfectly within his rights in rising to a point of order, but I do not think he is within his rights in making an argument comparing the document in question with what purported to be a copy of it and which was a subject of debate in this House.

Mr. DOHERTY: I submit, Mr. Speaker, that I am entitled to answer what the leader of the Opposition thought proper to say upon this point of order. We raised no point of order against any of the things that he thought proper to say, because we are very anxious that all the facts about this transaction—as we call it; I do not wish to use any unparliamentary expression—should be made perfectly clear. Now, the leader of the Opposition, in discussing this point of order, pointed out what were the contents of the cipher message which he undertook to interpret—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. DOHERTY: Do hon. gentlemen raise a point of order?

Mr. SPEAKER: The leader of the Opposition pointed out what the telegram or document in his possession was; I do not understand that that gives the minister the right to base an argument on it and compare it with the document which was before the House previously.

Mr. DOHERTY: I do not desire to make an argument; I only want to answer the statement which the hon. gentleman made as demonstrating that the document which he produced was similar to the printed one, and to point out that the document which he produced is, on its face, not similar to the printed one, in this regard: The cipher message here reads as follows: "Sir Robert L. Borden, Ottawa, Ont." That is the address, and it is signed! "Arthur Meighen". The hon. gentleman has just read us a cipher telegram which shows that the "Sir Robert L. Borden" does not appear in the cipher—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. DOHERTY: Nothing but the letter—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must rule that, there being no subject matter before the House except the point of order, it is not proper for the hon. member to enter into any argument or discussion as to certain documents. He is of course, perfectly in order in discussing the point of order.

Mr. DOHERTY: May I just say this: that in speaking to this point of order it is proper, it seems to me, that I should be allowed to show what is the importance to this House of having the possession of this document?

Mr. GAUVREAU: Why don't you grant the committeee, then?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. DOHERTY: Honourable gentlemen ask me to appoint a committee, when they dare not—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I must direct the attention of the House to the fact that the

point of order is simply this: Whether the documents which were read by the leader of the Opposition were placed upon the table of the House, and if so, whether they are in the custody of the House. That is the whole question; it matters not what may be in these documents.

Mr. CAHILL: Mr. Speaker,—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I am keeping order, hon. gentlemen must bear in mind, as best I can, and if they will obey the rules and take their seats when the Speaker rises, there will be no difficulty in keeping order.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: If the Acting Prime Minister sets the example, it will be all right.

Mr. CAHILL: I rise to a point of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. We are already discussing a point of order and the Minister of Justice has the floor for the purpose of discussing it.

Mr. DOHERTY: I was submitting when I was interrupted—I may have been out or order in replying to the interruption—that the point which I am raising in claiming that a document exhibited to this House, even if it actually did not get upon the Table—a document exhibited to this House in support of a motion made is—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. DOHERTY: Am I out of order?

An hon. MEMBER: No speech; it is a point of order.

Mr. DOHERTY: Mr. Speaker, I am quite prepared to keep within the rules; if any hon. gentleman wishes to raise a point of order it is his privilege to do so.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Will the minister permit me?

Mr. DOHERTY: Certainly.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: The minister has been ruled out of order by the Speaker for arguing the very same thing that he is now proceeding to argue. I submit that his only recourse is to appeal from the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. DOHERTY: When the Speaker tells me that I am out of order in what I am now saying, I shall certainly bow to his ruling.

Mr. BELAND: What is the ruling? We want the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Chair has given its ruling that the Minister of Justice is permitted to continue his remarks upon the point of order. If he deviates from that I shall certainly endeavour to bring him back to the question.

Mr. DOHERTY: I was submitting for your consideration, Mr. Speaker, this contention: That a document produced and exhibited to this Parliament, in support of the motion made by the leader of the Opposition, and in support of his argument, properly becomes the property of this House.

That contention is stronger still when, as a matter of fact, the document did pass into the hands of the Clerk of the House. What was in the mind of the hon. gentleman in handing it over, of course, I am not in a position to say, but the fact is that the document did reach the possession of the Clerk of the House. I submit, under those circumstances, that document becomes the property of this House, and as showing the interest of this House to insist upon its right to the possession of that document, I point out that that document established that the printed motion as put upon the Order Paper—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. DOHERTY: As showing the importance to this House of insisting on the right which I claim for it, I point out that the document in question is one which establishes that in the motion—

Some hon. MEMBER: Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I do not think it is a point of order whether the document in question is of importance or not. It is purely a question whether any document, letter or paper referred to under similar circumstances ought to be produced.

Mr. DOHERTY: I, of course, bow to your ruling on that subject. I felt that as there was so much protest against my speaking at all, it was a proper thing that you should know the reason why this document establishing the deception of this House should be produced to the House.

Mr. McKENZIE: Before you rule, Mr. Speaker, I think I should say one word. The Minister of Justice seems to say that I put on my notice of motion things that are not in the document. That is not so. Every single word in my notice of motion is here.

Mr. DOHERTY: Put it on the Table.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The words are not in the document at all.

Mr. BUREAU: The Minister of Justice says that this document has been deposited with the Clerk and as such is the property of the House and should be left with the Clerk. The leader of the Opposition answers "No." The Minister of the Interior asks to see the document.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Why does the leader of the Opposition answer "No?"

Mr. BUREAU: Do you ask that?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Yes, I ask that. Why does he answer "No," and not lay the document on the Table?

Mr. BUREAU: Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. BUREAU: I am talking to the point of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: The point I wish to bring to the notice of the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) is this, that it is not permissible to use the personal pronoun in addressing hon. members of the House.

Mr. BUREAU: I ought to have said the Minister of the Interior. Your ruling is perfectly right, and I bow to it.

Mr. EDWARDS: You have done a lot of bowing to-night.

Mr. BUREAU: Some hon. members speak within their lips and smile; I want to hear what they say, and enjoy the fun. The leader of the Opposition denies that he deposited the document on the table of the House. He says that he handed it to the Minister of the Interior upon his request to look at it. There is a rule of the House which says that when a member gives his word about a certain thing, his word must be accepted. Therefore, if the leader of the Opposition says that he did not deposit the document on the table of the House, the point is very simple. If the Minister of Justice desires to get further information about this document, let him give us a committee.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. BUREAU: I want to suggest on the point of order—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. BUREAU: The hon. member for Algoma East (Mr. G. B. Nicholson) told me to hold my soul in patience just now.

[Mr. Meighen.]

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope the hon. gentleman will confine his remarks to the point of order.

Mr. BUREAU: I have almost finished. If you have to abide by the rules of the House and accept the word of a member, the thing is very simple. The leader of the Opposition says: I have not put the document on the Table, therefore, it remains my property.

Mr. P. McGIBBON (Muskoka): Mr. Speaker,—

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. gentleman rise to speak on the point of order?

Mr. P. McGIBBON: I want to remark that in my opinion that document having been quoted from in this House becomes the property of this House.

Mr. SPEAKER: The point of order raised by the Minister of Justice is as to whether the document read by the hon. member for Cape Breton North and Victoria is in the custody of the House. If this document were laid upon the Table, there would be no question that it would become the property of the House and in the custody of the clerk. The mere physical placing of a document on the Table does not constitute the laying upon the Table within the rule, and I therefore, feel it is necessary to take the statement of the hon. member for Cape Breton North and Victoria (Mr. McKenzie) that he did not lay the document on the Table. If a public document is quoted from by a minister of the Crown, it must, upon request, be laid upon the Table; but a private member is in a different position, and under the rules is not compelled to produce a document which he uses during the course of his speech. I, therefore, rule that the document has not been laid upon the Table of the House, and that it is not necessary for the hon. member to do so.

CIVIL SERVICE RECLASSIFICATION.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: I move:

That the Select Committee to which Bill No. 18, An Act to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918, is to be referred in conformity with the resolution passed by the House on October 2nd instant consist of the following members:—Boys, Cahill, Chabot, Copp, Cowan, Duff, Davis, Davidson, Ethier, Euler, Harrison, Manion, Mackie (Edmonton), Mowat, Maclean (Halifax), Murphy, McCrea, Ross, Sinclair (Queens, P.E.I.), Stewart (Hamilton), Sheard, Steele, Stacey, Turgeon, Wigmore.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must direct the attention of the House to the fact that this

motion can be entertained only by unanimous consent.

Motion agreed to.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty the House ajourned at 2.35 a.m., Friday.

Friday, October 3, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

MEMORIAL TO THE LATE LIEUT.-COL. BAKER, M.P.

On motion of Mr. W. F. Kay (Missisquoi) the first report of the special committee appointed to consider the matter of the erection of a memorial to the late Lieutenant-Colonel Baker, M.P., was concurred in.

GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

BILL TO CORRECT CLERICAL ERROR IN ACT OF LAST SESSION.

Hon. J. D. REID (Minister of Railways) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 23, to confirm two orders of the Governor General in Council respecting the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway system.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Explain.

Mr. J. D. REID: This is merely a Bill to correct a clerical error that was made in the Act that passed through this House during last session with reference to the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company. In that Act, the elevator system at Port Arthur was called the Grand Trunk Pacific Elevator Company, whereas it should have been called the Grand Trunk Pacific Terminal Elevator Company. We merely wish to correct the clerical error that was made by omitting the word "Terminal" in that Act.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

CIVIL SERVICE ACT 1918 AMENDMENT.

FIRST REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON CLASSIFICATION.

On motion of Hon. A. K. Maclean, the House reverted to the Order "Motions."

Hon. A. K. Maclean submitted the first report of the Special Committee appointed to consider Bill No. 18 to amend the Civil Service Act, as follows:

The Special Committee appointed to consider Bill No. 18, an Act to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918, beg leave to present the following as their first report:—

Your Committee recommend:

1. That their quorum be reduced to seven members.
2. That they be authorized to have their proceedings and such evidence as may be taken by them printed from day to day for the use of the members, and that rule 74 be suspended in reference thereto.
3. That your Committee be given leave to sit while the House is in session.

All which is respectfully submitted.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: I move that the first report of the special committee appointed to consider Bill No. 18, be concurred in.

Mr. SPEAKER: This motion can, of course, be entertained only by leave of the House.

Motion agreed to, and report concurred in.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Right Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce) moved:

That on and after Monday next Government Notices of Motions and Government Orders shall have precedence on Mondays and Wednesdays, until the end of the Session, over all other business except Questions and Notices of Motions for the Production of Papers.

Mr. McKENZIE: I should like to bring to the notice of the leader of the Government (Sir George Foster) that the Order Paper shows a large body of private business. There are now on the Order Paper twenty-three notices of motions. I have looked through them, as no doubt the leader of the Government has done, and they are, I suppose, all regarded as important by the persons who put them on the Order Paper. While this private business appears large, the docket of Government business would strike one as being light. The minister should, I think, leave us Monday and Wednesday the two private members' days of next week, and we might make good progress on this private business. Otherwise it would appear that it would go over altogether. I trust the minister will concur in my request.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: My hon. friend is not quite correct in that. The motion reads:

That on and after Monday next Government Notices of Motions and Government Orders shall have precedence on Mondays and Wednesdays, until the end of the Session, over all other business except Questions and Notices of Motions for the Production of Papers.

Therefore, the notices of motion to which my hon. friend refers, will have their due place just the same as before. They will come up and they will be moved.

Mr. McKENZIE: That refers only to notices of motion for the production of papers; that is where there is no discussion at all.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. McKENZIE: But the twenty-three motions to which I refer are outside of that class.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There is also this consideration to be taken into account, that this evening we shall have one opportunity of going through those. Next week we shall have an opportunity to take up those that are for the production of papers and that are germane to the session in this respect that they give members information which they might be able to use between this and next session and for the next session. This session of Parliament was called, not for private business, but for one special purpose, and it has been confined largely to that, and I think the general sense of the House has been that it should be confined to that. The Peace Treaty has been disposed of, and the legislation necessary in order to carry out Canada's part with reference to that has also been in part disposed of. Those comprise the important business for which we were brought together; we were not brought together for the purpose of private business. I should hope it is the unanimous wish of the House that the session should end as quickly as possible, and there is no reason why we should not end our work next week. I think both the House itself and the country will rather be glad if that takes place.

Mr. McKENZIE: The minister, who is an old parliamentarian, will remember, if he casts his eye back upon the history of motions of this kind, that they were never brought on the first day that notice was given; that there was always some leeway. I have never known a session when the day set in the original motion was taken by the Government. There has always been some extension of time. The leader of the Government and the leader of the Opposition usually arranged the matter in the House in the presence of us all, and I am pressing from the time-honoured custom of not taking Monday on such short notice.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: We must also take into consideration, that we have never yet had a session called for the purpose for which this session was called. I may also say that with fair progress on the small number of Government measures before the House I think there will be ample opportunity next week, after disposing of the Government measures, to take up all the more important private business, provided the debates are not too long. Although Government business will have precedence, that does not mean we shall have enough Government business to shut off entirely private business, nor is that the intention. I think my hon. friend and his friends will have quite sufficient time for that, unless it is their wish to prolong the session for another week, and I do not think we want to do that.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I would therefore ask my hon. friend to let the motion pass and trust the Government to deal gently and considerately with him in the matter of private legislation.

Mr. McKENZIE: After such a promise, I will do almost anything.

Mr. C. A. GAUVREAU (Temiscouata): Would it be possible for the minister to amend his motion to provide for Wednesday night sittings. That might enable us to get home sooner.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: We can do that if it is necessary, later. I will put a motion on the Order Paper to that effect.

Motion agreed to.

CIVIL SERVICE RE-CLASSIFICATION.

HON. MR. MURPHY AND MR. CAHILL WITHDRAW FROM SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. CHARLES MURPHY (Russell): In yesterday's Votes and Proceedings I observe my name as one of the members of the special committee appointed to consider Bill No. 18, to amend the Civil Service Act. As my name was inserted without my knowledge or authority I desire it to be withdrawn.

Hon. Mr. MACLEAN: The usual practice was followed in this case of asking the leader of the Opposition to name the usual proportion of members of the Opposition to the committee.

Mr. MURPHY: I merely wish to say that I was not spoken to, so I ask that my name be withdrawn.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I think my hon. friend had better serve on the committee, notwithstanding that.

Mr. MURPHY: No.

Mr. F. S. CAHILL (Pontiac): My name is also down as one of the members of that committee. As it was placed there without my knowledge or consent, and in view of the fact that the minister in charge of the Bill would not give an answer to my question yesterday, I ask that my name be withdrawn.

BOARD OF COMMERCE.

QUESTION AS TO APPOINTMENT OF FRENCH SPEAKING MEMBER.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. J. ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Verchères): I would ask the Minister of Justice how he reconciles the appointment of Mr. James Murdock as the third member of the Board of Commerce with his reiterated promise that a French-speaking gentleman would get this position. At one sitting of this House in particular I was promised that the necessity for a thorough understanding of the French language by the Board had been given consideration and provided for.

Mr. SPEAKER: This question should have been placed on the Order Paper, because the matter is not urgent. The appointment has been made, and the hon. member merely desires information which cannot vary the situation with respect to the Board of Commerce. I would ask that notice be given.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: With all due respect, Mr. Speaker, I think we might get some valuable information from the minister on this point.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member can get the information on Monday by putting his question on the Order Paper.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I would ask the Minister of Justice if it is the intention of the Government to appoint a French-speaking gentleman to the Board of Commerce.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): The actual membership of the Board of Commerce has been completed by the appointment of Mr. Murdock. I may add that a French-speaking gentleman, Lieutenant-Colonel Lafleche, thoroughly qualified in every respect, has been appointed to be the chief examiner and advisory expert to the Commission. I am sure the hon. member will recognize his competency, and the very many reasons which justify that appointment. I am satisfied that with the organization of the board so completed the hon. member will realize that the statement of mine to which he has just referred has been fully implemented. The hon. gentleman is mistaken in saying I had made a promise that a French-speaking gentleman would be appointed to the board. If he will re-read what I said he will find that what I said was that when the organization was complete it would be found that the necessity of providing within that organization for the perfect understanding of the French language had been considered and provided for. Provision has been made in the way I have mentioned.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: May I ask what is the salary of Lieutenant-Colonel Lafleche?

Mr. DOHERTY: His salary is $5,000 per annum.

MILITIA ACT AMENDMENT.

THIRD READING.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Mewburn (Minister of Militia and Defence), Bill No. 19, to amend the Militia Act, was read the second time, considered in Committee, reported, read the third time and passed.

ROYAL NORTHWEST MOUNTED POLICE ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Rowell (President of the Privy Council), Bill No. 22, to amend the Royal Northwest Mounted Police Act, was read the second time, and the House went into Committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On Section 1—Name changed.

Mr. McKENZIE: It might be well for the President of the Council to explain this Bill. As I understand it, I believe it amalgamates the two forces.

Mr. ROWELL: As I intimated on the first reading, the Bill provides for the amalgamation of the Dominion Police with the Northwest Mounted Police. The continuing force will be the Mounted Police, and provision is made in this Bill whereby the Dominion Police may enlist in the Mounted Police, notwithstanding their age, and become entitled to the benefits of Mounted Policemen under the terms of the Bill. That will give to the Dominion Police the benefit of the pension provisions now available for members of the Mounted Police. Up to the present time there has been no pension fund for the Dominion Police. Some of the mem- for the Dominion Police. Some of the mem- reached the age at which, under the terms of the Act relating to the Mounted Police, they would be entitled to retire from the force and draw pension. It was considered that it would not be right to provide that,

upon joining the Mounted Police, they should have the right to immediately retire and draw pension, and it is therefore provided that they must serve for five years in the new force before they shall become entitled to retire voluntarily and receive pension. If a member of the Dominion Police were retired for grounds which, under the Mounted Police Act, would entitle a man to pension, he would then become entitled to it under the new Act. The Bill substantially improves the existing status of the Dominion Police and provides one Federal police force for the whole Dominion. The Bill further amends the clause of the Act which fixes the headquarters of the police force in the Western Provinces, and authorizes the Governor in Council to determine where the headquarters shall be. When the Bill goes into operation there is no doubt that the headquarters will be established at Ottawa and the force will be administered from this city. I think that this fairly outlines the purpose of the Bill.

Mr. THOMPSON (Yukon): Will the uniform of the amalgamated force be that of the Dominion Police or of the Northwest Mounted Police, or will a new uniform be provided?

Mr. ROWELL: The general uniform will be that of the Mounted Police; there will be no change in that respect. Probably it will not be necessary or desirable that the uniform of that section of the police which is in charge of the Government Buildings in Ottawa should be changed from what it is at present. That particular matter has not been considered, but the present general uniform of the Mounted Police will be continued.

Mr. McKENZIE: This matter is a very important one and should be thoroughly understood by the Canadian people. In the days prior to the organization of the entire northwest into separate provinces it was commonly understood just what the service of the Northwest Mounted Police was. That service was unquestionably a very valuable one, and members of the Northwest Mounted Police as a body have won fame for themselves as a result of the excellent service they have rendered the country. But when the great Northwest Territory was divided into distinct provinces—Manitoba long ago, and more recently Saskatchewan and Alberta—taking up practically all the country over which the Northwest Mounted Police held sway, then of course these areas came under the control of the provincial governments which were responsible for the enforcement of law and order within their own bounds. I do not see why the province of Alberta, for instance, or British Columbia, or any province west of the Great Lakes has a right to a force of mounted police any more than Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec or Ontario. The same responsibility rests upon every governmental machinery for the maintenance of law and order within the limits of the province. If I remember correctly, an arrangement was made a few years ago by which the provincial governments in the West contributed some money towards the pay of these forces. I do not know whether that policy is still in practice; at any rate, I have heard nothing about it for some time. I am quite familiar, at least from hearsay, with the work and establishment of the Northwest Mounted Police, but I do not profess to be equally conversant with the Dominion Police Force, which appears to be a distinct body discharging separate functions. Now the two bodies are to be amalgamated. We have received no explanation from the minister as to what the services of the new body thus formed will be, and it is desirable that certain questions should be answered. For instance, do they belong to any particular province or territory; and what will their functions be? Again, what is their jurisdiction and what law of Parliament are they supposed to enforce? These are very important questions, and we would expect that, with the amalgamation of the two existing forces, a smaller number of men would accomplish the duties at present discharged by them respectively, with some resultant economy. I should think fewer men would suffice, with fewer departmental heads, than in the past. How many men does the minister intend to have in the new force; what is the nature of the organization; what officers are to be put in charge of these different bodies; where are the forces to be located; and what service generally are they rendering and will they render to the people of Canada? Further, what is the necessity for them? I submit that when a province takes upon itself responsibilities as such it necessarily assumes also the responsibility for maintaining all the machinery that is requisite for the general administration of justice and the proper observance of order and good government. Why should we have a body somewhat analogous to an armed force in aid of civil authority when there is no trouble or disturbance of any kind? There are no wild men in the

West so far as we can see, and it seems to me that it is a very expensive luxury for the Canadian people to maintain these forces unless there is an imperative necessity for them.

The different provinces of Canada should assume the responsibility of looking after their own affairs. If there are any outbreaks in sight in the West, of course, that should be provided for, but as far as I know, no indication is present of any trouble of that kind. It seems to me that there is some argument in favour of effecting economy by cutting down these forces or disposing of them altogether and letting the provinces look after their own affairs. The minister should explain what is to become of the various officials whom we had in connection with these two establishments. It is to be hoped that we are not going to carry on under one head all the officialdom that we have had under two departments. At this time when it is so keenly felt that we should save not only every dollar but every five cents that we can in order to keep within out national income and follow the principles of proper economic government, we should economize in every possible way. I trust that the minister will explain the exact position with regard to these forces.

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend is correct in saying that some few years ago agreements existed between the Federal Government and the Governments of the three prairie provinces under which the Mounted Police performed certain police duties in those provinces and in return the provinces paid a cash contribution to the Dominion Government. During the war those agreements were terminated, because it was considered that in view of the duties which devolved upon the police from a federal standpoint, their whole time would be required for these purposes during the war period. The most important branches of their work related to aliens and alien communities in Western Canada, the policing of the international boundary, and the general safeguarding of our interests in time of war. The agreements, as I have said, came to an end and there is now no written agreement in existence between the Federal Government and the Government of any of the provinces in reference to this work. Each province is responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the administration of the criminal law within its own jurisdiction.

Much of the information my hon. friend has asked for to-day was given in the House last session when I submitted an amendment to the then existing Mounted Police Act. That Act enlarged the jurisdiction of the Mounted Police, extending it throughout the whole Dominion. The amendment which is before the committee to-day does not enlarge the jurisdiction of the force; that is covered by the legislation which existed prior to last session and amendment of last session to which I have referred. The duties of the Mounted Police comprise the performance of such services as they may be called upon to render in relation to the enforcement of federal laws which affect the federal revenue, questions relating to customs, the international boundary, inland revenue, Indian settlements in Western Canada, and the post office—some very important work has been done by the Mounted Police in connection with trouble that has arisen through robberies of the mails. They give attention also to certain work in connection with the Government system of railways. In addition the Mounted Police constitutes a reserve force which the provinces may call upon any time to assist in the maintenance of law and order. The Government considers it to be a matter of some importance that there should exist in this country at this time such a reserve force; and we are satisfied that that is the feeling of the people. This Bill does not increase the strength of the force; authority to increase the strength was given last session. The present authorized strength of the Mounted Police is 2,500; the actual strength is somewhere between 1,600 and 1,700. The permanent Dominion Police make up a force of something less than 200, so that even when the Dominion Police, if they all choose to do so, enlist in the Mounted Police under the provisions of this Bill, the total strength will still be less than the present authorized strength of the Mounted Police.

I believe that there will be a reduction of expense in administration by reason of the amalgamation of the two forces. The former chief commissioner of Dominion Police, Sir Percy Sherwood, has resigned; the position has not been filled and it will not be necessary to fill it. Under the new legislation the combined forces will be under the direction of the commissioner. The present Comptroller of Mounted Police will, under the new Act, be made financial comptroller and so long as the present incumbent holds that office he will receive the salary and hold the rank of deputy minister, as at present. That is the same provision as was made last year in con-

nection with the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, who was transferred to the Department of Trade and Commerce to take charge of the Trade Marks and Copyright branch.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: What are the duties of the financial comptroller?

Mr. ROWELL: The words themselves give an indication of what the duties will be—questions of pay, the purchase of supplies, equipment, accounts. In fact, the financial side of the administration will come under the financial comptroller.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I thought there was to be a purchasing commission some day?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes, but there must be a man in the department to look after the accounting side.

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend said there would be an officer who would purchase.

Mr. ROWELL: If I used that language, I did so inadvertently; I meant an officer who would look after the purchasing. There must be in each department an officer who is charged with the responsibility of recommending what should be purchased in that department. With a force of 1,500 to 2,500 men, the question of supplies to be purchased and of the general financial management of so substantial a force will require the care and attention of a responsible officer. That, generally, describes the duties which would pertain to the office of the financial comptroller.

Mr. THOMPSON (Yukon): Did I understand the President of the Privy Council to say that the present comptroller would continue in office as financial comptroller. with the status of a deputy minister.

Mr. ROWELL: He will be re-appointed; at present he is comptroller. This Bill provides for the office of financial comptroller, and he will be appointed, under this measure, to that office with the rank and status of a deputy minister. That is the intention.

Mr. COWAN: The statement was made by the President of the Privy Council a few minutes ago that after all these arrangements had been completed, the probabilities were that the headquarters of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police would be removed to the city of Ottawa. This is of very direct interest to me because I happen to live in the city of Regina which has, for probably thirty-five or forty years, been the headquarters of this magnificent force, and I would like to know what is meant by the statement. Does the minister mean that the administrative officers will be moved to this city, or is he going to bring to Ottawa the whole of what has been heretofore regarded as the headquarters of that body? I might say that we expended out there probably a million dollars in providing barracks, training grounds, etc., and there are about two hundred acres of land in the city of Regina which the force has had the use of for that time without taxes, and everything has been done to assist it. I fancy that what is contemplated is the removal to Ottawa of the purely administrative officers, is that not so?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes.

Mr. COWAN: That is entirely satisfactory to me. I would like to say a word or two further while I am on my feet, if the President of the Privy Council will pardon me. The leader of the Opposition made reference to the Mounted Police, and suggested that probably there was no necessity for it in Western Canada any longer. Let me say that I think there is such necessity and that it probably will continue for at least twenty-five years to come. I do not think the entire cost of discharging duties that would be, and have been, discharged by the Mounted Police, should yet be thrown upon the provinces. Let the leader of the Opposition understand, as I think he must, that the Dominion Government has thrown into the province of Saskatchewan alone in the past ten years probably 250,000 foreigners, none of whom before they came here knew anything about the Government of Canada or the conditions under which they would live in this country. These men do not know Canadian law and they have to be taught it. They have been thrown largely into colonies where they do not come into contact with English-speaking people at all. They will, I believe, in time make the very best citizens. Their sons and daughters will also be good citizens, but the whole of them must be properly trained, and trained in a way to respect Canadian law. I know of nobody in Canada or elsewhere that can discharge that duty as efficiently as can the Royal Northwest Mounted Police. The force, in fact, has already done so. These foreigners do not fear the Mounted Police at all, they respect them, and that is why the police have been as successful as they have. Now, as I have lived for some thirty odd years in the city where the headquarters of this fine body is located, I have naturally

taken a great deal of interest in it, and I for one, like everybody else I think in Western Canada, was very much displeased when the movement was started to disband this very excellent force. However, the decision was given to re-establish the police, and we have been watching them very carefully this last year to see what the result would be. I wish to state as emphatically as I can, that I am exceedingly pleased with the progress that has been made in getting this force into its old condition. The type of men in the force in the olden days was of the very best.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. COWAN: The police were an intelligent lot of men, they were of good social standing in every way. Men of splendid physique, and they were just the kind of men that were wanted. Latterly some hundreds of new men have been taken on the force, and I for one have been in a position where I could see the type of recruits that were being enrolled. By reason of the increase in salaries which was made last session, and further by the good judgment of Commissioner Perry, we have today in the force at the headquarters in Regina a body of men as fine as we ever had, and I am satisfied that in the course of another year the force will be back to its old-time condition and will once more enjoy its former prestige. That is the reason—because of the necessities of the situation and because the Federal Government should not thrust upon the provinces the cost of maintaining law and order and educating a foreign people for which the Dominion authorities are responsible—I think this body should be continued and in the manner suggested; but I do hope that the Government will not think of moving the headquarters of the force from the city of Regina at the present time—I think that would be a great mistake.

Mr. ROWELL: Just in answer to my hon. friend's question. He is quite correct in his understanding of the situation. We will move the administrative officers who will direct the operations of the force. I have no doubt that all the buildings and equipment now at Regina will be required for the force stationed there, and will continue in use substantially as at present.

Mr. COWAN: All right.

Mr. ALFRED THOMPSON (Yukon): As I recall it, the present Comptroller of the Northwest Mounted Police was appointed by commission. Now I understand he will be reappointed as Financial Comptroller, and I would therefore ask as to whether in his new position this officer will be reappointed by commission.

Mr. ROWELL: The Bill as drawn probably does not require the issue of a commission. However, there is no intention of derogating from the status of the present Comptroller, and if it is necessary to provide that "by commission" should be added, I have no objection to inserting these words in the Bill. I intended to ask the Law Clerk about the point later, and if necessary that addition can be made.

Mr. ALFRED THOMPSON (Yukon): I am in the judgment of the minister, I merely wished to draw the point to his attention. I am tremendously interested in the splendid body of men known as the Royal Northwest Mounted Police, because I have been associated with them for about twenty years on the frontier. I have seen them carry on their duties in policing a vast territory approximating 200,000 square miles in extent and sparsely populated, and I think it is difficult for men living here to appreciate what the traditions of the Royal Northwest Mounted Policemen are to that vast territory north and west of the lakes. The uniform of the members of this force has been a terror to evil-doers and would-be evil-doers in the West from the boundary line to the Arctic ocean. The mere appearance of a yellow-striped constable in a mining camp, where there are men who would be likely to cause trouble if there was no restraining force in the vicinity, is sufficient, so wonderful is the tradition of this force throughout that vast territory. I am glad to know that the uniform of the force is to be retained, because it means a very great deal to people who live in that northwestern country. I think it is a good idea to amalgamate this force with the Dominion Police. As to the retention of the uniform of the Dominion Police in the Capital, or even in the East, where the Dominion Police are better known and the Mounted Police are not as well known, that may be a right thing to do, but I am not in a position to judge or to criticise the proceeding.

Some hon. member referred to the cost of administering this Force. I have no illusions in regard to it at all. It is going to cost more, for the simple reason that the force under the amended Act will be a larger force than we have ever had. As I recall it, the Royal Northwest Mounted Police never numbered more than 1,000 or

1,200 men during the last fifteen or twenty years. The Act, as I understand it, provides for an establishment of something like 2,500 men. I do not regret that; on the contrary, I welcome it, for it opens up another career for some of our young men who desire to participate in that form of national work.

It might be of interest to the committee, Mr. Chairman, for me to state the difference between the policing of the Yukon Territory of 200,000 square miles, with comparatively few people, and the policing of the District of Alaska with an area of 600,000 square miles. I do not suppose that at the present moment we have in the Yukon Territory fifty Northwest Mounted Policemen, and at times that number is decreased perhaps to twenty-five and even less. I have not the figures to present to you, Mr. Chairman, but I believe I am well within the mark when I state that the United States Government to-day have in the District of Alaska between 1,500 and 2,000 men—not as policemen, but as soldiers in military posts through that vast territory in the North which is under the Stars and Stripes. The Governmental authorities of Alaska admit that our system of policing, administering and governing a frontier country is very much superior to that in vogue in Alaska. I am satisfied myself that it is very much less expensive to police the Yukon Territory per square mile or per capita of population than it is costing the Government of the United States at the present time with their system in Alaska. They have from time to time studied our system, and efforts have been made to get the United States Government to create for their territories an establishment similar to our Northwest Mounted Police, but up to the present time they have not been successful. We have had many encomiums from men who are prominent in the Republic to the South when they compare the two systems in the Yukon and in Alaska.

One word touching the cost of this proposed Force. As I say, I have no illusions in regard to it. This larger force is going to cost a lot of money, but the expenditure will be worth while. We will have a mobile force spread across the country within easy striking distance of the various centres where unrest may from time to time occur. And, I assure you, Mr. Chairman, when the new force is properly organized we need fear very little trouble from prospective law-breakers. It will cost several million dollars more than it is costing now to keep this augmented force equipped, provisioned and trained.

4 p.m.

I am not quite sure how my hon. friend the Minister of Militia (Major-General Mewburn) conducts his department, but I have in mind that the financial side of the Militia Department is under a separate head from the military side, and I would suggest to my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) the advisability of placing the financial part of this organization under a financial head. I take it that the President of the Privy Council will make Commissioner Perry head of the amalgamated body. And let me say here, Sir, that I have great pleasure in offering a tribute to that gallant officer for the excellent work he has done for the Royal Northwest Mounted Police Force. I know of no better man, and I know many officers of the force, who will uphold the traditions of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police with greater honesty, integrity and efficiency than the present Commissioner, Colonel Perry. However, he will have his hands full with what might be called the purely police or military part of the organization, and as a matter of administration I would suggest that it might be worth while to make the financial head independent of the military head, as I notice that this Bill provides for placing all matters under the control of the Commissioner. The Minister of Militia perhaps might inform us as to the custom in his department.

Major-General MEWBURN: The Deputy Minister of Militia, like the deputy minister of any other department, is directly under the minister and responsible to him.

Mr. THOMPSON (Yukon): That is not exactly the point I raised. I know that the deputy minister is responsible to the minister.

Major-General MEWBURN: The deputy minister has charge of the civil and financial side of the department.

Mr. THOMPSON (Yukon): That is the point I am making. I am not quite clear as to the line of responsibility here. Do both these gentlemen, the Commissioner and the Financial Comptroller, both have the status of deputy ministers? Of course, they are each responsible to the minister.

Mr. ROWELL: Mr. Chairman, in answer to my hon. friend, I would say that the Bill as drawn provides that the Commissioner is to be the head of the force and responsible for its administration. The Bill provides for the appointment of a

Financial Comptroller, and so long as the present Comptroller shall occupy the post he will have the rank and status of a deputy minister. The duties of the Financial Comptroller will, under the terms of the Bill, be defined by the Governor in Council. I do not think it is desirable to set them out in the Bill, for the reason that the view of the Government is that when the present Comptroller shall cease to hold this office it may be found possible to dispense with the title and add the duties to those performed by the commissioner. I do not say that that can be done, but it is our present view that it may be done, and therefore the question of definition of the duties under the Bill should be made by the Governor in Council.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Do I understand that this Bill provides for the appointment of a new officer to be known as the Financial Comptroller?

Mr. ROWELL: We have a comptroller now, but under the Bill he will be known as the Financial Comptroller, and instead of the duties of the comptroller being as extensive as they are now they will be limited to financial matters.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: It looks to me as if the office might be abolished altogether, because there appears to be very little for a financial comptroller to do, according to the description given by the minister. The financial management of the Mounted Police Force is a very small matter, there being only 2,200 men to be paid, and a clerk in the department could do it just as well as a financial comptroller. Therefore, I see no reason why we should pay the salary of a deputy minister for the performance of services that seem to be so simple. I would like to impress upon the minister the necessity of economy in connection with this department, and I think this is one way in which he can economize. I do not think he has at all made out a case for the appointment of this financial comptroller. We all know that in the Yukon and in the North west Territories we require a Mounted Police force; in fact, it is indispensable, and, of course, on both sides of the House we agree that that force will have to be maintained.

It is not clear, however, that they should be used for domestic work in the provinces. I do not think a very good case has been made out for that by the hon. member for Regina (Mr. Cowan), or by the minister who has charge of the Bill. The minister tells us that the members of the force are now devoting themselves to looking after infractions of the customs, inland revenue and post office laws. Why should we have that force engaged in that work in the Western Provinces when that is not necessary in the Eastern Provinces? As regards infractions of the customs laws, the seacoast is the place where there is the most danger, where there are the greatest facilities for smuggling and other breaches of the customs laws. If the ordinary customs officers are able to maintain the customs laws on the eastern and western coasts of this country, I do not see any good reason why we should spend large sums of money in assisting customs officers in the three Prairie Provinces. It will be necessary for the minister to make out a stronger case than he has made on that score. My idea would be to reduce the staff of the Northwest Mounted Police to the capacity that would be necessary to police the Northwest Territories and the Yukon and to let the three Prairie Provinces look after their own affairs.

Mr. F. H. KEEFER (Port Arthur and Kenora): Mr. Speaker, coming from a riding which is not of the Northwest Provinces but of that portion of the old province of Ontario called New Ontario, I wish to point out that there is something more in having this force well up to strength than merely in order to administer the laws of which he speaks. If you take a point somewhat isolated, say four or five hundred miles away from any place where there is a large number of trained men of any force at places, for instance at the head of the lakes, like Fort William, where the Government have wisely seen fit to establish a headquarters, the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) cannot realize the feeling of confidence existing there now since those men have been established at that point. Prior to that a very large proportion of our population was from the different parts of Europe, strange to our ways and to our language, and in times of excitement the situation amongst those of us who lived there was considered very critical as we did not know at what minute these people might flare up. I have seen riots; I have seen times when we had to bring the militia from Winnipeg there in order to carry on the transportation, not only of the domestic business, but of the business of the whole of Canada. You have there three transcontinental railways; you have there elevators with a capacity of 53,000,000 bushels; the whole of the Northwest business is dependent upon what takes place there, and it is not

in the Northwest. If the minister in charge of the Bill were wise, he would consider the extending of that force east of those points on down to the divisional points in that wilderness where there are many foreigners, where there are probably not more than perhaps two or three provincial constables for the district. I say no word derogatory to the provincial constables. It is within the last ninety days that one of them was shot in the discharge of his duty by one of those foreigners; another provincial constable went out after them, and he got one of them dead and the other man is alive throughout the district. If we want to prevent that sort of thing, we must place men of that force in the wilderness and even in the settled portions of Ontario at those divisional points where the roundhouses and everything else are dependent upon the probably few law- abiding citizens that are there of our own nationality and language. If the hon. member (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) lived in that part of the country, he would feel the sense of security which comes to those who are there when they know that the force is being extended to what one might call strategic points.

While I am on my feet, I should like to ask the minister in charge of the Bill practically what I asked him before when this matter was under consideration, and that is if he could declare what is the policy of the Government now as regards those members of the Northwest Mounted Police who enlisted, who went overseas as soon as they could possibly get away, to serve in their regiments in the Imperial service? Those men were drawing the Northwest Mounted Police pay which, I think, is 75 cents a day; they went overseas to serve at 25 cents or one shilling a day, thus losing the difference, in order to do their duty. Fortunately, I understand our Government is, as far as it can, putting all the men who saw fit to go and serve in their home regiments, on the same basis as those who served in our gallant Canadian forces. In the matter of pensions and also, I believe, in the matter of gratuity allowance, they are being put upon that basis; but, as these men, being reservists, could not serve in the Canadian forces, but went and served in the Imperial forces at a smaller pay, we ought to see to it that at least they do not lose by so doing. The amount is not very much, and it will be far better for this House to devote its time to those types of men who do not come around this Parliament building and elsewhere agitating and drawing Government money at $200 a month like this man Flynn and trying to stir up unrest, but who do their duty and do not do the talking. We should be doing a little talking for them here. The same may be said as regards the Dominion Police which is a splendid body of men, and it is a fine step in advance to amalgamate those two forces. The Dominion Police do not cause trouble in regard to amalgamating with unions and so forth, but they see their duty and go for it "thar and then," as the old rhyme goes. They have a little grievance in regard to which there is some misunderstanding which has not yet been straightened out. Their grievance is that they have not received the bonus. They have received an increase of pay, but there is still a misunderstanding about the bonus which they think they should have, and they say the ministry thinks they have received it. It is a small matter to get together and straighten this out. What I would suggest to the House is that as regards those types of men we use extra efforts to see to it that because they do not agitate, because they do their duty, they get not only fair treatment, but, if possible, liberal treatment. I took the matter up with the comptroller, and he said he could not do anything without authority from Parliament, and I hope, therefore, the minister will be able to say that the men will receive the difference between their pay when they went overseas and what they were receiving before or what they would have drawn if they had served in our own forces. They could not serve in our forces; they had to go as reservists, and, therefore, we should not allow them to suffer. I came down on a train with a whole carload of these men in civies going over to serve, and they wanted to come back to Canada. They are the finest type of men that we have in this country, and they said they would very much appreciate it if they knew whether the difference in pay would go on so that they would have a little stake when the war was over. Some were buried on the other side and some have come back. The minister was wise in taking up the question of advertising to bring those men back. That is a fine step forward, but what are we trying to do to put them on the same financial basis as if they had served in our own forces or stayed at home and served the country here?

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to find the able-bodied representative for Port Arthur so frightened of foreigners.

Down in the province from which I come we have thousands and hundreds of thousands of all classes and descriptions of men from all parts of the world, not only by land but by sea. We live at seaport towns where we get all classes of people in the world. If you go into any small town in Nova Scotia with a population of ten, fifteen or twenty thousand, you will find two boys in bluecoats going along the streets, the same two men doing night and day duty without the slightest trouble, and everybody sleeping soundly when sleep time comes, nobody afraid.

Mr. KEEFER: What about strikes?

Mr. McKENZIE: In times of strikes we never require outside help. Our own men take care of the situation. The sight of a Royal Northwest Mounted policeman would be a curiosity in our province. Nobody would think of asking for their help. Of course, we are all slow to part with any luxuries we may enjoy, and the Northwest Mounted Police are undoubtedly a luxury to the western people. No province will undertake to provide its own police so long as it can pass the burden on to the Dominion Government, and so long as the President of the Privy Council continues to pay for policing the West the Provincial Governments there will be perfectly happy to let him do it, and in the meantime will not appoint a force of their own. They will not organize, form districts, appoint councillors and get a proper grasp on the situation themselves. Naturally they say "Why should we concern ourselves about that? We can use our money in another way. Ottawa is looking after this matter and paying the taxes." I do not doubt that it would be regarded as most extraordinary if the city of Sydney, or Halifax, or St. John should ask this Parliament to tax the people of the West for policing any of those cities. My good friends from the West would not stand for it for a moment. They would say, and quite properly, "Let those cities and the provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick do their own policing in their own way. We are not called upon to furnish money for policing their cities." Now the West has very much larger cities than we have in the East. The magnificent cities of Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg and others put to shame our little establishments down by the sea. Why should not these great cities with all their wealth and influence and civilization and society do their own policing? I think it is extraordinary that people from the other provinces should be called upon to put their hands in their pockets to pay for policing the West, and it will continue so long as this Government sits back and pays the bills, and does not stir up the provincial authorities to look after their own affairs. The Mounted Police do nothing that cannot be done locally by the provincial authorities, if they would only get down to it. My hon. friend (Mr. Keefer) tells us that in this great magnificent province of Ontario with all its wealth and population, educational facilities, and potential resources, the people of his district had to send for mounted policemen to keep order in a corner of the province around Port Arthur. If I had not heard him say so, I could not have believed that any corner of this great province would come to the Dominion Government for police to maintain order and good government within the province. It is a discovery that I never expected to make, and I would advise my good friend at once to insist upon the sleepers at Queen's Park waking up and providing proper police protection for the province to which he belongs, and let the rest of Canada look after themselves.

It is all very well to talk generalities, but I want to say that I am making these observations seriously and with the earnest desire to see a proper administration of law and the maitenance of good order and adequate police protection in every nook and corner of this great country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the best way to accomplish that is to throw the responsibility for the administration of these matters upon the local Governments. My good friend from the Yukon, who in his early days had the benefit of all we could give to a youth in the great province of Nova Scotia, knows that in that province we never had occasion for protection of this kind, and I am surprised that he got accustomed to such protection in the far West. I should like to see the foreigner in the good province of Nova Scotia who would try to boss around our Irish and French and Scotch people down there. He would find out where he was pretty quick. We have full control. We never give way to any foreigners. The foreigner has to make his conduct conform to our laws, and in no province in the East do we look for the protection of mounted police. I repeat, that as long as the minister continues to keep up this huge machinery and pays the bills for the local Governments and cities and towns of the West, so long will he find them coming back to him and

their representatives in Parliament saying what a magnificent man the minister is, what magnificent officers he has appointed, how well he is treating the West, and what magnificent results they are getting. It costs them nothing to say that, and when this Government pays the bill the taxpayer in the West is relieved of his legitimate obligation of maintaining law and order there. If the foreigner does not behave himself properly, let the local authorities police the district and make the foreigner pay for the policing. That would soon bring him to his senses, when he found he had to pay for any disorders he created. It is said that if you want to touch a Scotchman on a tender spot, touch him on the sporran, but I know of no better way of bringing men to their senses as a rule than by touching their pockets, and giving them to understand that if they do not obey the law they must take the consequences and pay the penalty. The minister knows that in 1906, immediately the two new provinces in the West were organized, there was a change in the old conditions. The new Governments formed in the West realized that a new era had dawned and that they had taken upon themselves provincial responsibilities, and those responsibilities they had to discharge. The burden which the Dominion Government had carried for a great many years was shifted to other shoulders. Now, some twelve or fourteen years afterwards, I cannot understand why we should be going back to those old responsibilities. We should have advanced, and conditions should be very much better than they were in 1906, when these two new provinces were formed. I hope that the minister, who loves economy, or at least professes to do so, will carefully consider what I am saying, for I was never more serious about anything in my life than I am in this statement. that while I desire to see order maintained in Canada and progress made in every province, I think that the responsibilities which the Constitution casts upon every provincial government should be left to that government to be discharged, and that we should perform our own duties that devolve upon us. The member for Antigonish and Guysborough has pointed out that we have a very expensive machinery in connection with this matter. Now, I can understand that when two departments are amalgamated the minister may have some difficulty in disposing of officials, but in such circumstances those officials should be subsidized, or some other satisfactory course should be taken in order to have matters conducted in a businesslike way. It is exceedingly unbusinesslike to put half a dozen governmental families into one house and maintain them under their old heads and with their former wages. What is the good of such amalgamation? Every business amalgamation that occurs in the country is made with a view to economy. If two banks are amalgamated you do not find two presidents and two managers. The sole purpose of the amalgamation is a greater expedition in business and an improvement in the matter of economy, and if we are going to put these two departments together I trust we shall follow the same principle. Why should this force not be under the control of some existing department that has the proper machinery at hand? The Militia Department have to deal with thousands of men outside. I do not know that they have any financial agents or officers outside of the department, but the entire business, at least in normal times, is managed from the department. This police force might very well be placed under the control of the Department of Immigration and Colonization. That department is in touch with the West and knows the conditions that exist there. It is not a busy department by any possibility, for, as far as we can see, it has had nothing to do for the last three or four years. Indeed, if I were asked to mention anything that has been done by that department I should be entirely at a loss to do so. Why not therefore give it something to do? Put the force under their control and wipe out all the unnecessary machinery that we have been maintaining merely for the control of one or two thousand men working in the West. I am confident that this department would not be overworked if the force were put under its control. At any rate, the Northwest Mounted Police must not exist for more than a few years, because the time is coming when every province will have to take care of itself as regards the enforcemnt of law and order. Let no one imagine for a moment that I have anything but the highest praise for the Northwest Mounted Police. But no matter how good they are, when the day arrives that their services are no longer required by the Canadian people they must go. They must be provided for if necessary. At all events, they will have the profession and do something else, and there is plenty for them to do in this great country. These are my views on this subject, and I am particularly of the opinion

that the provincial governments and their officials must do their own work and shoulder their full responsibility as provinces. The sooner we appreciate the importance of that principle the better.

Mr. MOWAT: My hon. friend has drawn a touching picture of the peacefulness and somnolence of the villages in Nova Scotia, and of the two constables who have nothing to do in North Sydney, I suppose. He has also shown us generally how the affairs of the province are looked after and how capably they are attended to by the village Dogberries of that district. The hon. member, however, must bear in mind that we sometimes get different accounts of Nova Scotia, and especially of Cape Breton, that indicate that the province is not always free from the industrial troubles and riots which have afflicted other parts of the country. My hon. friend as a lawyer will know that a leading case in connection with the calling out of the militia for the suppression of trouble arose in the particular corner of the province from which he comes, and it bears directly upon this question; for by such an act as this we may avoid any riot in that very peaceful corner of Nova Scotia. There it was necessary to call out the militia to suppress the trouble. A Highland regiment, the number of which I have forgotten—my hon. friend from Guysborough no doubts knows it—was called out, which was a very improper thing to do. The militia is not for the purpose of interfering in labour troubles, and everyone will agree with this statement. Interference of this kind only gives the militia a bad name amongst the people against whom they are called out, but if there is no police force there is nothing to do but to call out the militia. The case in question arose from the fact that my hon. friend's townsmen or neighbours requested the militia to suppress a riot and the regiment was constrained to go to the courts in order to collect their pay for the very strenuous work they performed. Now, the Northwest Mounted Police have found a place deep down in the hearts of the people of this country. For years and years we have known how, by their system of stern, yet benevolent, justice they have been able to exercise a widespread authority and influence over the great territory that has hitherto been our ward. I hope that in time the provinces there will come into all the natural resources that are theirs and may then be able to finance matters of this sort. As my hon. friend from Yukon has said, the Northwest Mounted Police, by reason of the wholesome fear which they have inspired in the rough and rude men of the West, have effected such a perfect state of discipline and such a respect for authority that one man can fearlessly enter a camp of desperadoes or refractory Indians—at any rate if he is afraid he admirably conceals his fear—and quell any trouble that exists, and arrest the most desperate man in the crowd. The moment these men see the uniform they realize that it is useless to resist the authority of the police. When a murder occurs among the Esquimaux on the Arctic ocean two or three men go out, and, taking their lives in their hands, bring the offenders to justice. Even if it takes a year to attain that end, the people in those regions know that the Northwest Mounted Police will stick with dogged tenacity to their purpose until crime is expiated, and we hope to see such implicit respect for law and order prevail throughout the country. Now, I do not agree that there will be any extra expense as a result of the amalgamation of the forces. The very reverse will be the effect, for we shall be able to abolish the position of the Commissioner of Dominion Police, now filled by Sir Percy Sherwood at a salary of $6,000 as deputy minister, and we shall have one commissioner at the head of both forces. The work will be co-ordinated and the result must necessarily be a great improvement and economy. We must have an administrative department to conduct the business end of the force, and the present controller apparently is to be made financial controller. So that we are bound to have economy instead of extra expense. Altogether, therefore, I think the minister deserves the support and commendation of the House when he introduces a measure like this to perpetuate the efficient work of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police in regard to which so much excellent sentiment exists.

Mr. WHIDDEN: I should like to say just a word in favour of this clause and this Bill. I do not think it can be very easily shown that the Bill favours a sectional luxury; I rather think that it favours a national necessity. If I did not believe that the enactment of this legislation would be in the national interest I would not be as much interested in it as I am or as ready to support the Bill.

The question is not simply what the Northwest Mounted Police has done for Western Canada as such; it is what that body of men has done for the whole of Canada, even though it has operated very largely in one part of the country. The sooner we get away from the sectional idea

of the benefits to be received from such organizations as this the truer our view will be. I am not inclined to disbelieve the possibility of an occasional Northwest Mounted policeman having been of great value if he could have been procured in that part of Nova Scotia from which it was my privilege to come, a good many years ago; I am not so sure but that an occasional Scotchman and Irishman needed to be brought into line, especially on election nights. But be that as it may, the fact remains that the newer parts of Canada are only beginning to be developed. There are the northern portions of the four western provinces; there is the new section of Ontario itself. Indeed, I should not be surprised if sufficient foreigners came into the good old Maritime Provinces to make the presence of a few red-coats welcome down there some time in the future. As for extravagance in continuing the Comptroller in his present office, I do not think there is an argument there at all. The President of the Council has given us ample assurance that such further adjustments will be made from time to time as are fair and reasonable and in the interests of this merged or combined force—a force to be known not as the "Royal Northwest Mounted Police" but as the "Royal Canadian Mounted Police." This Bill is worthy of our largest sympathy and our complete support.

Mr. CAMPBELL: I am not quite clear on the question of jurisdiction. Suppose a mail robbery occurs in Ontario; would it be in order for the Mounted Police to take initial action in that case or would their jurisdiction be in the way of supplementing the work of the provincial police?

Mr. ROWELL: The primary responsibility for the enforcement of criminal law rests upon the governments of the various provinces, and in the case of any violation of the criminal law it is the duty of the province to see that the violator is prosecuted under the provisions of the Criminal Code. In such a case as that which my hon. friend mentions it would be quite competent, however, for the Federal Government, which is particularly interested in such a matter as that of the robbery of the post office or the mails, to put its own police on that case with a view to following up and capturing the criminal. That has actually happened in certain cases in Western Canada. The most cordial relations exist, I believe, between the heads of the Mounted Police and the Attorneys General of the different provinces. I have made it perfectly clear to the Attorneys General of the provinces that this Government does not intend to relieve them from their primary obligation to maintain law and order in their own provinces. This force will give their attention to the enforcement of the various federal laws to which I have referred and which affect the revenues of the Federal Government.

I want to make it quite clear that the Mounted Police will perform also the very important function throughout Canada of being a reserve force available when called upon by the Government of any province to assist in the maintenance of law and order. In every country a certain force must be maintained for the preservation of law and order. If we had not the Mounted Police, we would have to have a larger permanent military force in Canada. The existence of such a body as this will render it unnecessary to maintain as large a permanent military force as otherwise would be required for the maintenance of law and order and of constitutional authority.

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend is aware that we have doubled the militia force?

Mr. ROWELL: We have not doubled it yet.

Mr. LEMIEUX: We passed legislation to that effect.

Mr. ROWELL: Authority has been granted to do that, but it has not been acted upon as yet. The point I am making, however, is not with reference to the strength which is authorized; it is with reference to the actual force that should be maintained. I think it is wiser to have that reserve in the form of police force rather than in the form of a larger military force than we need otherwise maintain. It will tend to the preservation of law and order and it will be less likely to give offence and create irritation if the force available for maintaining law is a police rather than a military force. May I illustrate that point by mentioning the unfortunate strike that took place in Winnipeg last summer and the situation which resulted therefrom? It was no part of the duties of the Mounted Police to interfere in any way with the progress of that strike or take sides with either employers or employees.

The Mounted Police took no action until the mayor of the city and the Attorney General of the province stated that they were no longer able to maintain law and order, and requested the assistance of the

Mounted Police. The fact that the Mounted Police were there at that time and did take prompt and effective action when called upon to assist in the preservation of law and order when disturbances occurred undoubtedly prevented very serious bloodshed, and the possible loss of life and property on a serious scale. They re-established law and order in the course of a day or two after the trouble broke out. So that in addition to the peculiar federal purposes which have been mentioned this force will be a reserve available at the call of the provinces to assist in the maintenance of law and order in case there is necessity for their so doing. Such is the reputation of the Mounted Police; such is the regard in which they are held wherever they are known, that the very fact of their presence in a given locality prevents many an outbreak which might otherwise occur. The value of the services rendered by the Mounted Police, therefore, rests not only upon their active assistance if called upon in case of a disturbance, but also upon the fact that their being available for the preservation of law and order constitutes an important safeguard against serious disturbances.

I agree with the leader of the Opposition, that we should not relieve the provinces of their primary responsibility for the administration of the criminal law and the maintenance of law and order in their own provinces. There is no intention to relieve them from the responsibility—this force is merely complementary to theirs and is maintained in the interests of the whole Dominion.

Mr. DENIS: What is the actual strength of the force?

Mr. ROWELL: The present strength is between sixteen and seventeen hundred.

Mr. DENIS: May I ask also the number of men that are stationed in each province at the present time?

Mr. ROWELL: The principal divisions at the present time are the Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia divisions. What is called the Manitoba section of the force includes the detachment at Fort William as well as the forces in Winnipeg, Brandon, and Portage la Prairie. Winnipeg is the headquarters for the administration of the Manitoba division but the reserve squadron—that is a squadron available in the case of need—is stationed at Brandon, Manitoba. Regina is the principal headquarters of the force in the province of Saskatchewan and the main body of the police of that division is stationed there, but there are detachments in certain other important centres of the province. In Saskatchewan also an important force is maintained at Prince Albert and from that post an important section of the Northwest Territories is administered. In the province of Alberta there is the northern section with headquarters at Edmonton and the southern force with headquarters at Lethbridge, a substantial number being maintained at Macleod where we have suitable barrack accommodation for them. In the province of British Columbia the main force is stationed at Vancouver but we have limited forces in Victoria and at certain points in the interior. Vancouver will be the headquarters for the force in that province.

Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL (Nelson): To be perfectly clear on the point I raised a minute ago. Take for illustration an ordinary robbery, do I understand from the minister that it is primarily in order for the provincial police to look after the matter, but that the Mounted Police may take action of their own volition if they wish, without being called upon by the provincial force?

Mr. ROWELL: As I understand my hon. friend's question, it is this: Would the Mounted Police take action without being called upon by the provincial authorities to do so? Is that my hon. friend's question?

Mr. CAMPBELL: I asked, would they have the authority to do so?

Mr. ROWELL: They would have the authority, in fact the right, to do so, as I understand the law and the powers given them under this Act, but whether they would do so or not is a question of policy, and the general policy is not to intervene except at the request of the province.

Mr. CAMPBELL: That is the point I wanted cleared up.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Is it the intention of the Government to station any of the Mounted Police in the eastern provinces?

Mr. ROWELL: The distribution of the force when the amalgamation is completed has not been decided upon. When the amalgamation is completed then the question will be taken up for consideration. I cannot say at the present time that there will be any portion of the force stationed in the East, and yet it is quite within the powers given by the Act of last session, and by this Bill to place a limited number of the force there if it was considered in the public interest

to do so. Of course there are certain Dominion Police in the East at the present time who will now become Mounted Police, and to that extent the force will be represented.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: This Bill provides for the appointment of two chief officers, a Commissioner and a Financial Comptroller. I understand that the salary of a deputy minister is $6,000 and that the Financial Comptroller is to receive that amount. Will the minister state what salary it is proposed to give the commissioner?

The CHAIRMAN: Order. Before the minister answers the question I must draw the attention of hon. members to the fact that we are not proceeding regularly this afternoon. Clause 1 has not yet been adopted and this question is entirely pertinent and relevant to clause 2. We shall never make any progress unless the clauses are debated as they are taken up.

Mr. McKENZIE: What is the purpose of clause 1?

The CHAIRMAN: Clause 1 simply declares that the name of the force shall be changed.

Section agreed to.

On section 2—appointment of Commissioner and Financial Comptroller.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Perhaps I can get an answer to my question now.

Mr. ROWELL: The Commissioner of Police now draws a salary of $4,000 as provided by the Act and the usual allowances granted to an officer of the Mounted Police. It is contemplated that that amount will be increased, in view of the increased responsibilities imposed upon the Commissioner. My present view is the Government will recommend an increase of $1,000, making his salary $5,000 instead of $4,000, plus the allowances which an officer receives. The Government will either do that, or fix a stated amount which will include all allowances.

Mr. McKENZIE: The practice or procedure by which the militia are called out in aid of the civil authorities is well established under the Militia Act. Will the Minister explain what machinery is provided under his Act by which the civil authorities can call out this body of police to their aid if they should require it. A soldier who used his gun or bayonet in quelling a riot without the authority of the mayor of the municipality or of the local authorities, would be acting unlawfully, but if he has such authority from the authorities he is protected in anything he may do. Supposing that in the city of Winnipeg or the city of Toronto, it is found necessary to call out this body that we are now creating in aid of the civil authorities, what is the legitimate way of going about it so that these men would have authority and would be protected in whatever they might do?

Mr. ROWELL: The policy which has been adopted, and which I think has been found to work satisfactorily, is that we require a request from the Attorney General of the province before the Mounted Police are allowed to intervene in support of law and order. Of course, we do not require such a request in connection with the enforcement of certain Dominion laws in which the Dominion Government is particularly interested. It is not statutory, it is the result of a common understanding between the Dominion authorities and the Attorneys General of the different provinces.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Does the province incur any liability upon making such a request?

Mr. ROWELL: This House has to vote the appropriations for the maintenance of the Mounted Police, and we have not asked the provinces to make any contribution under those conditions.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: As the minister is aware, the municipality where a disturbance takes place is liable to bear the expense of policing by the military. The proposal now is, as I understand it, to allow the municipal authorities a choice between the Mounted Police and the military. It appears to me that the minister's idea is that sometimes the military might be called out, and at other times the Mounted Police, to assist in quelling disturbances. I would like to know if the chief magistrate of a municipality has that choice? There is no doubt as to the practice in regard to the military. My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) has referred to that. When a request is made by the chief magistrate of the place where a disturbance is taking place it is the duty of the military to assist. I would like to have some explanation on that point.

Mr. ROWELL: The situation is not quite as my hon. friend has suggested. As he has pointed out, the conditions under which the military interfere are well understood and laid down in the statute, and there is no proposal to interfere with that practice. As the law stands, the mayor of any muni-

cipality, under the conditions prescribed in the Act, may ask for the assistance of the local militia in maintaining law and order. Where that assistance is given it necessarily means a more or less substantial expenditure of public money to provide for the maintenance of the militia while they are under arms. But the Mounted Police are in regular service all the time. It does not cost any more for them to assist in the maintenance of law and order, as, for instance, in the Winnipeg riots, than it costs the country to maintain them in barracks ready to be called out. In other words, the calling out of the police in a case like that did not add appreciably to the financial burden of the country. Therefore, so far the Government has not asked any province to make a contribution in a case that called for the assistance of the Mounted Police. We have not recognized the right of the head of a municipality to call for the assistance of the Mounted Police. We have always insisted that that assist-

5 p.m. ance would be given only upon the request of the Attorney General. We think in that way we are more likely to maintain that cordial co-operation which is so important in the administration of law and the maintenance of order throughout the provinces.

I will illustrate the situation by an actual incident. Some time last spring, as I recall it, we received a request from a certain point in British Columbia, stating that a strike was on, riots were occurring, and neither life nor property were secure, and asking that the Mounted Police be sent in. This reply was immediately sent: "Have you requested the Provincial Government to assist in maintaining law and order? If the Provincial Government require our assistance, and wire that they wish the Mounted Police to be sent in, then the Mounted Police will be sent in; but they will not be sent in unless the Provincial Government requests it." That has been the policy pursued up to date, and so far as I am aware that is the policy which would be pursued in future.

Mr. McKENZIE: The minister did not, perhaps, appreciate my point; at all events he did not answer it. Supposing a mounted policeman comes into the city of Winnipeg, and in doing what he thinks is necessary to restore order he kills a man, and is charged with murder, what is his protection? That is my point. If he were a soldier brought in by the mayor of Winnipeg under the Act he was practically the same as if at war, and if he killed a man in the discharge of his duty his answer would be: He was called out under the Militia Act and acting in the discharge of his duties. That is the protection of the militia man. But here comes the mounted policeman, and in the discharge of his duties at the request of the mayor he happens accidentally or necessarily to kill a man, and he is charged with murder, what is his defence? I submit that it is not a defence for him to say that the head of the Mounted Police Force told him to come at the request of the mayor; there must be some statutory authority.

Mr. ROWELL: I overlooked the point my hon. friend has mentioned. He is quite correct in saying there should be some authority justifying such action. That authority is found in the Mounted Police Act itself. I turn to the amendment of the Act passed last session, which is now known as Chapter 69, 9-10 George V, and I find the duties and powers of the police are there set out, and in the respect to which I am now referring I do not think they differ materially from the law as it stood before the amendment. It is subsection (3) of section 12:

> Every member of the force shall be a constable in every part of Canada for the purpose of carrying out the criminal and other laws of Canada, and in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory for carrying out any laws and ordinances in force therein.

Then section 18:

> It shall be the duty of members of the force subject to the orders of the Commissioner,—
> (a) to perform all duties which now are or hereafter shall be assigned to constables in relation to the preservation of the peace, the prevention of crime, and of offences against the laws and ordinances in force in any province or territory or territories in which they may be employed, and the criminal and other laws of Canada, and the apprehension of criminals and offenders, and others who may be lawfully taken into custody.

The powers are practically identical with those of the Dominion Police under the Act governing the Dominion Police. They have the full powers of constables throughout Canada for the purpose of apprehending criminals and preserving law and order.

Mr. McKENZIE: If my hon. friend was presiding in a criminal court he would have to direct the jury that there was not sufficient authority there for any mounted policeman to shoot down a rioter.

Mr. ROWELL: He has the same authority as the Dominion Police now have. It has always been recognized that the Dominion Police have authority to apprehend

criminals in carrying out their duties under the law relating to the Dominion Police.

Section agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall I report the Bill?

Mr. ROWELL: As there is another amendment which I wish to suggest and as it is not in quite proper form, I should like to leave the Bill in committee and bring up the amendment later on. I, therefore, move that the committee rise, report progress and ask leave to sit again.

Progress reported.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by asterisks).

CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD—WHEAT SALES.

Mr. FAFARD:

1. How much Canadian wheat of this year's growth has the Wheat Board, or its agent in London, sold to the British authorities?
2. How many grades of wheat, and how many bushels of each grade have been sold?
3. At what price has the wheat been sold, grade by grade, on the basis of "in store" Fort William?
4. At what price has the wheat been sold, grade by grade, on the basis of f.o.b. Montreal?
5. Has the Wheat Board sold wheat to any other government or party outside Canada? If so, what quantities, grades, and at what prices?
6. How much, if any, Canadian wheat was sold by the Government prior to the appointment of the Wheat Board, and at what price?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: With reference to this question there is some information that may be given; but the Canadian Wheat Board does not think it would be advisable to answer these questions, some of them at all and others not fully at the present time. The Canadian Wheat Board are engaged constantly in negotiations for the sale of wheat, and it is not advisable to have important matters connected therewith, as regards transactions completed or partially completed, made public before other transactions which follow them are carried out. Therefore, questions Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, it is not considered advisable to answer. No. 5 reads:

Has the Wheat Board sold wheat to any other Government or party outside of Canada?

I do not know quite what " other Government or party outside of Canada " means. The Canadian Wheat Board has sold wheat to the British Government and to the Greek Government, but the grades, quantities and the prices, it is not considered advisable to make mention of at the present. As to No. 6, it may be said in general that a very considerable proportion of the surplus for export has been disposed of, and other quantities are under negotiation at the present time.

RATE OF EXCHANGE.

*Mr. LEMIEUX:

1. Is the Government aware that at the present rate of exchange, the franc is worth to-day about 11⅞ cents, whereas the customs valuation still remains, as in normal times at 19.3 cents, or over 60 per cent in excess of the actual value of the franc?
2. Is the Government aware that under such circumstances, importers of French goods are thus called upon to pay 60 per cent more duty on their importations from France than in normal times?
3. If so, what steps will the Government take to remove the heavy handicap which now exists against the importation of French goods, thereby adding so materially to their cost and to the burden already borne by the consumer?

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: Stand.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Will my hon. friend ask the Minister of Finance if he can prepare an answer to this question for the next sitting?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The question should really have been answered before, and I do not understand why the answer has not been sent to me.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Importers in Montreal are very anxious to have the Government consider this matter.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The Minister of Finance promised to have the question answered yesterday, and I promise my hon. friend I will get it on Saturday.

NOTICES OF MOTION.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: If my hon. friend would think it better, we might run through these notices of motion and get rid of any which were not debatable so that the information required might be given.

Mr. McKENZIE: As I have personal knowledge of but very few of these motions, I am afraid I cannot be of any assistance to the leader of the Government.

MONTREAL HARBOUR COMMISSION.

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maisonneuve) moved:

For a copy of all correspondence exchanged between the Department of Marine and Fisheries and Mr. Tibbitts, in reference to the finances of the Harbour Commission of Montreal, and also a copy of said Mr. Tibbitts' report to the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries in connection therewith.

He said: The object of this motion is to implement another motion which I made some days ago, asking for a return concerning the new wharfing rates in the harbour of Montreal. The return was duly made to the House, and I had a glance over it, but the most important document in that return is missing, that is, the correspondence exchanged between the department and Mr. Tibbits, the expert appointed by the Government in the matter. I should like the minister to give instructions to have that correspondence added to the return which has already been made.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: What does my hon. friend mean by "the finances of the Harbour Commission"? Their earnings and expenditures are, I suppose, matters of public record. I am asking only for information, so that the correct correspondence may be brought down.

Mr. LEMIEUX: There was a special correspondence exchanged between the department and Mr. Tibbitts in regard to expenditure within the Harbour Commission.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Is that ordinary expenditure or capital expenditure for this year?

Mr. LEMIEUX: General expenditure. Mr. Tibbitts was appointed specially for that purpose. I am told the correspondence is not very long, and it is based on his report that the wharfing rates were made here.

Motion agreed to.

PRIVATE BILLS.

THE NORTH EMPIRE FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.

House in Committee on Bill No. 16, respecting the North Empire Fire Insurance Company—Mr. Blake—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—Certain shares of capital stock declared to be valid:

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is this a new company?

Mr. BLAKE: No, it has been doing business for years, but an alteration in the charter is desired to satisfy an Old Country company that is taking the business over.

Mr. McKENZIE: Has the old company a Dominion charter?

Mr. BLAKE: Yes.

Mr. McKENZIE: The insurance business in Canada is usually looked after by the Finance Department, and I see several financial authorities in the House. I do not profess to know myself whether this Bill is in compliance with the general insurance law.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The Bill was submitted to the Superintendent of Insurance, and has his approval as it stands.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported, read the third time, and passed.

On the motion of Sir George Foster the House adjourned at 5.17 p.m.

Monday, October 6, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENT.

ALIENS CARRYING FIREARMS.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 24, to amend the Criminal Code.

Mr. McKENZIE: Explain.

Mr. DOHERTY: The purpose of the amendment is simply to correct an error that crept into the dispositions which prohibit the carrying of firearms. There are two dispositions, one of general application, which prohibits the carrying of such firearms as are susceptible of being concealed on the person, and the second applicable only to aliens, which was intended to make a prohibition of the carrying of firearms generally without the proper license. In the second section as it stands in the Code the words "as above described" were introduced which produced the result of limiting the disposition to the class of firearms the carrying of which was generally prohibitive. The purpose of this amendment is simply to strike those words out so that with regard to firearms generally the prohibition will apply to aliens, who will be required to have a license to carry any kind of firearms. At present the general law requires a license only for the carrying of such firearms as are susceptible of being concealed on the person.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk.)

RATE OF EXCHANGE WITH FRANCE.

Mr. LEMIEUX:

1. Is the Government aware that at the present rate of exchange, the franc is worth to-day about 11¾ cents, whereas the customs valuation still remains, as in normal times at 19·3 cents, or over 60 per cent in excess of the actual value of the franc?

2. Is the Government aware that under such circumstances, importers of French goods are thus called upon to pay 60 per cent more duty on their importations from France than in normal times?

3. If so, what steps will the Government take to remove the heavy handicap which now exists against the importation of French goods, thereby adding so materially to their cost and to the burden already borne by the consumer?

Hon. Mr. MACLEAN:

1. The Government is not aware that the value of the franc in France is less than 19.3 cents, notwithstanding the present adverse rate of exchange in New York. The exchange value of the franc has fallen and in Canada it has recently been as low as 12·15 cents and the most recent quotation is 12·50 cents. The other exchange values have depreciated and fluctuated. The exchange value of the pound has been as low as $4.25 as against a statutory value of $4.86⅔. The exchange value of the German mark is 4·55 cents as against a value under protection of the Governor in Council issued in connection with the provisions of the Customs Act of 23·8 cents.

2. Under section 40 of the Customs Act, whenever any duty ad valorem is imposed on any goods imported into Canada the value for duty shall be the fair market value thereof when sold for home consumption in the principal markets of the country whence and at the time when the same were exported directly to Canada. The Customs Act provides that in computing the value for duty of a currency the rate thereof shall be such as has been ordered and proclaimed by the Governor in Council.

3. No action is contemplated by the Government. Customs valuations must be made on some fixed basis, and exchange values at present fluctuate so violently that a typical exchange value (assuming the basis of the Customs Act to be incorrect) would be difficult, if not impossible to arrive at. Further, while the exchange value of the German mark has depreciated nearly 81 per cent, the depreciation of the franc is not nearly as great, and in the case of the pound sterling has been as high as 12·60 per cent. To predicate value for customs entry on exchange values would therefore give Germany a direct preference over both England and France. It must be further borne in mind that while no reduction has been made in Customs duties the rate of exchange nevertheless enables the Canadian purchaser to obtain and import into Canada French commodities at a lower cost expressed in Canadian currency than before and that the present temporary situation to the extent the value of the French franc is depreciated in exchange values ought to result in a reduction in cost to the Canadian consumer.

ST. LAWRENCE RIVER PROTECTION WORKS.

Mr. DESAULNIERS:

1. Did the Government erect any protection works, during the past few years, on the shores of the St. Lawrence River in the following parishes: Verchères, Varennes, Boucherville, Contrecoeur, Ile-Saint-Ignace, and St. Barthélemi?

2. If so, in what year, what was their nature, and what did they cost?

Hon. Mr. SIFTON:

1. Yes.

2. (a) (c): Boucherville, 1914-15, $1,280.25, 1915-16, $1,966.89, $3,247.14; Contrecoeur, 1914-15, $2,029.55; St. Barthélemi, 1915-16, $999.75, 1916-17, $668.40, $1,668.15; St. Ignace de Loyola, 1915-16, $736.78, 1916-17, $1,332.87, 1917-18, $660.51, $2,730.16; Varennes, 1914-15, $1,755.39, 1915-16, $1,805.32, 1917-18, $1,232.81, $4,793.52; Verchères, Nil.

(b). Boucherville, earth embankment and wall; Contrecoeur, earth embankment; St. Barthélemi, material supplied by Department, work done by municipality; St. Ignace de Loyola, earth filling; Varennes, earth embankment.

NOTRE-DAME-DES-SEPT-DOULEURS WHARF.

Mr. GAUVREAU:

1. Were there any tenders received for the construction of a wharf at Notre-Dame-des-Sept-Douleurs, Isle-Verte, Que.?

2. If so, how many?

3. What are the names of each tenderer and amount of each tender?

4. Who was the successful tenderer?

5. Does the department intend to immediately proceed with the work, so that the citizens of Isle-Verte may be in a position to use the wharf next spring in shipping sea products?

Hon. Mr. SIFTON:

1. Yes.

2. 5.

3. Messrs. N. Letourneau and J. A. Fortier, $4,347.85; Messrs. T. Beaumont and J. R. Boulanger, $4,722.90; Mr. T. J. Coulombe, $4,872.82; Messrs. Jos. Gosselin, Ltd., $5,690.85; Messrs. P. Fraser and G. Michaud, $7,255.99.

4. Answered by above.

5. Yes.

DREDGING OF GRAHAM'S RIVER, P.E.I.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Queens):

1. Has a petition been received by the Department of Public Works from the residents of Park Corner and Sea View, Prince Edward Island, asking the department to dredge out Graham's River suitable for a boat harbour?
2. If so, what action does the department purpose taking in this regard?

Hon. Mr. SIFTON:

1. Yes.
2. It is not proposed to take any action, as the estimated cost of the harbour petitioned for is approximately $40,000, and there are harbours within five miles on either side.

NURSES' WAR SERVICE GRATUITY.

Mr. McGIBBON (Muskoka):

Is it the intention of the Government to pay the same war gratuity to the Canadian Graduate Nurses who served overseas with the Imperial Forces as is being paid to those serving with the Canadian Units?

Hon. Mr. MEWBURN: Under the present Order in Council authorizing War Service Gratuity, Canadian Graduate Nurses who served overseas with the Imperial Forces only are not entitled thereto.

McCARTHY PROPERTY, SOREL.

Mr. CARDIN:

1. Did the Government acquire the McCarthy property, at St. Joseph de Sorel, on which is erected the Government plant?
2. If so, what price has been paid or fixed?

Hon. Mr. MEWBURN:

1. Expropriation proceedings were taken by the department and judgment was obtained, but the estate appealed and the matter is now before the Supreme Court.
2. Price fixed, $64,258.52, plus costs.

SERVICE IN FRANCE AND IN CANADA.

On the question (Mr. Lanctot):

On 1st October, 1919, Mr. T. A. Cox, of the Militia Department, made a statement before the Parliamentary Committee inquiring into the question of a further gratuity to Canadian soldiers, to the effect that out of the 590,572 men enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 172,520 saw service in Canada only:

1. Is the statement correct
2. Where were those men stationed?
3. To what regiments did they belong?
4. How many of this number were recruited in Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, respectively?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have to point out that it is a well-established rule of the House that no reference may be made in debate to the proceedings before a committee when that committee's report has not been presented to the House. In other words, in such a case the House is not officially seized of the information. That being so, I have very grave doubts whether it is competent to submit this question, inasmuch as the information given to the committee is not available for the benefit of the House and will not be until the committee's report is made. I have had this question directed to my attention only a few moments ago, and I have therefore not been able to inquire into the matter exhaustively, but as at present advised I have very grave doubts whether this question could be put. In the meantime it can stand until questions are called again.

Question stands.

SEALS USED AT PEACE TREATY SIGNING.

Mr. DESLAURIERS:

1. What kind of seal did the Hon. Mr. Doherty and the Hon. Mr. Sifton use at the signing of the Peace Treaty at Versailles in behalf of Canada?
2. What did it signify?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. The seals used by all the signers were personal and had no official significance. That used by Mr. Doherty bore the arms of an old family of the province of Quebec, with the motto, " Fais bien et laisse dire."
2. It was used as being significant of the spirit in which the people of Canada expect and have a right to expect their public men to act and which animated Canada's representatives at the Peace Conference.

WEDNESDAY NIGHT SITTINGS.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER moved:

That, on Wednesday, the 8th October, and on all subsequent Wednesdays to the end of the session, the House shall meet at Three o'clock, p.m., and that the sittings on such days shall in every respect be under the same rules provided for other days.

Motion agreed to.

THE KING AND QUEEN OF BELGIUM.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. HENRY SEVERIN BELAND (Beauce): In view of certain press reports which are incomplete and in certain cases contradictory, may I ask the Government whether an invitation has been extended to Their Majesties the King and Queen of Belgium to be the guests of Canada and to visit particularly the Capital?

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Prime Minister himself has that matter in hand, and I will have information for the House a little later on.

PRIVILEGE—STATEMENT BY SIR SAM HUGHES.

On the Orders of the Day:

Sir SAM HUGHES (Victoria): I have before me a copy of the Toronto Daily Star of October 1, which contains some statements concerning myself to which I desire to refer. It says:

> He comes forward as an offended military genius whose advice was not taken by General Currie, as it was not taken by Lord Kitchener and many others. His advice appears to have been at the universal disposal, yet was not used.

Never in my lifetime have I offered advice to General Currie. I have offered suggestions to Lord Kitchener and to the British War Office. With your permission, Sir, I will refute the statements here, and I am sure the Toronto Star will be the first to regret its mistake.

Leaving out anything in regard to the South African war and colonial assistance in European wars, I should like to say that I made suggestions to the British Government in regard to straight rifle shooting and rifle shooting was encouraged in Britain and in Canada for years before the war. We were fortunate in having the "Old Contemptibles," or the "Old Reliables" as we choose to call them as well as the Canadian soldiers thoroughly up in rifle shooting when the war broke out.

In 1912 and 1913, I had proposed the system of trenches near the border, and on the night war broke out, I proposed that system practically on the order of the Prime Minister of the Dominion. The matter came up when war was declared, and the Prime Minister asked me what the chances were. I told him that if the plans as laid down which I happened to know were followed out our men would during the first three months get the most severe trimming men ever got. He asked me if anything could be done to prevent that, and I said that it could be stopped by the use of trench positions. He urged me to send a cablegram to Lord Kitchener and Lord French, and that I did, and to-day the trench system is credited all along the front to your humble servant.

In March, 1918, when the retreat was going on from St. Quentin, I took the liberty of drawing Lloyd George's attention to the matter, and while I am not saying that this was done on my suggestion alone, at all events Lloyd George adopted that suggestion, and the trench system with untrained soldiers was utilized to withstand the onrush of the Germans.

[Sir George Foster.]

In the cablegram which I sent in 1914, I proposed trench diggers which we had been using for some time here, and they were adopted by the British Government in 1915.

I may point out that I recommended the shield-shovel in 1914, but it was not adopted by General Alderson or the British War Office, but it was used by some Canadian officers and men and was very effective in saving many a life, and if generally adopted would have saved thousands and thousands of lives on parapet work at night. They were the fore-runners of the steel plates used by all the Allies. The British Government, as well as France, Russia and Italy, adopted them.

Armoured machine gun motor batteries were adopted by us in 1914, and they were used with some effect in 1918. The system of hidden machine gun positions in rear of trenches I recommended in 1914, and after the battle of St. Julien I took the liberty of cabling Lord Kitchener to know why they were not ready for that fight and received his answer; but after that the system of hidden machine gun positions was adopted by the British service.

I might point out that I also recommended the use of palmite powder in 1914, a very high explosive and very safe to handle. We used it here in Canada in making experiments with it until the supply was used up, and it proved very effective.

I recommended the use for the first time of cotton hose filled with explosive for destroying parapets and wire entanglements, and I also recommended iron pipe filled with explosive, both of these to be used for the destruction of wire entanglements. They were used with great effect until the tanks came in when, of course, the tanks supplanted everything else. The methods of throwing hose and pipe so filled were suggested by us.

In 1914 I devised a trench mortar and handed it over to the British Government, and tens of thousands of them were used all along the line; in fact I believe about a hundred thousand of them were used. I also recommended a direct-fire gun in October, 1914; I had one prepared, and in 1916 both the British and the French adopted it. I have letters from the British Minister of Munitions and General Joffre adopting the suggestion. The guns they used were somewhat heavier than the one I suggested, but they turned them out and they did splendid service until the tanks came in when they were carried on the tanks.

As regards the convalescent hospital system, the system we established in 1915 was

adopted three or four months later by the British War Office and by the Allies also.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am inclined to think the hon. member is making what is in effect a reply to a charge or a statement contained in the Toronto Star. It is quite competent for the hon. member to make a denial and to explain his position, but I hope he will not pursue the course of making what is in effect a reply to certain statements.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I thought it was competent for me, not merely to give a bald denial, but to show what I did. I may say, with all frankness, that I do not purpose letting any person rob me of any credit due to me. I have not urged this before the country; I would not urge it now had it not been pointed out that it was claimed that none of my suggestions were carried out by the British Government, when the fact of the matter is that every one of them has been carried out. The transport and supply system which I recommended in 1915 and the fish rations system which I recommended to the British Government were also adopted by the British War Office. The direct system of recruiting which we adopted in 1915 was later on adopted by Lord Derby as far as the British municipal systems would permit. The utilization of commercial institutions as well as arsenals for the manufacture of shells was first adopted by your humble servant, and every Government in the world followed suit.

The refining of copper and zinc and the manufacture of T.N.T. and gun cotton were first introduced into Canada during the war. The use in war of the leading commercial, business and scientific men as honorary officers was first introduced during the war by your humble servant, and I need not say what splendid results have been achieved in Canada and all other countries which followed suit. The Forestry Corps was established under the direction of General Alexander McDougal, and the British Government is still retaining his services in the old land to straighten matters up. The Railway Corps was established under the direction of General Jack Stewart, and the British Government took over the whole system.

The dental corps was established in defiance of all military rules and against the wishes of the British War Office but they accepted it and nothing could have done more to promote the comfort and efficiency of our men at the front than the work which this dental corps did. The disinfecting and cleansing service, through the medium of creolin, etc., was also taken care of.

Our plan for brigades, divisions and corps were adopted by the British. Our system of administering the medical corps, with reference to the business end of it, was adopted by the British Government in 1915. We also instituted reforms in our Pay Corps. With regard to the aeroplane and zeppelin service, I pointed out to the British authorities the need; and some days ago showed what Colonel Grant Morden had done. In 1914 Mr. Fessenden showed me his plan for detecting submarines and locating artillery by photographing sound waves. I sent him to England and it was his invention that proved so useful in locating artillery and submarines. The University of Toronto, at my request, took up the matter of tetanus toxin. I understand that it was from the University of Toronto, the work being taken up at the instance of your humble servant, and it being recommended by me to the British War Office, that large supplies of tetanus toxin were procured and utilized greatly to the advantage of the men.

After the first gas attack in the battle of St. Julien I was waited upon by Mr. LeSueur of Ottawa. I had him submit a report with regard to certain methods of using gases and I have the data to show that the British Government appreciated his report very highly.

May I point out that I did intrude, much to the dissatisfaction of some gentlemen, in seeking to save the lives of our Canadian boys in the Ypres salient? I recommended in 1915 that the line should be straightened out; I also recommended in 1916 that the line should be straightened out; and in 1918 it was straightened out, much to the advantage of the defensive forces. I recommended in 1915 and also in 1916 that in place of having the blanket attacks that were being made they should go in for narrow and deep penetration. If you read General Ludendorff's report on the succesful British attacks in 1918 you will see that it was by the system of narrow and deep penetration that the Allies were able to smash the German lines.

I had the honour of discovering Max Aitken and although it took me three months to get him recognized by the Canadian Government, no man, according to General Ludendorff, did more to win the war.

In 1914-15 I recommended the system adopted in connection with the Canadian national loans. I had the honour of point-

ing out that we should make these loans from the Canadian people, using the money that we had in reserve in Canada, obtaining it, not at high rates of interest and not making the income exempt from taxation. I would not have taken up the time of the House——

An hon. MEMBER: Go on.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I could go on talking for an hour—but in justice to myself, the Toronto Star and the Minister of Propaganda in this Government, who evidently inspires the Toronto Star——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I think it well to place these facts before the House.

Mr. E. LAPOINTE: Who is the Minister of Propaganda?

Sir SAM HUGHES: Guess. There is just one other item in the paper in which it is hinted that an inquiry should be made into the conduct of the Department of Militia and Defence during the early part of the war. Let me say that no one more than I —no one as much as I—will welcome an inquiry into the conduct of the Militia Department not only during the period when I was minister but in the period subsequent to that. And not only into the Militia Department, but into the operations of the Munitions Board and every other department of the Government I welcome an inquiry by this House more than does any other man in the Dominion of Canada.

ILLNESS OF PRESIDENT WILSON.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the Canadian nation, as well as this House, is very much interested in the condition of the great statesman who presides over the destinies of the United States—President Wilson. I would like to ask the hon. acting leader of the Government (Sir George Foster) if they have any definite information as to how he is and to whether his condition is improving?

Right Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): In reference to the question that has been asked by my hon. friend (Mr. McKenzie), I coincide with his view that we have an especial and lively interest in the condition of the President's health, looking at the matter from the point of view of the long and eminent service which he rendered in connection with the Peace Conference during its work in Paris, and as the head of a great and friendly sister nation. He had undertaken an extended and laborious tour in his own country for the purpose of explaining the provisions of the Treaty. We were all sorry to learn of his temporary breakdown, but we are glad to know now that his condition is improving. Whilst the Government has nothing definite as to the exact symptoms and prospects, I am glad to be able to say that the report is that his condition indicates improvement.

PROCLAMATION OF PEACE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. E. LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): May I ask the hon. Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster) if he can give the House any information as to the probable date at which the proclamation will be issued stating that this country is no longer at war with Germany or any other country. For all purposes of law and otherwise the country is still deemed to be at war and it is very important to the citizens of Canada to know when this condition will cease.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I am sorry I cannot meet the definite demand which has been made by my hon. friend (Mr. E. Lapointe). There are certain conditions in Europe which preclude one from saying when peace treaties shall have been made with all the former enemy powers. I suppose we are not in a position where we can say that we are entirely out from the contingencies and consequences of the war under the treaties which have been made with the enemy powers. But my hon. friend will be able to follow the course of events in the newspapers and he will probably have the information pretty nearly as soon as I. I think that neither of us will get it during this present session.

CANADA GRAIN ACT.

On the motion of Sir George Foster (Minister of Trade and Commerce) Bill No. 17 to amend the Canada Grain Act was read a second time and the House went into Committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1: Operation of provisions respecting the disposal of surplus grain. Postponed until after crop year ending 31st August, 1919.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN: I explained the purpose of this amendment when introducing the resolution on which the Bill is founded. At the last session of Parliament

a Bill was enacted, being chapter 40 of the statutes of that year, and section 3 of that Act provided that in the month of August in each year stock should be taken of the quantity of each grade of grain in the terminal elevators, and when the total surplus was found to be in excess of one-quarter of one per cent of the gross amount, the grain received in those elevators during the crop year, in excess of that surplus should be sold annually by the Board of Grain Commissioners and the proceeds thereof applied to the purposes of the board. It was clearly the intention of Parliament that that amendment to the Act should not apply to the cereal year ending August 31, 1919, only to the present and future cereal years. I am sure this was the understanding of Parliament and of those who were interested in the proposed Bill, the measure being in my charge during its passage through the House.

Mr. McKENZIE: Do I understand the minister to say that the Act has not yet come into effect?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The Act is in effect and as it now stands empowers the board to take any surplus of grain in excess of one-quarter of one per cent of the surplus of the last cereal year which ended on August 31, 1919, in so far as the elevators are concerned.

Mr. McKENZIE: When did the Act go into force?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: On the 7th of July, 1919, and it was the intention that this provision should only apply to the surplus grain in the terminal elevator beginning with the cereal year 1919-20, that is beginning September 1.

Mr. McKENZIE: The provision is only to take effect on the 1st September, 1919?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes.

Mr. McKENZIE: And the effect of the amendment is to make that clear?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Purely that.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported, read the third time, and passed.

BOARD OF GRAIN SUPERVISORS.

CONTINUANCE OF POWERS, DUTIES AND RIGHTS—ALLIED PURCHASES OF WHEAT.

On motion of Sir George E. Foster, Bill No. 20 to continue in force the powers of the Board of Grain Supervisors of Canada, so that it may conclude its business, and to continue in force a guarantee given by the Governor in Council with respect to the 1918 wheat crop was read the second time and the House went into Committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 2—Guarantee respecting grain crop, 1918, ratified and continued:

Mr. ROBB: Is the minister in a position to make a statement as to the working of the grain crop of 1918? I understand there was a credit given to some foreign nations, including the Mother Country, for the purchase of wheat. Can the minister tell us if this has been repaid, and if not what amount of it is still outstanding, and what amount of wheat of the 1918 crop is still unsold?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I am not able to say just as to what amount of wheat is undelivered, but I think I am correct in stating that all the wheat of which delivery has been taken has been sold by the Board of Grain SSupervisors. Whether that be the case, or not, I have no definite statement with reference to it. As explained when the resolution was passed, the operations of the board, so far as receiving wheat under their powers, ended on the 15th of August, and these powers are continued for the purpose of settling up odds and ends of the business, getting in the accounts, and making such deliveries as remain to be delivered. My understanding is that the whole of the surplus taken by the Board of Grain Supervisors was disposed of to the allied powers; I do not think any of that was sold under credits which have been granted, to which my hon. friend refers. Those credits being used, in so far as the purchase of wheat was concerned, to the proportion which was allowable for that purpose, would be of the 1919 crop, the present year's crop. I think I ought also to correct probably a misconception of mine and a statement to the House which might be misunderstood—in fact was misunderstood, I think. I had a preliminary report from the Board of Grain Supervisors with reference to receipts and expenditures, and just from the figures that were given, I think I made the statement that there was a surplus of receipts over expenditures, the larger proportion of which had gone to the diminution of the price paid by the Allies for the grain which had been purchased; but the accounts scarcely bear that out. I stated to the House, as well, that the Government would not be called upon for any guarantee. That statement remains good; but un-

til the whole of the accounts are adjusted it is impossible to say what surplus there will be and how it will be distributed. We will have that information at the next session of the House when the affairs of the Board of Grain Supervisors shall have been ultimately settled. Some of these are matters of negotiation and adjustment—they are not all finished.

Mr McKENZIE: Is the minister sure there will be a surplus on the right side?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I am assured there will be a substantial surplus.

Mr. ROBB: There is another matter the minister might clear up for the information of the country. It has been widely stated that in Great Britain at the time the British Government guaranteed the ninepenny loaf the price of wheat was fixed at $1.80 cents a bushel. We guaranteed a price considerably over that to the Canadian grower. Does the purchaser in Great Britain pay us the cost of the wheat to the Government, that is, the price guaranteed by the Government, plus interest, storage and transportation charges, or do we make certain allowances to Great Britain on its purchases?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The regulations approved by the Board of Grain Supervisors provided for carrying charges, as my hon. friend will notice, if he has read the various orders which were issued. So that in the guaranteed price the carrying charges were provided for, and there is no loss to the Board of Grain Supervisors with reference to those items. The British Government sells the wheat to the British miller at a price which guarantees the ninepenny loaf, and bears whatever the cost may be in that regard. Of course, my hon. friend knows that for a whole year or more the British taxpayer has been subsidizing the bread production in Great Britain in order to keep down the price of bread to the ninepenny rate, which has involved a heavy cost. But that cost is borne entirely by the British people through the British Government; it does not fall upon the producer on this side of the water.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Mr. Chairman, I think this would be the proper place to get some information from the minister in regard to a paragraph which appears in the Auditor General's Report, Volume 1, page 24. An Order in Council seems to have been passed on the 12th of October, 1917, empowering the Grain Board to collect from millers, exporters, etc., a fee not to exceed four cents a bushel, so as to create a fund for the purpose of defraying the cost of carrying wheat in store or for any other purpose which the Board might deem expedient. Up to July 31, 1918, the Board had collected for this fund the large sum of $5,987,883.28 including $43,122.92 bank interest. Then the Auditor General proceeds to say that the Board declined to pay this money into the Consolidated Revenue Fund, claiming that they had a right to deal with it without any parliamentary control. The letter of the Auditor General from which I have extracted this information does not appear to have been answered, and I would like to know from the minister how that matter was dealt with and if the Consolidated Revenue Fund did get possession of that large sum of money.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: No. The Consolidated Revenue Fund could not by any possibility get possession of that large sum of money which my hon. friend (Mr. Sinclair) has mentioned, amounting to five million dollars odd. The fund referred to had to carry the whole cost and charges of the grain-interest, insurance and everything else —and was to a great extent disbursed for those purposes. It was not something which came in as a perquisite to the Board of Grain Supervisors; it was, as my hon. friend will see if he will read the orders of the board, a fund constituted for the purpose of meeting the expenses of carrying the grain from the point of production until it was taken charge of by the Allies. It would be impossible, of course, for that money to be put into the Consolidated Revenue Fund as something belonging to the Dominion itself. As I have stated, until all the accounts are adjusted and paid we shall not know exactly how the matter stands and just how much the surplus will be.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Mr. Chairman, the reason why I ask the question is that the Auditor-General takes the ground that this money does belong to the Consolidated Revenue Fund; but from the minister's explanation I understand the Government has taken the opposite ground and has sustained the position of the Board of Grain Supervisors.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I have not seen the correspondence and do not know whether there has been a reply made or not. I will make inquiries and inform my hon. friend in reference to it.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Are any commissions paid by the Trade Mission handling our commodities on the other side? For in-

stance, on the Roumanian and Greek business?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: What does my hon. friend mean by commissions?

Sir SAM HUGHES: Any commissions paid by the Trade Mission or by any one concerned therewith. In short, I may as well state what I understand, that considerable commissions were paid to agents in connection with the Roumanian business. Of course, as is well known, the Roumanian Government is not paying us cash; this Government is advancing the money on the security of Roumanian bonds and so on, which are worth sixty to seventy cents on the dollar in the open market. I understand that commissions have been paid to agents for securing this trade, and I would like to know what are the facts.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I think it has been already explained to the House, at least, questions have been answered which carry the information, that the Canadian Trade Mission in London and the branch here in Canada in connection with it are empowered by an Order in Council to take a percentage on the contracts which are entered into in London, which percentage is paid by those who hold the contracts in this country, and that percentage goes to form a fund which bears the expenses of the Trade Mission in London and the Trade Commission here in carrying on their operations. That fund is subject to audit, and if there is a surplus after all the operations are through, it will remain in the Consolidated Revenue Fund. But no commissions are paid either by the Trade Mission in London or by the Trade Commission in Canada. Both are simply agencies through which what is required by European Governments or buyers is brought to the attention of those in Canada who supply those requirements.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Who fixes the prices, for instance, of the commodities that go to the Roumanian Government?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The price of wheat, for instance, is to be at the current market rates. As it was an impossibility to foretell what the deliveries of wheat would be worth from month to month through the year, the price had to be put upon an indeterminate basis, and therefore arranged that the Roumanian Government should pay the current market rates from time to time. As regards other contracts—

Sir SAM HUGHES: Building paper, for instance?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The specifications of anything that is required by the Roumanian Government are given, and the Trade Mission bring those to the attention of the manufacturers or producers in Canada who work along those lines. The matter is then one of adjustment between the purchasing party on the other side and the selling party on this side; the price is agreed upon and the contract signed.

Mr. McKENZIE: Some phrases in the last line of section 2 require some explanation. As I understand it, we are guaranteeing the man who sells the wheat against any loss by reason of the failure of the foreign Government or the British Government to complete the bargain, take delivery and pay for the goods. Have there been any cases of failure to purchase or to complete the contract? Are there any claims outstanding as against foreign governments? The last time we were discussing this Bill the minister told the committee that we had had no losses; he tells us to-day that, perhaps, he was a little premature in making that assertion.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: No, not as to losses; my statement still holds good so far as that is concerned. The Board of Grain Supervisors fixed the price of wheat and sold the surplus on that fixed price. The buying power last year was really the Wheat Commission in London, which bought through the Wheat Export Company here. There was no trouble in connection with failure to take delivery; in fact, the surplus of last year was not so large as to equal the quantity which was needed by the commission. So that the general statement holds good that the guarantee which was given by the Government will not involve Canada in any loss. The other statement, I think, is also correct, that, without committing oneself to the amount, there will be a surplus when the operations are all completed.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: The Auditor General's Report shows that the Wheat Export Company got $2,500,000 by way of proceeds from these operations last year. What is the Wheat Export Company? Who are its members?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Mr. James Stewart was the head of the Wheat Export Company. This company was the medium which bought for the Allies the wheat which the Board of Grain Supervisors, on behalf of Canada, produced for purchase. They

were the agents, or buyers, of the Wheat Commission—that is, the representatives of the three Allied powers for whom this wheat was bought and to whom it was distributed.

Mr. MAHARG: At the last session an amendment was made to the Grain Act providing for the appointment of an appeal board. That board has not yet been appointed, yet in no year in the history of the West has there been greater need for such a board as there is this year. Have any steps been taken looking to the appointment of that board, and if not, what is contemplated?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The legislation was to go into operation on proclamation of the Governor in Council. The Governor in Council, having in view the expense which would be entailed in the establishment and employment of a board of appeal who should give their whole time to the duties involved in the operations of such a board, and having regard to the small number of appeals that were actually made during preceding years and the small number of these which were adjudged against the primary decision, came to the conclusion that the matter might well stand over for another year and be a little more closely examined into before the legislation should be brought into effect.

4 p.m.

Mr. MAHARG: I do not think that the excuse of the expense involved should be made in this case. The Grain business has always carried itself; it has been no charge on the country in any way. If it should be any charge on the country, the fault would be that of the administration. It was amply demonstrated during the discussion at the last session that the fact that there were very few appeals was not a proper criterion to go upon. The cumbersome nature of the board that has had to deal with these things practically prohibited any appeals being made; the board was so constituted that it was almost impossible to get it together. The considerations which the minister has mentioned should not, I think, carry weight; in the interests of grain producers and the grain trade that board should be appointed very shortly.

Mr. ROBB: We on this side will surely approve the attitude now taken by the minister in recognizing the need for economy. The very opinion the minister has just expressed was voiced from this side of the House when the legislation was going through last session, when it was pointed out that appeals were comparatively few. I am glad to know the minister has taken the sensible view, and that one department at least of the Government is working along lines of economy.

Mr. MAHARG: I quite understand that there were some objections to this Board from certain quarters, but the producers of grain, who are the people interested, are prepared to foot whatever bills are necessary in connection with it. If a sufficient charge is levied the board can carry itself, and it will be self-supporting in every respect so far as the general public is concerned.

Mr. McKENZIE: I believe the trouble is that a certain decision had to be reached by the Government before this board was established and it was possibly a very embarrassing one for the Government to make. There was the very strongest pull for this new Court of Appeal to be established in Winnipeg, and equally strong pull for its establishment at the head of the lakes, and strong supporters of the Government were in favour of one or the other proposal. The Minister of Trade and Commerce was not here at the time. Certainly he would not bother his head looking up the discussion, but these rival claims were put forward very strongly on the floor of Parliament. In this difficult situation the Government possibly decided to drift along and make no decision, on the pretext of economy, which would appeal to the people at this particular time. Perhaps it would be a very proper expenditure to have this court constituted, if the people of the West desire it, and especially this year when there is so much wheat that is not up to standard. I presume that the appeals are from the decision of the first set of men who examine the grain. I do not profess to be an expert in this matter, but I understand there has been a great deal of complaint about the decisions of those who have the last say as to the grade in which the grain should fall, and the grain growers are anxious to have a final court of appeal. That was the argument made last winter. If the toll taken from the grain growers themselves is sufficient to pay for the expenses, there is not the same justification for the Government depriving them of this court of appeal. I trust it was not because the Government did not care to decide upon the venue of this court, and that the minister, if this court is not going to cost the Government anything, will let the people have the benefit of it, and decide as he

may deem proper whether it shall be established at Winnipeg or at the head of the lakes.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I think amongst the growers the view is favourably entertained that there should be a court of appeal. The Government does not minimize the value of the opinion of the West, which is not, of course, unanimous, nor has it declared that such legislation shall not be brought into effect. It was considered better, however, after pretty careful study, to give the matter a little more consideration and let it stand over for the present at least. With reference to my hon. friend's political idea, how often we interpret others by what we would do ourselves in a similar position! I can see as plainly as possible that my hon. friend would grasp at such a shrewd way of getting out of a political difficulty, and therefore he imputed it to myself. I can assure him that that was not a deciding factor in the least degree. I was perfectly prepared to give a decision if the time came, as to where this board of appeal should have had its locus in quo. It was the idea of economy, and of prudence in making expenditures, which led to the decision of the Government. Due consideration will be given to the matter, and next session we will have a chance to talk it over again.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported, read the third time, and passed.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

PROPOSED EXTENSION INTO NON-RAILWAY SECTIONS OF MARITIME PROVINCES.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria) moved:

Whereas on the 16th of March, A.D., 1914, this Honourable House passed the following Resolution which was accepted by the Government,—

"Mr. McKenzie moved that in the opinion of this House the time has arrived for the extension of the Intercolonial Railway of Canada into the non-railway sections of the Maritime Provinces within reasonable range of the said railway." See pages 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739 and 1740 of Hansard for the said year, A.D., 1914.

Be it therefore resolved that, in the opinion of this House, the proposals of the said Resolution of the 16th of March, A.D., 1914, should be carried forward to completion at the earliest possible date.

He said: Mr. Speaker, at this stage of this short session, I do not purpose saying very much about this resolution moved as it is. During my long experience in this House, although I repeatedly brought to the attention of the House the matter of the extension of railways in the Maritime Provinces, this was the first time that a resolution along the lines that I had been suggesting from year to year was accepted by the Government. On the 16th of March, 1914, the House accepted the proposition that the day had then arrived for the extension of the Intercolonial railway of Canada into the non-railway sections of the Maritime Provinces within reasonable range of that railway. In August of the same year war broke out, and since then all our resources and energies have been devoted to the prosecution of the war. During those war years I did not say anything about the railway at all, as I thought it was only fair and reasonable to allow the Government to centralize and converge all their energies on the one great question. Sometimes the leader of the Government and others ascribe to us motives and notions which must be political all the time and say that we are all the time talking for political advantage. I can put forward as some proof of the absence of such motives my entire silence during those years upon this very vital question to me. I suppose if I had wanted to make political capital from year to year, I could have continued bringing this question up, but I said nothing about the matter while the war was on and while our energies and thoughts and every faculty which we could bring to bear towards advancing the cause only, were engaged in the prosecution of the war. Now that the war is over and we are back again to peace and harmony and re-establishment, and doing everything we can towards the advancement of the country, I think it is proper and right for me to advance this question and once more to ask the Government to give attention to the development of railways in that part of the country from which I come and which has hitherto been largely neglected.

It is true that we have in the Island of Cape Breton one line of railway, an extension of the Intercolonial across the Strait of Canso, connection having been made between Port Mulgrave and Port Hawkesbury by a good ferry boat. That road extends across the island down to the city of Sydney, a distance of about ninety miles. Any person acquainted with the geography of the island of Cape Breton will readily understand that no one railway can possibly satisfy or give proper accommodation to that island, for the reason that that large and important island is divided into two sections by the Bras d'Or lakes. That

is a large arm of the sea running right through the island from the mouth of the Big Bras d'Or on the Atlantic to the St. Peter's canal, where in the old days and before the canal there was a narrow neck of probably half a mile or three-quarters of a mile in width, which has since been cut by the canal. Taking the Bras d'Or lakes with the extension of the canal out to St. Peter's bay, the island of Cape Breton is practically two islands. Therefore, this Government railway which we now have can give accommodation only to one side, and we have accommodation for which we are very thankful largely on the south side of the Bras d'Or lakes, that is, as far as some parts of the Bras d'Or lakes are concerned. The leader of the Government (Sir George Foster) has been through the island of Cape Breton and possibly he has a fair idea of how the road runs; but to the people who have never visited the island and who do not know the manner in which the Bras d'Or lakes cut up the island, it is impossible to explain the insufficiency of one line of railway to accommodate this large section of country, a section of country which has tremendous mineral wealth, coal in inexhaustible quantities, iron and steel, also great possibilities in lumber and still greater possibilities in fisheries. For that reason we think we should have a further development of the railways in the island of Cape Breton. In the fisheries of Nova Scotia and particularly of the northern end of the province, which includes the island of Cape Breton, there is the greatest opportunity for the development of wealth that we have to-day in any part of Canada. It is not too much to say that while something like $8,000,000 or possibly $9,000,000 worth of fish was taken out of the water of Nova Scotia last year, we are just touching the industry, just picking up pebbles on the seashore, as one might say, as compared with what can be done. If we had a railway extension along the seacoast where those fishing villages are, where millions of tons of fish are to be had for the mere taking of them, we would then be in a position to cater to that trade and to get this fish commodity to the market in a marketable shape. In my riding of Victoria and North Cape Breton, not to mention the rest of the island, there must be, following the sinuosities of the shore, something like 200 miles of magnificent seacoast fisheries, and it is sad to relate that in those 200 miles there is not one-half mile of railway. The only way in which people can get their fish to market will be by battling with the storms along that stormy coast in the summer time, and in the winter time, although there is splendid fishing during that season of the year, there is no means of communication at all. My proposition is that the Government should at once, for the benefit not only of Cape Breton, but of the whole country, extend a line of railway right along both sides of the island of Cape Breton touching those fishing villages and fishing centres, and in that way putting a great wealth and a great food product, the best in the world, within easy reach of the Canadian people. It is only to-day, Sir, that an American gentleman came to this city asking for certain information from the Customs Department and other departments of the Government in connection with a fish factory or purchasing establishment to be put in operation in the riding from which I come, and that gentleman informs me that his people intend to invest some $50,000,000 in the development of fisheries in that part of the country. In that way, Americans, if not ourselves, are beginning to realize the great importance of getting in touch with the fisheries of that part of the province of Nova Scotia.

During the years 1909, 1910, 1911 and 1912 the now Prime Minister, who was in Opposition until 1911, myself, the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Sinclair), who is here, the hon. member for Inverness (Mr. Chisholm) and the former member for Richmond, N.S., were working vigorously together for the purpose of carrying forward some railway improvements in the province of Nova Scotia. The Hon. Mr. Borden, who was the senior member for Halifax, was appealing strongly for a road from Dartmouth to Dean Settlement, a distance of about 90 miles. I was looking for a connection between my own riding of Victoria and the main line, having had then in mind a short link of about 22 miles. My hon. friend from Guysborough was looking for a railway system connecting his county with the main line and the members for Richmond and Inverness were looking for the developments necessary to bring their own counties into touch with the great arteries of commerce.

All of that was provided for and a start was made in the early part of 1911. But fortunately, or unfortunately, there was a change of Government. The line of differentiation was drawn very sharply between what was the Liberal road and what was the Conservative road. The Dean Settlement road, which was in the county of the Prime Minister, was built, but the roads in my county and in the counties of the other

gentlemen whom I have mentioned were dropped and nothing was done for them. Anybody who knows Nova Scotia will know that no part of the county of Halifax needed a road as badly as the county of Victoria. I have often brought to the notice of the Prime Minister that it was not fair partnership or quite sportsmanlike on his part, that, in view of the fact that we were all helping to build these roads and standing by him when he was in Opposition, when fortune came his way and he had an opportunity to build our roads as well as his own, he dropped ours and went on with his own. He always promised us that he would do better and that he would help along these projects. Unfortunately he is not here now, but he has often heard the story before and if he were here to-day and listened to this complaint—and, if you please, accusation—it would not be the first time that he had heard it put forward.

However, be that as it may, the Dean Settlement railway is built and it is in operation. I am not at all sorry because the people of that section of the country have the advantage, and it does not have to be built a second time. I would like to be assured that the Government would make provision for the extension of the road in the county of Victoria and through the various large fishing centres in the county to the extreme north where it is necessary to have this work done. I am sure that the right hon. the acting leader of the Government will appreciate a situation such as we have in the county of Victoria. The northern settlements of Victoria would be about 150 years old, if not older. Some of the very earliest settlements in Canada were to be found here being made up of a splendid, strong, sturdy class of people, fishermen and farmers along that coast. They have always contributed their share to the building up of this country in money and in other ways. But up to this time, while roads are being extended to the Pacific coast and in all directions, while the benefits of civilization, advancement and progress are coming to every other part of the country, these people are left out in the cold with no railway facilities at all. I do not think I am asking too much when I ask the Government to now carry forward the idea which they accepted some five years ago. They then agreed that this work was necessary and I am now putting forward the proposition that the idea which was accepted in March 1914 should be re-affirmed and that the request made at that time should be implemented by the building of these roads. I shall not elaborate this question very much farther because it does not require any elaboration. It is absolutely necessary that these roads should be built and the only possible excuse would be the inability of the Government because of some financial reasons which have nothing to do with the work. I trust, however, that this project will be found to be so deserving, worthy and practicable that there will be no hesitation on the part of the Government in proceeding with the work.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Mr. Speaker, I desire to support the proposition of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie). He very properly asks Parliament to carry out the resolution that it passed in 1914: This is the resolution:

> That in the opinion of this House the time has arrived for the extension of the Intercolonial Railway of Canada into the non-railway sections of the Maritime Provinces within reasonable range of the said railway.

The resolution itself is perfectly plain and it can only have one meaning. The carrying out of this resolution was interrupted, as my hon. friend has said, on account of the war. But the war is now over and the time has come when the Government can fairly be asked to deal with this question. Taking the province of Nova Scotia alone, there are, properly speaking, only two non-railway counties in it. I refer to the counties of Victoria and Guysborough. I submit that the claims of these two counties are stronger than the claims of any other section in Canada for railway extension. We are not asking for any favours from the Government; we are simply asking for fair play.

Speaking for the county of Guysborough, let me point out that the people of that county have been contributing to the building of railways in other parts of Canada for the last fifty years. Along the line of the projected branch line from Sunnybrae in the county of Pictou to Mulgrave in the county of Guysborough, there are 40,000 people who would be accommodated by the building of the line. It is known that this country has spent on railway construction since Confederation over $400,000,000 without including the expenditure in connection with the Canadian Northern Railway. When you have a population of 40,000 and estimate the whole population of Canada at about 8,000,000 it will be seen that if these people paid their full share which they certainly did it would be about $2,000,000 contributed

to the building of railways in other parts of Canada.

If you make an estimate of the liability incurred in connection with the Canadian Northern system, you will find it would amount to another $400,000,000, so that by giving railway extension to my constituency the Government would simply be paying back a part of the money we have already contributed towards extending railways in other parts of Canada.

I would also point out that this proposal can be defended on its merits. It would be a good investment for the Dominion to build that branch line into my constituency. There are great resources to be developed in that part of the country—agricultural, mining, timber and fishery resources. The leader of the Opposition stated a moment ago that there are great possibilities connected with the fishing industry on the eastern coast of Canada. That statement is quite true, but the fishing industry on that coast has never had a fair chance owing to the lack of the necessary transportation facilities. You cannot carry on a successful fresh fish business without quick means of transportation, and we have never had these means of transportation in Eastern Canada so as to give our fishermen a fair chance to develop this important industry. Wherever these facilities have been granted the results have justified any expenditures that have been made. A good many years ago the Government granted a small subsidy to connect the town of Canso with the Intercolonial railway at Mulgrave by a steamboat service, the distance being about twenty-seven miles. A boat was placed on that route and that was the first opportunity that the fishermen of that vicinity had of putting their fresh fish on the Canadian market. The business began to grow, and I venture to say that for the expenditure that has been made there is no business development in Canada that shows better results than the shipment of fresh fish from the ports of Canso and Mulgrave since those facilities were granted. I have a statement here which I wish to place on Hansard so that the Government may have an opportunity of studying this matter and understanding what a splendid investment this would be if they should decide to embark in it. After the facility referred to was given to the fishermen on that coast, as I have already said, the business began to grow, and it has grown year by year giving the following results.

[Mr. J. H. Sinclair.]

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: You are speaking of the Canso branch, are you not?

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I am speaking of the fish shipped from Mulgrave, being taken there by the boats that were subsidized by the Government to carry fish to that point so that it could be transported to points in Canada. The figures I wish to give are as follows:—

Year.	Tons of fish shipped.	Railway express charges paid.
1895	790	$ 4,805.00
1896	900	6,460.00
1897	997	9,596.00
1898	1,415	11,312.85
1899	1,353	14,493.00
1900	1,450	16,500.00
1901	1,900	19,760.00
1902	1,800	18,720.00
1903	1,600	16,840.00
1904	1,700	17,680.00
1905	2,201	23,032.00
1906	3,154	29,063.00
1907	3,156	27,417.70
1908	3,370	31,644.00
1909	2,371	26,685.55
1910	3,431	36,022.58
1911	4,110	45,179.00
1912	4,238	45,730.69
1913	5,314	60,442.00
1914	4,510	48,708.00
1915	6,419	72,371.77
1916	7,116	90,434.00
1917	11,831	111,483.17

Showing a steady growth in this trade from the time the boat was put on in 1895. You will notice that in 1895 the Intercolonial freight receipts on these shipments of fish amounted to only $4,805, while in the year 1917 they reached a total of $111 483.17. I have not at hand the figures for the year 1918 or for the part of the present year that is past, but I am informed that the growth during this period is fully up to that of 1917. Now this business has been handicapped by the fact that the railway is 27 miles away from the point of shipment. Canso is situated at one of the best fishing points on the coast. It juts out into the Atlantic, very near the fishing banks, and there is no part of the coast of Eastern Canada where the fishing industry can be better developed than at the town of Canso; and if the railway could be extended to that point I submit there would be a very large development in that business. If the fish dealers of Canso were able to place their fresh fish on board iced cars at Canso and ship same to western points in Canada, or to the United States, in good condition, without transhipping it by boat at Mulgrave or other points, it would be an immense advantage. It would tend toward developing that trade and building it up into one of

the great industries of Eastern Canada. This fact was recognized by the late Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and my hon. friend (Mr. McKenzie) has told the House how it was dealt with.

For a good many years the building of branch lines by the Intercolonial Railway was not favoured by either political party. But in 1910 the House adopted the policy that in future the Intercolonial Railway, instead of depending on small companies to build their branch lines, would undertake the work themselves, and immediately following that decision the late Government decided to build three branch lines in the province of Nova Scotia; one in the county of Guysborough, connecting Guysborough and other points along that coast with the Intercolonial at Sunny Brae; another in the county of Halifax terminating not on the coast, but in a country district called "Dean's Settlement" and connecting with the Intercolonial Railway at Dartmouth in the county of Halifax; the third projected branch line was in the constituency represented by my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition. Provision was made for the building of those branch lines, one million dollars being voted for the construction of the branch line in the county of Halifax, another million dollars for the building of the branch in my constituency, the Government also purchased from the Nova Scotia Steel Company a short line of railway from Ferrona to Sunny Brae at a cost of $100,000. That branch was to form part of the Guysborough line and is now owned and operated by the Intercolonial Railway, but the road was never extended. My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition has stated the facts. The late Government did not take into account whether a constituency was represented by a Liberal or by a Conservative, they viewed the matter in a broad non-partisan spirit as effecting eastern Nova Scotia generally, and they found that in order to provide railway accommodation for the population there it was necessary to build the three branch lines I have mentioned. When the present Government came into power they struck from the estimates the money provided for building the branch line in Victoria, and they cancelled the contract that had been made for building the branch line in the county of Guysborough and struck the million dollars from the estimates. They retained the contract for the branch line in the county of Halifax and went on with its construction. The line has since been completed and I believe it is a prosperous branch of the Intercolonial. I am informed that it is developing a large traffic in that prosperous district in the eastern portion of Halifax county. But the counties of Guysborough and Victoria have had to wait for their much needed railway development, for no other reason than the fact that they exercised their right of sending members of the Opposition to this Parliament. Now, that is not a very creditable action on the part of the Government, and I think it is time they wiped out the reproach, for it is a reproach, that such a condition of things should prevail in this country.

I am quite aware that the Government are not able to spend as much money now as formerly on account of the financial condition of the country. But at the last session of Parliament a large sum of money was voted for railway extension, and it will be remembered that the late Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) made this statement during the session which closed last July:

> We propose to spend $10,000,000 or $12,000,000 this year,—that is 1919—on branch lines in Canada, and every mile is west of the Great Lakes.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that there is no good reason for that discrimination. Why should our railway extensions all be west of the Great Lakes? The province of Nova Scotia has a population about the same as that of the province of Saskatchewan, and surely the claims of the people of Nova Scotia for railway accommodation are just as strong as are the claims of the people of Western Canada. I can see no argument at all why they should not be. Indeed, I think that I could build up an argument to show that the claims of Nova Scotia are stronger, because it is a much older settlement, and its people have borne the burdens of this country for a longer period than have the people of the Western Provinces. I have already pointed out that they contributed their resources for the last fifty years towards the general development of the Dominion and the construction of railways in the other provinces. Therefore, there can be no reason why a preference should be given to Western over Eastern Canada in the matter of building branch lines of railway. The ancestors of the population of the county that I have the honour to represent came there at the time of the American Revolution, about one hundred and fifty years ago. As I said before, I do not object to the development of Western Canada, but I submit that the people of Eastern

Canada have an equal right to the building of branch lines. How, then, can we justify ourselves in voting $10,000,000 or $12,000,000 during the current year to build railways in Western Canada without voting one dollar for the same purpose in Eastern Canada?

In regard to the financial embarrassment of the Government, it will be noticed that the Government have been spending money right and left for several years past and they continue to do so. If the Government was sincerely practising economy, the case would be very different and we would be more inclined to excuse them for not taking this step at the present time; but when we find such items in the public accounts as I am about to enumerate, we have to abandon the idea that this railway development is refused on the grounds of economy. For example, $10,000,000 was paid to MacKenzie and Mann when we did not owe them ten cents. That is one very large item, and it would be sufficient to build quite a number of small branch lines. On Canadian Registration the Government spent $646,000—an expenditure that in my view was absolutely useless to the people of Canada. On the Department of Public Information last year the Government expended $81,414 in order to publish a small newspaper that is really of no use to anybody and could be very well dispensed with.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It has been dispensed with.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I am glad to hear it. I pointed out last session that we were spending $10 an hour on that useless newspaper; and if our criticism on this side of the House has had the effect of stopping that wasteful expenditure, I am very much pleased to know it. Now, in the face of these extravagances, and many others that I could mention, it is difficult to convince the people of my constituency that the Government have no money wherewith to build these branch lines. We have been very patient in regard to this railway development in the county of Guysborough—the patience of Job was nothing compared with the patience we have exercised in regard to this matter.

The Minister of Trade and Commerce is a reasonable man; I ask him, in all fairness, whether I have not made out a case for some action on the part of the Government in regard to this matter? The minister was a member of the Government which struck from the Estimates a few years ago the million dollars which was voted to complete this branch line in Guysborough, and in that way he is responsible. He was a member of the Government which cancelled the contract that was made for the building of that branch line. The time has come when fair play should be done to my constituency in this matter. We have had promises that when the war was over this item would be restored to the Estimates and the work would go on. Now the war is over; the Government has commenced the construction of branch lines in other parts of Canada, and they should now implement their promise in regard to the extension of railways in my constituency. I do not wish to press the matter too strongly to-day, but I trust that the minister will bring this matter before his colleagues and that the promise given by the Minister of Railways when this item was struck from the Estimates will now be carried out.

5 p.m.

Mr. A. T. LEGER (Kent, N.B.): Mr. Speaker, I would like to add a few words in approval of what has been said with reference to the necessity for the extension of the Intercolonial railway in non-railway sections of the Maritime Provinces. In doing so, I speak generally for the province of New Brunswick, and more particularly for that section of the country from which I come.

In 1913, if I remember rightly, a charter was granted by this Parliament for the construction of a railway from Buctouche, in the county of Kent, to a point in the county of Northumberland, a distance of between fifty-five and sixty miles. The line was surveyed in 1914, but on account of the war nothing more was done. A year or so ago the Government purchased the Moncton and Buctouche railway, which is now part of the Canadian National Railway system. The extension now desired would be from Buctouche to Chatham or to some other point in Northumberland which would make a satisfactory terminus.

Last winter the municipal council of the county of Kent adopted a resolution asking the Government to take this matter into consideration. The resolution is as follows:

Whereas, the Moncton and Northumberland Strait Railway Company was duly incorporated by an Act of the General Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick in the year 1910, and by the Statutes of Canada in the year 1913, for the purpose of building a line of railway from Buctouche in the county of Kent, the terminal of the Moncton and Buctouche Railway, to a point at or near Loggieville, in the county of Northumberland, N.B.

And, whereas, a survey of the proposed line was duly made in the year 1913, which survey

is now available for reference, and proves it to be an expensive| undertaking, and showing seven miles of road already graded;

And whereas, the Canadian Government has taken over the Moncton and Buctouche Railway, of which the proposed line was to be an extension;

And, whereas, this proposed line of railway passes through the most thickly populated and richest part of Kent and Northumberland counties, now altogether without railway service, which sections are rich in agricultural, lumber, and fishing possibilities;

And, whereas, lack of the necessary shipping facilities greatly retard the growth and development of a large portion of these counties;

And, whereas, the question of finding employment for many of our returned soldiers needs to be solved by the Government;

And, whereas, the building of this railway would give immediate employment to a large number and at the same time open much unused agricultural land for settlement purposes, also be the means of developing our unlimited fishing facilities along the shores;

And, whereas, the county of Kent has now cheap electric power available from their Hydro-Electric Light and Power Plant, and the building of this railway would be sure to develop industries of various kinds that are impossible at present owing to lack of railway facilities:

Be it therefore resolved, that this Municipal Council of the Municipality of Kent County, now in annual session assembled, do memorialize the Government of Canada and pray that action may be taken immediately towards the building of this line of railway from Buctouche aforesaid to a point at or near Loggieville in the County of Northumberland, N.B., at the earliest possible time, believing as we do, that such line of railway is in the best interests of the country at large, and especially in the interests of the city of Moncton, county of Kent and county of Northumberland, and thereby serve large sections of country that have been without railway connection for many years. This service is due these people and the country needs the railway for industrial development. And that a copy of said resolution be forwarded to the Dominion Government, the Boards of Trade at Moncton and Chatham, and to the members of Parliament for the counties of Westmorland, Northumberland, and Kent respectively.

Copies of this resolution have been sent to the Minister of Railways (Hon. J. D. Reid) and to the President of the Canadian National Railway Board, Mr. Hanna. I bring this matter before the House for the purpose of asking the Government to take steps along the lines suggested in this resolution and to have this extension made as soon as possible.

This line would go through many parishes in Kent and Northumberland. Although the route does not always follow the shore, it is nowhere very far from it. If this line was built it would accommodate the whole of the county of Kent from Moncton to Chatham; I therefore urge that the matter be taken into consideration.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I do not think that we had better adopt this motion. My hon. friends have brought the matter to the attention of the House and have probably accomplished their object by inviting the attention of the House to the former resolution—which, of course, must now be viewed somewhat in the light of the altered circumstances.

For myself, I am not in a position to make an answer, and if the presentation which has been made by my hon. friends is considered by them sufficient to draw the attention of the Government to the matter, we might let it go in that way, but if they would like an expression of opinion from the Minister of Railways, who is not here to-day, I would propose the adjournment of the debate, and the subject could come up again and the Minister of Railways reply, as is his proper function. There will be no difficulty in having the matter up for discussion once more. Our friends on the other side seem disinclined to do much work; they have seemingly felt the influence of the general world holiday spirit which is abroad. We have now gone two or three times through the whole programme of motions, and this is the only one which has been laboured. I shall be glad to defer to the wishes of my hon. friend as to the course we shall adopt in this case. Either I will make a motion to adjourn the debate, so that the Minister of Railways may reply on another occasion, or if my hon. friends think they have sufficiently attained their object by bringing the matter to the attention of the Government we might let the motion drop.

Mr. McKENZIE: The leader of the Government talks reasonably about this matter. At the same time I observed a playful smile coming over his countenance as he was speaking. I want to assure him that this is not a laughing matter by any means, but a most serious one. In 1914 when this resolution was accepted by the Government we thought they meant business.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Do I understand the hon. member is closing the debate?

Mr. McKENZIE: No. I am going to agree to the minister's suggestion that the debate be adjourned, with the hope that we shall have an opportunity of discussing the matter when the Minister of Railways is present. Whether we get that opportunity or not, I trust that the ministers who are present will give serious consideration to the matter I have brought before the House.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I was not smiling at the railway situation; quite the opposite. What made me smile was the pleasant countenance of my hon. friend from Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb). It was that which inspired the expression on my countenance which has aroused the wrath of my hon. friend.

On the motion of Sir George Foster the debate was adjourned.

DOMINION CANNERS, LIMITED, CONTRACTS.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria) moved:

For a copy of all contracts made or entered into between the Government of Canada or any department thereof or any person or persons acting for or on behalf of the Government or any department thereof and the Dominion Canners, Limited, of Hamilton and Simcoe, Ontario, at any time since the 1st of August, A.D., 1914, and the 1st of August, A.D., 1919, and of all reports, letters, correspondence and all other documents in the possession or under the control of the Government, relating to or having any bearing upon any dealings, negotiations, contracts or business transactions of any kind whatsoever between the Government as aforesaid and the Dominion Canners, Limited, or any person or persons acting on behalf of said company, and especially, copies of reports made to the Government or any department thereof, by The Milton Hersey Company, Limited, Montreal, R. R. McColl, Esq., Government Inspector, Simcoe, Ontario, and H. H. Holland, Government Supervising Inspector, in reference to or having any bearing upon contracts, dealings and transactions between the Government as aforesaid and the Dominion Canners, Limited, during the period hereinbefore mentioned, and also of all reports made to the Government as aforesaid by any commission or commissions or any person or persons whatsoever appointed or authorized by the Government to inquire into and report upon the dealings, transactions and contracts between the Government and the Dominion Canners, Limited, or any person or persons acting on their behalf during the period from the 1st of August, A.D., 1914, to the 1st of August, 1919.

He said: I should have liked to make this motion when there was a larger attendance of members present, but as we are so near the end of the session, as I understand, and practically all the remaining days are to be Government days, members on this side of the House cannot very well select the time to make a motion.

The motion itself sets forth the correspondence, contracts, and other documents for which we are asking, and I shall state very briefly my reasons for making this motion. I am not taking any grave responsibility in connection with the facts that are placed in my hands regarding this matter. I understand, however, that the manufacture of war materials by the Dominion Canners, Limited, is not a new subject to the Government, but that irregularities and difficulties with that company have already once or twice been brought to the notice of the Government. I am informed by a friend of the company that a commission has been appointed to inquire into the dealings between the Dominion Canners, Limited, and the Government, which commission has not yet reported. I did not know anything about that until informed of it after I had put the notice on the Order Paper. The facts which have been brought to my notice, and which I think will be disclosed in the papers that I hope will be brought down, are to the effect that bad material has been manufactured by the Dominion Canners, Limited, and sent to our soldiers at the front. I am informed that what the company sold to the Government as pork and beans was but a part of what they undertook to supply, that there were beans in the cans, but no pork, that when there should have been good beans and good pork very often there was no pork and only bad beans—rotten, defective beans, and rotten, defective cans—that instead of containing pork and beans alone a very large percentage of stones were from time to time found in the cans. Of course, there were not supposed to be any stones at all, but by a close calculation of the number of stones found in the cans that were examined it was found that something like seven or eight carloads of stones were shipped to the boys at the front as pork and beans. There is evidence that thefts were committed on the Customs Department, and I am informed that an attempt was made to patch up the trouble by the payment of a large amount of money to the Customs Department. These alleged irregularities, and, as I may call them, thefts are alleged to have been brought about by the importation of large quantites of pork with the supposed intention of using it in the manufacture of pork and beans, on which pork when it went out of the country there was to be a drawback under the regulations. It is alleged that large quantities of that pork were not used in the cans, but for other purposes, and that the Government paid drawback to the company in large amounts upon pork which was used in Canada, and was therefore not entitled to drawback. I understand that an investigation was instituted by the Customs Department and that four men were sent some time last February to Simcoe and Hamilton, that they made an investigation and discovered these irregularities, and I am told by a friend of the

company that a very substantial amount of money was paid back to the Department to make good these irregularities or in other words, if I am properly informed, this fraud and theft upon the Government, and I am informed that nothing further was done than to receive amount of moneys and to hush the thing up. That is not sufficient, and conduct of that kind should not escape without the widest possible proofs and with the punishment of parties who would attempt to have any complicity or participation in conduct of that kind. It has been shown by the inspectors that irregularities of this character were going on from time to time, not so much by the importation of pork which was not properly used, as the inspectors did not seem to have anything to do with that particular phase of the trouble, but there is in the possession of the Government a report made by four officials last February, as I understand, showing those irregularities as regards the customs. I have in my hand a letter signed by the Milton Hersey Company, Ltd., who were officials of the Government for the examination of goods produced not only by this company but by other companies as well. This letter, which is addressed to the Dominion Canners, Ltd., Hamilton, Ontario, reads:

Dear Sirs:—In reference to a sample of pork and beans taken at random by our inspector at your Simcoe plant on 27th ult., we have analysed this sample for moisture, etc., and find the can contained six pebbles. There is something seriously wrong with the method employed at this factory for picking out defective beans, pebbles, etc., on the packing belt.

We would suggest that it is probably because the belt is overloaded, and these pebbles being heavier than the beans would naturally settle to the bottom of the load on the belt.

To remedy this trouble, we would respectfully suggest that some other method be devised to do away with the trouble, as it is a very serious matter.

We would be glad to hear from you as to what means you are taking in this connection.

Yours very truly,
Milton Hersey Co., Ltd.,
(Sgd.) J. G. Ross,
Chief Supervising Inspector.

This is another letter addressed by the same company of examiners, the Milton Hersey Company, to one of the inspectors of the Government, Mr. R. R. McColl, who was, as I understand, with the Dominion Canners at Simcoe as an examiner for the Government:

Dear Sir:—We are enclosing here two small pebbles. In the last tin of pork and beans from you there were five such pebbles. The others we are sending to the Dominion Canners direct to call their attention to the same.

If you need more help to watch the inspection more closely, and to see that they are canning beans instead of gravel, please advise Mr. A. C. Neilson, 394 Sunnyside Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, so that he can give you an assistant.

Yours truly,
Milton Hersey Company, Ltd.,
(Sgd.) J. G. Ross,
Chief Supervising Inspector.

That is a second letter, and only one of many letters that were sent complaining about the packing of gravel, as this concern says, instead of beans. It was contended that this factory was in a filthy, dirty condition and not fit to be used as a place where human food was being put up. There is a further report to Mr. R. R. McColl from Mr. A. H. Holland, supervising inspector. I take it—and I think I am right—that Mr. McColl and Mr. Holland were both Government officials inspecting the product of this factory. Mr. Holland evidently made an investigation for himself as to the condition of the place, and he writes this letter to Mr. McColl:

Dear Sir,—With reference to the inspection yesterday at the factory of the Dominion Canners, Simcoe, we have brought the following points to your attention.

1. Zinc soaking tanks with a coating of slime on the interior lining. These to be cleansed in your presence.

2. Soaking barrels in a sour condition. These to be replaced or given a thorough scalding of hot water.

3. Deposits of slime on the floor and decaying material between the floors at points where the floors have given way.

4. Packing belt sour. This belt must be cleaned with hot water, and should be attended to nightly.

5. Condition of the floor in the blanching room and also the lower floors, as a result of the drippings from the soaking floor. These floors to be thoroughly scalded nightly with a view to do away with the sourness.

6. Pork to be removed from the corner where water is dripping on it and be placed on paper on the floor in some dry position.

Kindly let me hear from you in this respect. We understand Mr. Innes is in town to-day and will see the War Office. We have already reported to them with reference to this plant.

Yours very truly,
(Sgd.) A. H. Holland,
Supervising Inspector.

This investigation of the supervising inspector was brought about by reports made to him and to others in regard to the conditions of this factory. One of the awful conditions was that the sewer from this factory, which sewer was connected with all the water-closets in the factory was blocked, and that liquid material from that sewer came back into the lower stories of the building, flooding the material that was

being used for canning. When that flood subsided it is reported—and I have sworn statements in regard to the matter—that the material, pork and the stuff that was under this water was shovelled up and put through the process of being canned and was then sent to our boys at the front. If there is an investigation into this matter and if those papers are brought down, I am sure that those things will be shown. Not only was the material short-weighted, no pork where there should be pork, no beans where there should be beans, but everything was done in an improper and unfit way, and our boys had to put up with that material and to eat stones and the contents of poisoned cans when they should have been getting proper food. I have here affidavits to this effect from many people. I do not purpose taking up the time of the House in reading them, but I purpose making a reference to them so that the Government and hon. gentlemen of this House will know that I am not manufacturing this story; that I have it on the declarations of men who are better known to some hon. gentlemen in this House than they are to myself. There is a very lengthy statement here by a Mr. Thomas Puzey, who was in the employ of this factory, I believe, at Simcoe. He tells a horrifying story about the condition of that establishment and about the shortage of pork.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Shortage of what?

Mr. McKENZIE: Pork. A can that was supposed to contain pork and beans did not contain pork at all. There are declarations here made by men and women who were working in the factory to the effect that they could not put the pork into these cans because they were passing too rapidly on the belt, that they had no time and that it could not possibly be done. Where this condition would occur you would have no pork at all. It was subsequently discovered that pork was not being put into the cans that were being handled in this way. Cans coming out of the factory would contain a certain weight of pork if they were put up honestly. The weight of pork was checked up and it was discovered that it was not sufficient to supply the number of cans which were turned out. In that way the Government and the people were paying for hundreds of tons of pork which they never received and large profits were being made in an improper manner.

Sir SAM HUGHES: What is the date of the manufacture?

[Mr. McKenzie.]

Mr. McKENZIE: I think it went back as far as 1915 and up to within a short time of the end of the war. There was a contract for 86,000,000 pound tins. I am not informed exactly as to when they finished the contract but it was during the years 1917 and 1918—I think 1916, and possibly as far back as 1915. A report of the facts has been made to the Government. I am informed that a report containing these matters has been in the hands of the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell). Reports have been made to hon. members supporting the Government coming from that section of the country complaining about these conditions but nothing has been done. I do not mind telling you that I am informed that this is a source of trouble among the friends of the Government, that the man who at last came to me with the information is a friend of the Government, and that he had exhausted every means of getting some friend of the Government to bring this matter to the notice of the country. But having failed he came to me with these sworn statements and I regard it as my duty to bring the matter to the notice of the Government. It is said that hundreds of thousands of dollars have been improperly extracted or obtained from the Government in this way.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Is there any evidence that the people who were evidently parties to this fraud, reported it at the time, or drew any one's attention to it?

Mr. McKENZIE: I have letters of the inspectors who were reporting as to the defective way in which these beans were put up and one inspector writes to the subordinate inspector asking him to see that they put beans and not garbage into the tins. That letter was written away back in 1916. I am further informed—and I believe it is true—that the Department of Customs had a complaint that they were being robbed, that they were paying a drawback on pork which had no right to have a drawback. They sent four inspectors to see about it and I am informed that in view of these irregularities moneys were paid to get over this difficulty, that the company was allowed to go on and that no further notice was taken of the matter.

I stated that there were declarations upon oath from these men. Thomas Puzey, who was an employee and who made a declaration under oath; and T. P. Pope complained about his business; W. Gurr of Simcoe makes a sworn declaration or a declaration before a commissioner. There are also declarations by H. R. Henderson, A.

G. Pendergast, Ada Pendergast, Mamie Plummer, Thomas H. Plummer, Harry Mansfield, C. Tucker, William H. Trembley, John Fraser, Mary A. Collver, Lila Stegmeier, Harry E. Watson, George W. Post, J. George Wood, Thomas Gurr, Jack Eade, Jonathan Petch, J. Petch and then there is some correspondence. These are sworn statements, or declarations under the provisions of the Act. These are living witnesses who will be available to the Government when the correspondence is brought down if they think it proper to inquire into this matter. This man R. R. McColl, who is a well-known gentleman in Simcoe, says that he found it impossible to prevent them from using this filth and dirt that was lying around the place; that at night they would gather that up notwithstanding all his vigilance. He claims that they would take the rubbish, that even material from the sewer basins would be gathered up, put into boxes and put through the machinery again for the purpose of being canned for the use of our boys. I presume there are many gentlemen in this House who know Mr. McColl. I do not know him. He comes from the county of Simcoe. He had been appointed inspector which is some evidence that he was a man of some standing. This is one of his letters addressed to the Milton Hersey Company of Montreal:

Simcoe, Ont., April 28, 1917.

Milton Hersey Co., Ltd.,
Montreal.

Dear Sirs:—Regarding the letter from Dominion Canners and the carelessness of the inspector, Mr. R. L. Innes, the General Manager, Dominion Canners from the head office Hamilton was here yesterday and I took the topic up with him, and he will be back on Monday 30th after having investigated the matter and who wrote the same—

I do not quite understand that.

I invite the closest investigation as regards my work. As to the inspection of the beans, Mr. Neilson and I have used every civil means to have the same adjusted and they yet fail to comply. I will relate last night's episode.

At 8.30 p.m. I forbade them using anything which was on the floor and it was shovelled into boxes and set by the door apparently to be removed from the premises this morning.

At 6.40 this morning I found the same on the top floor ready to be poured from the spouts into the machines.

You can readily see that my hours mean from before 7 a.m. until 9.30 p.m.

I cannot see it in any other way, and I know that the letter you claimed to have received is too true, as regards getting past the inspector.

Now, gentlemen, how far are you prepared to back me in this, as I intend to fight this to a finish; but not after May 15th at the present salary.

Yours truly,
R. R. McColl, Inspector.

Now there is evidence from the inspector that this business was going on of boiling up, canning, and sending away stuff which certainly should not have been sent as human food to any person, much less to the boys at the front. It will be found that there are declarations here, sworn to by returned soldiers, testifying as to the quality of the commodity which they received from Canada with the label of this company on it. I do not wish for one moment to say anything in this connection beyond just what is necessary in order to bring the matter to the notice of the Government, so that not only shall the correspondence be brought down, but that the fullest investigation shall take place into the case. I am told, Sir, that material evidence, which should have been investigated, has been laid by some officers of the Government with the Attorney General of the province of Ontario, but that nothing has been done. I am told that even the English Government, or its officials, have reported to our Department of Justice complaining about these matters, and that the latter passed the matter on to the department of the Attorney General at Toronto, but still nothing has been done. Now it is not at all too late to take action—it is too late, in a way, in the case of those who have been eating this poisonous stuff. Many of them, I am told, were sick; some of them came home with broken teeth, owing to their teeth fastening themselves upon these stones. That cannot be remedied, but surely we have not yet reached a day in Canada when we are going to allow criminals to escape because, forsooth, they managed to evade the eye and the arm of justice at the very moment when they should have been held up. It is quite possible that the evidence was not available, and I am not saying whether it is available yet or not, but I have read out the names of about a dozen people or so, who are living in this province, and who have made declarations before the proper officers that they can prove the enormity that has been practised upon the public and upon our soldiers in connection with this establishment. I trust, therefore, Sir, that not only will these papers be brought down, but that the facts, or any facts that the Government think they could obtain in this connection, will be fully gone into and the proper party punished, whoever that party may be.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY: The hon. gentleman, I think has been misinformed as to the existence of a contract between the Canadian Government and the parties to whom he has referred. I have no knowledge of the existence of any such contract with the Canadian Government. If there be any contract between the parties and the Canadian Government, and any correspondence relating thereto, we will be glad to bring it down. I do understand, however, that there was a contract with the British Government and that with regard to that contract there were certain complaints made as to the manner of its fulfilment, that the British Government made very considerable inquiry, and that counsel retained on their behalf pursued the matter further. Those counsel were retained through the Department of Justice at the request of the British Government.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Was the contract made through the Imperial Munitions Board or direct with the British Government?

Mr. DOHERTY: I shall make inquiry and ascertain, but any knowledge that came to me of the existence of the contract came from the British Government who requested that counsel should be retained to act for them in connection with the differences that arose and the complaints which they had to make with regard to the manner of the fulfilment of the contract. I may say that though I do not claim to have been made aware of the nature of the complaint, I did learn of what appeared to be the substantial complaint, and in connection with this I heard nothing of such statement as there being stones in the pork. Unless my memory is entirely at fault, and I certainly think the fact would have impressed itself on my mind had there been such; I heard of no complaint of the kind. The principal differences were, if my memory serves me, as to the quantity furnished. I know that was one of the complaints, but I have no recollection of a complaint that there were stones in the pork. However, as I have said, if there be any contract, or anything in the nature of a contract with the Canadian Government, or any correspondence relating to the matter at all that will be proper to bring down, it will be brought down.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Would it not be competent for this Government to bring down the contract between the British Government and Canadian citizens in which the Imperial Munitions Board was concerned, more especially as the Government went out of its way on a former occasion to bring in an American contract with the British Government and there was no opposition whatever to it? I do not see any reason whatever why there should not be inquiry made into the doings of the Imperial Munitions Board with regard to any Canadian contract.

Mr. DOHERTY: In answer to the hon. gentleman's question, let me say that if it was a matter of bringing down a contract, or contracts, with the British Government, it would be necessary for us to obtain the consent of that Government to do so, and in the second place it ought to be in connection with some matter into which this Parliament was entitled to enter and examine.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. leader of the Opposition desires to take advantage of his right to reply. As this will close the debate, any other hon. member who wishes to speak must do so now.

Mr. S. F. GLASS (Middlesex East): I would like to ask whether the Department of Trade and Commerce have received any complaints from the British Government concerning these matters alleged by the leader of the Opposition.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The department over which I preside has received no representations at all with reference to this matter so far as I have followed the statements made by the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Mr. Speaker, I have very little to add, except to reply to the hon. Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), who states that he has heard nothing about stones being found in the cans. I do not know whether the hon. gentleman was in his seat when I read the letter from one inspector to another. It appears that the Milton Hersey Company, Limited, were inspectors for either our own Government or the British Government in connection with the inspection of all supplies of this kind sent from Canada, and Mr. R. R. McColl, of Simcoe, was an inspector under the Milton Hersey Company, Limited. The letter which I have in my hand is from the Milton Hersey Company, Limited, to Inspector McColl in connection with the product of this factory, in which they state:

Dear Sir:—We are enclosing here two small pebbles. In the last tin of pork and beans from you, there were five such pebbles.

That is, five pebbles or stones in a pound can.

The others we are sending to the Dominion Canners direct to call their attention to the same.

If you need more help to watch the inspection more closely, and to see that they are canning beans instead of gravel,

That is very emphatic, to see that those people are packing beans for the boys overseas and not gravel.

please advise Mr. A. C. Neilson, 394 Sunnyside avenue, Toronto, Ontario, so that he can give you an assistant.

That is signed by:

Milton Hersey Company, Limited, per J. G. Ross, Chief Supervising Inspector.

Now, Mr. Speaker, to me at all events that is evident that there were stones in those cans. It must be remembered that that is only one of a great many letters complaining along the same lines. Therefore, taking the average number of stones that were found in those cans which were inspected, there would be carloads of stones in the 86,000,000 cans taken from those people.

Motion agreed to.

PATENT OF INVENTION.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 25 respecting Patents of Invention.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Explain, please.

Mr. DOHERTY: The purpose of the Bill is to afford a remedy for persons holding patents of inventions who by reason of war conditions may have been prevented from fulfilling the requirements of the Patent Act. By this Bill it is intended to confer power upon the minister in appropriate cases and where the facts are established to revive a patent when the failure to comply with the statutory requirements was attributable to war circumstances. Provision is made in such instances for the protection of persons who while the patent had lapsed may have begun the manufacture or sale of the patented article. I may say that in the Treaty of Peace provisions are made for such a revival in regard to the rights of nationals of ours in Germany or of German nationals in this country where patents have lapsed under similar conditions. The purpose of this legislation is to give a like remedy in cases of patents held by people in this country where the lapse has been attributable to war conditions, but with regard to which there arises no question as between our nationals and enemy nationals, and therefore, those cases would not be governed by the Peace Treaty nor would they be susceptible of being dealt with by any order or regulation made under the Act providing for the carrying out of its provisions.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

DOMINION LANDS ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Hon. Arthur Meighen (Minister of the Interior) Bill No. 15 to amend the Dominion Lands Act was read the second time, and the House went into Committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

At six o'clock, Committee took recess.

After Recess.

The Committee resumed at eight o'clock.

On section 1—right of making entry restricted to persons on active service in military forces of Canada of His Majesty or His Allies, or of any British Dominion or colony.

Mr. McKENZIE: Will the minister explain this Bill?

Mr. MEIGHEN: These amendments are necessitated by the conclusion of peace, or by the anticipated early conclusion of peace in a legal sense. The first, second and third sections are the law to-day, but they are the law by virtue of Orders in Council passed under the War Measures Act. The Bill merely makes permanent that legislation. The three sections contain nothing of startling consequence. They merely provide that when land is thrown open for homestead entry, one day's priority shall be given to returned soldiers.

Mr. McKENZIE: What is the meaning of "one day's priority"?

Mr. MEIGHEN: When lands are thrown open for entry, advertisement is given that such and such lands will, on such and such a day, be open for homestead entry. Then the Dominion Lands Act applies and the first eligible entrant to reach the counter —or rather to gain admittance—at the hour on which the entry takes effect, gets the entry. Now, this first section provides that the first day upon which lands are thrown open for entry shall be reserved for returned soldiers as defined by the Soldier Settlement Act. The Orders in Council defined "returned soldier" rather differently —more briefly and more roughly. Now that we are putting it into permanent form, the

definition of the term "settler" in the Soldier Settlement Act is adopted and any man or any woman who comes within that definition may apply on the first day. Then if no one gets entry on that first day all others come in the second day and the first eligible applicant gets the entry. That is the effect of the first clause.

The second clause provides that the ordinary rule compelling any man who has an entry to go into possession of his homestead within six months—extendable to twelve months at the option of the minister—shall not apply. Many entries are secured by men, while on active service, by proxy and otherwise, and it would be unfair to compel these men to go into possession within six months. Similarly, many returned men are not able, by reason of disablement or otherwise, to go into possession within six months. Under the Orders in Council, certain latitude has been allowed all along as respects such men, and this makes permanent this latitude.

Mr. McMASTER: Is there any limited time within which they must go into possession?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Not on the part of returned men, as yet. On the part of others, the minister may extend the six months' period that the Act allows to a total of twelve months, but not beyond that.

Mr. McMASTER: While everybody is perfectly in sympathy with the idea of giving the returned man a preferential position, should there not be some limitation as to time in respect of his obligation to enter into possession? It seems to me that it might retard the development of the country to allow these homesteads to be granted, and perhaps not to be occupied for several years.

Mr. MEIGHEN: It would be wise if it were practical, but when one considers the case of the disabled man one immediately comes to the conclusion that a time cannot be fixed. He may be disabled for a year, a year and a half, even for a longer period, and however desirable it may be to get the land into occupation, it is unjust to him to cancel his entry because he has not gone into possession within the six months. So that a discretion has been allowed in this respect, and I have known of no complaint of abuse of that discretion. I have known of no complaint reaching the department of any soldier being retained too long in the right of entry before actually exercising his right of possession.

Section agreed to.

[Mr. Meighen.]

On section 3—requirement of erection of house not necessary if residence acquired by service.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That covers the case of a man whose residence duties have been performed by virtue of his service overseas. If his residence duties are so performed it is easily seen that there is no use in requiring him to put up a house. This makes permanent that amendment to Dominion Lands Act.

Mr. MAHARG: This does not contemplate giving the soldier who had not made his entry prior to enlistment credit for the time he served?

Mr. MEIGHEN: No.

Mr. MAHARG: Does the minister not think some provision should be made in that regard? Large numbers of men who did not exactly know the position enlisted prior to making entry for their land; others knew that in order to get credit for residence duties, entry had to be made prior to enlistment, so they deferred their enlistment until they had first made their entry. The former donned the khaki and had probably gone overseas while the other men were looking for their homesteads. In all fairness to those men who took up their homesteads after enlistment but prior to going overseas, the privileges accorded under this section should be extended to them.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I admit that a plausible case can be made for my hon. friend's contention. It has been urged upon me very strongly and upon the department—indeed, it was urged upon the House last session, particularly by the hon. member for Qu'Appelle (Mr. L. Thomson)—that that concession should be made. It is true that what is at first sight a very strong case can be made in favour of the argument that at least the same rights should be given to the man who felt that the first duty was enlistment and the second that of making entry as are given to the man who took the reverse procedure—made the entry first and enlisted next. But a review of the whole situation will convince any one—at least, any one charged with responsibility—that such a concession would now be not only wholly untenable, but wholly dangerous—indeed, what is worse, wholly wrong. The question first came up when the concession was given to actual bona fide homesteaders who had their entry that their service should count as residence. It was then urged that the same should be done for

those who enlisted and afterwards entered. But it appeared at once that if that principle were established and announced, virtually every one who enlisted would make entry, because he would know that his enlistment would count as residence, and in all probability by the time he got through his service he would have performed all the duties on the homestead except those that he could hire to be performed, and he would just "be in" the difference between the value of the homestead and the cost of the hiring. Consequently, to have acceded to the suggestion would have meant virtually the blanketing of our available homestead lands in Canada by men who for the most part did not intend to homestead at all, who merely saw a chance to make that equity out of a homestead quarter-section. It would be unreasonable to argue that thousands—yes, possibly hundreds of thousands—would not have done that, because it would be plainly in their interest to do it, and in doing it they would be put to very little, if any, inconvenience. So when that contingency confronted the minister of the day—it was before my occupancy of this position—on the advice of the officers of the department he decided that it could not be done for the reason that instead of resulting in bona fide soldier homesteaders it would result in blanketing the land against bona fide homesteaders and in favour of the men who merely wanted a certain cash equity out of it. When that decision was arrived at, rightly or wrongly,—in my judgment rightly—it had, of course, to be announced, and all in the army and out of it who communicated with the department were so informed, to the number of many thousands. They were told: "You, having enlisted, are in the army, and are not a homesteader at all. There is no use your making an entry if you count on your army service as residence, because that will not be done." Similarly, press notices went out, and those thousands of men were thus informed officially, necessarily informed officially, rightly informed officially, that it was no use for them on that expectation making a homestead entry.

Now we come to the situation as it confronts us this session, and indeed as it confronted us last session. We are asked to recede from that position and to say: "It is true we notified the whole army it would not do you any good. We were afraid if we did not do that our lands would be blanketed. We told you that, but we really did not mean it, and we will count your entries." What would these men have said who got the notices sent out in answer to their query, and who did not make entry in consequence? Their complaints would be lodged, yes by the tens of thousands. And what would be our answer? We could have no answer at all. So while a very plausible and apparently a very strong case can be made, a consideration of all the circumstances in the history of this matter convinces us, I think, that to make the concession now would be unreasonable, dangerous, and indeed, wrong.

Mr. MAHARG: About what time were those notices issued?

Mr. MEIGHEN: It would be at the time the concession to the bona fide homesteader was actually made, about December, 1915.

Mr. MAHARG: Then all who enlisted subsequent to that could have made homestead entry and qualified, could they not?

Mr. MEIGHEN: No. They could make homestead entry after enlisting but not have the residence counted.

Mr. MAHARG: But there would be nothing after December, 1915, to prevent a man entering for a homestead previous to enlisting? So all these men could have made entry before enlisting if they saw fit?

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is true.

Section agreed to.

On section 4—application to court by alien entrant for decision that he is qualified and fit to receive letters patent:

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Does this mean that if the judge of the Supreme Court of the province has given a decision in favour of the applicant getting his patent, the case must then go beore the Secretary of State for approval before the patent is issued?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Yes, that is the effect of it. I might explain to the committee something about this clause, because it is an important one. It is an attempt to solve a really difficult problem. A substantial portion of our western homesteads are held by men who are of alien enemy birth, and who at present, indeed, are technically alien enemies; and in reality many of them are pretty much alien enemies, too. These men obtained their entries while the law was in a certain state. They obtained their entries when under the law they were required to put in the three years term of residence, six months in each year, to do improvements, to take out their naturalization papers, after which they would be entitled to a patent. Those coming in be-

fore the passing of the Naturalization Act of 1914 were allowed to take out naturalization papers after three years; subsequently that was amended to five years, but the difference between the three and the five-year period is not very material to this explanation. The point is that they came, made their entries, and gained their rights as to the homestead land; they made, as it were, a contract with the country under a certain state of law. Then the war intervened, and following the war a new Naturalization Act was passed last session by which an alien enemy could not secure naturalization for a period of ten years subsequent to the war. That is provided by sub-subclause (b) of subclause 4 of clause 8 of the Naturalization Act of this year. So these men find themselves in this position: they made entry for their land when the law required certain duties of them, one factor of those duties being the obtaining of naturalization before the patent was issued. Then by reason of the war the new Naturalization Act intervened precluding them from taking out naturalization for ten years, and of course during the war most of the judges held that they had not power to grant naturalization. They had power under the old Act, and under the Act of 1914 the Secretary of State had the power, but my information is that that power was not exercised by him during the war. The plight, therefore, in which these men found themselves can be easily understood. It is argued in respect of many that no concession should be made, that numbers of them so conducted themselves as to merit no consideration on the part of the country. There may be something in that contention as applied to some, but as applied to a very great many it cannot be argued that any such state of affairs exists. Then the difficulty that confronted us was this, to endeavour to establish some system whereby those not undeserving could be considered in applications for patents, and whereby those against whom a sound complaint should be made should not be considered. This is an attempt to effect that end. It is an attempt to enable Superior Court judges to decide just as they decide whether a man is entitled to naturalization, and if a judge certifies that but for this sub-subclause (b) a certain applicant would be entitled to naturalization, that is to say, entitled on all grounds save only that he has not been ten years here, as provided by that sub-subclause, then he may issue a certificate accordingly, and that certificate enables the Secretary of State to dispose of the case.

[Mr. Meighen.]

The hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) says: Should not that certificate be final?—why should a discretion thereafter rest with the Secretary of State? That is easily answered. The Naturalization Act of 1914 and the Act of 1918, both framed in unison with the British Act and similar Acts in all the other dominions, leave the prerogative of naturalization in the Secretary of State. The old principle of the judicial prerogative was withdrawn both in this country and throughout the Empire, and the Secretary of State was vested with the powers and unrestrained discretion as to naturalization. Consequently, in this Bill that principle must be carried forward. The final discretion must rest with him, but barring exceptional reasons that might appear or be represented to him, he naturally would be guided by the certificate issued by the Superior Court judge. Therefore, provision is made in this section to enable the deserving alien enemy who is forbidden to naturalize, none the less to make his application for patent and, if found fit, to procure his patent, notwithstanding his lack of naturalization; and at the same time it provides that, if for any reason an applicant has so conducted himself as to show that he is not likely to be a good British subject in this country, he cannot, merely because he has put in the time, come and demand a patent to his homestead. All that I can say for this is that it seemed the best and fairest machinery that was devisable. I did not think it right that men should be kept for years out of their patents if they were ready to become naturalized. Many of them are not naturalized; many of them will not even apply for naturalization; but if they were ready to apply and to become naturalized, and there was no reason why they should not, but for the sub-subclause, then it did not seem fair that they should be kept out of their patent for all those years. While it would be possible to leave them in possession and still to withhold the patent, yet the withholding of the patent itself is a very serious impediment to the progress of a man as a settler and farmer, and an impediment that, unless there were special reasons to the contrary, did not seem to me to be justified.

Mr. McKENZIE: The only thing that strikes me is the discretion that is given to the Secretary of State under subclause (8) of clause 4, which subclause reads:

The Secretary of State of Canada may thereupon, in his absolute discretion, issue a certificate in form K that the said alien entrant is or is not qualified to receive a patent, and shall send the same to the Minister of the Interior.

I have not been able to follow up the procedure which is to take place before the judge, but I take it that the Department of the Interior or the Government will be represented at each hearing that will take place before a judge and will see that the facts are fully brought out. I must take it for granted that the judge who will hear the evidence will be perfectly fair as regards the facts and law, and that he will, to the best of his judgment, give a decision on the law and the facts, particularly the facts relative to the conduct of the applicant. Supposing that the judge gives to John Brown a certificate that he is entitled to get his patent. I find no material at all that is submitted to the Secretary of State except the certificate of the judge, and it is somewhat extraordinary that absolute power is left with the Secretary of State to reverse the finding of that court. I do not know whether he can reverse it both ways or not. If the judge refuses to grant the application, I suppose that is the end of the matter. But should the judge give the certificate, it is somewhat strange that the overruling power should be in a man who has no opportunity of hearing the facts at all. Certainly there must be something upon which that discretion can be exercised. It certainly cannot be the whim or the caprice of the Secretary of State, or something that he may have heard about the man, or something not substantially proven. I would like some explanation from the minister as to what facts besides the certificate of the judge are to go before the Secretary of State on which he is to exercise his discretion. The minister, of course, knows very well what is meant by judicial discretion. Judicial discretion must be exercised according to law. There is no free right given to a judge to use discretion. There are lots of places where a judge can use his discretion about decisions, and costs, and cases, and all that sort of thing, but there must always be underlying the discretion a good legal reason. When discretion is to be exercised here, there must be some legal basis for the exercise of that very important discretion, and I should not like to place too much power in any minister or any governmental official to overrule the findings of a court.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The papers that will come before the Secretary of State are referred to in subclause (7) of clause 4, the clause under consideration. Subclause (6), however, first provides that:

The applicant shall produce to the court such evidence that he is qualified and fit to be granted his patent under this Act as the court may require, and shall also personally appear before the court for examination.

And so forth. Then subclause 7 says:

Upon the decision of the court being given a certified copy of such decision shall be submitted by the Clerk of the Court to the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, together with the application and such other papers, documents and reports as may be required by any regulations made hereunder.

That is to say, any regulation made hereunder as to what is necessary to be submitted must be complied with by the clerk of the court before whom the case is tried. Necessarily, all evidence then submitted to the judge would be part of the further submission to the Secretary of State, and any reports on any special matter that might be covered by the regulations would also have to come to the Secretary of State. That answers one portion of the hon. gentleman's question as to what would be the material before the Secretary of State. Then there might be further material. Very frequently, in the past at all events, these naturalization certificates have been granted rather formally and, I fear, sometimes hastily, and subsequently to the granting of them material comes to light which might have seriously affected the grant in the first place. Provision might easily be made for that to come to the Secretary of State, or, indeed, it might come without any provision at all. It is quite true that section 4 leaves the absolute discretion in the Secretary of State as to the granting of a certificate of right. I pointed out when I was on my feet before that that is essential because that is the principle not only of our Naturalization Act, but of the British Act, the Australian Act and the New Zealand Act. All of them are founded, from the lower strata to the top, on the very same provisions. In the Act itself, if the hon. gentleman will look at the following clauses, he will find that subclause (3) of clause 2 of the Naturalization Act passed just last session reads:

The grant of a certificate of naturalization to any such alien shall be in the absolute discretion of the Secretary of State of Canada, and he may, with or without assigning any reason, give or withhold the certificate as he thinks most conducive to the public good, and no appeal shall lie from his decision.

That subclause merely follows the Act of 1914, and, may I repeat, the corresponding

Act passed in the Mother Country and the other British Dominions of the Empire. A reference to section 4 brings out the following reading:

> The Secretary of State of Canada may in his absolute discretion, in such cases as he thinks fit, grant a special certificate of naturalization to any person with respect to whose nationality as a British subject a doubt exists.

And so on. The final prerogative, unrestrained, rests with the Secretary of State in the main Act. It would be perfectly impossible to argue that if the final prerogative should rest with him as to the naturalization of people generally it ought not to rest with him as to the naturalization of alien enemy homesteaders. We would be departing from what is, I think, a fundamental principle of the whole naturalization law of Canada if the Act should provide otherwise than it does.

Mr. PEDLOW: Before this clause goes through I would like to ask the minister if the application of this Act will prevent the transfer of property to aliens on purchase? I know of many aliens who have lived in this country for sixty or seventy years who have not become naturalized. Can they purchase farm lands and obtain a proper transfer and title from private individuals if this Bill become law?

Mr. MEIGHEN: No; the Bill which is under consideration now has no effect whatever on the law as to aliens holding title to land. Aliens always could hold title to land in Canada, but they could not get what we call our free homestead patent until they became naturalized.

Bill reported.

HEAD OF EAST BAY—CHRISTMAS ISLAND MAIL SERVICE.

The House returned to the Order for "Notices of Motion":

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria) moved:

> For a copy of all correspondence between the Post Office Department and the postmistress at the Head of East Bay, Cape Breton County, Nova Scotia, in regard to the mail service between the Head of East Bay and Christmas Island, and also of all other letters, petitions and correspondence received by the Post Office Department relative to this matter, since the 1st of January, A.D., 1915, to date.

He said: Mr. Speaker, this is not a matter of very wide importance but it is very important locally to a certain section of the people of the county of Cape Breton. There is a mail route about forty miles long between Christmas Island and the Head of East Bay. Christmas Island is one of the railway stations on the Intercolonial Railway about two miles from the Grand Narrows. From there the mails go to the shores of East Bay and then along East Bay about thirty miles to the head of the bay, going one day and coming the next. The Head of East Bay is within twelve miles of Sydney. The mails used to go out from Sydney every second morning and connect with the service at the head of East Bay. The mail carrier started from the Head of East Bay on his way back distributing the mail at each post office between the Head of East Bay and Christmas Island. That is what happened on one day. On the next day the mail carrier would start with his mail from Christmas Island and distribute the mail all the way up to East Bay. The result was that the people over that forty or forty-five miles were getting a daily mail service, one originating in Sydney and the other at Christmas Island.

Some time ago—possibly over a year ago—the postmistress at the Head of East Bay refused to distribute this mail; that is refused to distribute the mail that was coming out from Sydney for the offices along the route which I have just mentioned, stating that she was not getting enough money and would not do the work for the amount that she was receiving. This long route extending over forty-five miles was cut down from a daily mail to three mails a week simply because this woman said she was not getting enough money and would not do the work.

I have been in correspondence with the department, with the officials both in my own province and here, for a little over a year now trying to get this matter put right. Still it goes on in the same way, the department refusing to give this woman the money she wants and this woman refusing to do the work until she is paid the money. I am sorry that the Postmaster General is not represented here. We usually find the hon. the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) looking after his affairs in the House. But, we have here the hon. the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) who is representing the Government. I wish to appeal to him and to say that it seems to be a most extraordinary condition of things that any person filling a position such as this in a country district would be permitted for a moment to block the operation of the administration in this way. If this woman will not do the work, surely there are other people who will. I can understand that in the settlement in

which she lives nobody would care to say that he would take the office which she holds but if she were removed from office for refusing to do her duty, I do not think there would be any trouble in getting other people to take the office rather than to see the business of the country interfered with.

Now this does not require any further explanation except that some five or six hundred families, perhaps more, who had been receiving six mails a week, I suppose for the last thirty years, have been during two years or so cut down to three mails a week, not because of any policy determined on by the Government or by the department, but simply because this postmistress, who used to distribute the mails coming out of the city of Sydney, says she will not do this work. Therefore, this body of people along a route of forty or forty-five miles, and having nine or ten post offices, must put up with three mails a week instead of six. I appeal to the Government that such a thing should not be tolerated and that if this woman, Mrs. McNeill, will not do the work, somebody else should be appointed to carry it on. It is my duty to press this matter strongly and insist upon this postmistress either doing her work or getting out; she must certainly do one or the other. I am not particular whether she gets out or not, but if she will only do the work I would certainly prefer to see her stay. The post office has been at her house for a very long time, and so far as I know there never was any trouble with the performance of her work until she took this notion in her head that she was not sufficiently paid. The department tell me they cannot pay her any more than they pay other people and that there must be uniformity in the salaries paid to keepers of post offices. That is all right, I have no concern about that; but what I am concerned about is that the people of my county should receive proper treatment and get the mail service they have been accustomed to for the last thirty or thirty-five years. I, therefore, move this resolution so as to lay the whole matter before the Government, and I hope that the condition of things described will not be tolerated, or permitted to last, very much longer.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am so much impressed with the speech of my hon. friend that I have decided to recommend to the House that the motion be passed. I feel all the more keenly with respect to the matter because I think that in my own county there are cases similar to the one he has described, to the number of three or four. It is not, however, the perversity of woman that is the trouble in Portage la Prairie—I presume that circumstance is peculiar to the Scotch constituency of my hon. friend. The difficulty out our way is that we cannot get anybody to deliver the mails as often as the people want. I find the whole community demanding in tones of thunder, if they can reach me, that the mail shall be delivered, but not one person is ready to deliver them. I presume the circumstances are very much the same in the county of Cape Breton. Whether any postmaster can be found or not is something that will be better known to the Postmaster General than to myself. I will draw the attention of my colleague to the motion.

Mr. MAHARG: As the minister has opened up the question somewhat by referring to cases in his own constituency, I might refer him to similar cases in my constituency, but the reason there for the non-delivery of mails is entirely different. The reason is because this Government will not pay the courier sufficient to meet expenses apart altogether from leaving anything to live on.

Motion agreed to.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Meighen, the House adjourned at 8.50 p.m.

Tuesday, October 7, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

CANADA TEMPERANCE ACT.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Subject to the consent of the House I would ask to be allowed to introduce two Bills which are on the Votes and Proceedings of to-day, but which have not reached the Order Paper. This is merely in order to expedite the business of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: These Bills can be introduced at this stage only by unanimous consent.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 26, to amend the Canada Temperance Act.

Mr. McKENZIE: We are entitled to the same treatment as if this were in order. The minister will probably explain the Bill.

Mr. DOHERTY: Certainly. The purpose of this Bill is to extend the provisions of the Canada Temperance Act so as to make it possible that, if upon a plebiscite vote of the electors of an entire pro-

vince, which plebiscite would be taken upon a petition based on a resolution of the Legislative Assembly, the majority of the electors declare that they desire that the importation of liquor into that province or the manufacture of liquor in that province, or both, should be absolutely prohibited, then under the provisions of this Bill such manufacture, or such importation, or both, would be prohibited by a proclamation which would be issued in accordance with the proceeding provided for in the Canada Temperance Act. This is in effect extending the principle of the Canada Temperance Act so as to enable the majority of the electors of a province to create a situation under which the manufacture of liquor in that province or the importation of liquor into that province would become absolutely prohibited.

Mr. BURNHAM: Does that mean that if the Ontario Government, for example, has not requested, we are going to decide merely on the referendum?

Mr. DOHERTY: There will be no referendum except upon a petition based upon a resolution of the legislature of the province concerned. The machinery would be set in motion at the request of the legislature of the province.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Would that ipso facto come into force in the case of the Ontario Temperance Act, now the law in Ontario?

Mr. DOHERTY: No. As I understand it, the present law in force in Ontario does not deal with the question of the importation or manufacture of liquor.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: But does not the Ontario Temperance Act cover that?

Mr. DOHERTY: It does not cover the questions of importation into a province or manufacture in a province. The provinces take the position that they cannot deal with those questions. Without discussing that point, I may say that this would be a method whereby, in virtue of Dominion legislation becoming operative by the vote of the electors of a province, importation into that province or manufacture in it would be prohibited.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Then Ontario would have to have a special referendum in regard to this question in order to avail itself of this Bill ?

Mr. DOHERTY: Upon a petition this Government would hold a referendum in the area of the province on whose behalf the petition was made.

Hon. CHARLES MARCIL: Does the minister provide for this coming into effect on a majority of the total votes cast, or on a majority of the voters on the list?

Mr. DOHERTY: There is a provision of the Canada Temperance Act which, I think, provides simply for a majority.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

BILL TO AMEND AN ACT IN AID OF PROVINCIAL LEGISLATION PROHIBITING THE SALE OR USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 27, to amend an Act in aid of provincial legislation prohibiting the sale or use of intoxicating liquors.

Mr. SPEAKER: This motion also requires unanimous consent.

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not object, subject to an explanation being given by the minister as if this procedure were in order.

Mr. DOHERTY: The purpose of this Bill is to amend the Act in aid of provincial prohibitory legislation by making its provisions, which now extend only to the importation of liquor into a province to be used in violation of the laws of that province, to the manufacture within the province of liquor to be used in violation of the laws of that province. That is one provision. The other provision that is made by it re-introduces into the Act a clause which was contained in the Bill as it was passed by the House of Commons, but which the Senate rejected. This clause is accompanied by a modification which we hope may make it acceptable. The clause in question provides that a violator of the provisions of the Act may be tried for the offence either in the province into which the liquor was sent, which we may call the prohibition province, or in the province in which the offence was actually committed. The Senate on two occasions rejected that clause.

Mr. GAUVREAU: They did well.

Mr. DOHERTY: It is proposed now to re-enact it with this proviso that it shall be operative only upon a fiat of the Attorney General of the prohibition province asking that the accused be brought into that province for trial.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Would it be necessary for the people of Ontario first to pass a law, or to have a referendum on the question, before this Act would become operative?

Mr. DOHERTY: In connection with this last Bill there is no question of a referendum at all. This Bill is already in operation as regards importation and it is only to make it applicable as regards manufacture, and that limited to cases of manufacture of liquor to be used in violation of the Provincial law.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Would it leave them the right to manufacture for export?

Mr. DOHERTY: This Bill by itself would prevent the manufacture of liquor to be used in violation of the law of the province but the purpose for which the other Bill, amending the Canada Temperance Act is introduced, is to make possible the absolute prohibition of the manufacture.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Louder.

Mr. DOHERTY: I was endeavouring to explain in answer to the hon. gentleman's question that this particular Bill which we are now speaking of requires no referendum or expression of opinion on the part of the electors of the province. It merely extends to the manufacture of liquor in a province the present prohibition against importation into the province; in both instances the prohibition extending simply to the importation or manufacture of liquor to be used in violation of the law of the province.

The other Bill is introduced for the purpose of making it possible for a province to have absolute prohibition either of importation or manufacture or both, but in order that it should have either, the people of that province, by plebiscite upon these particular questions, must have voted in favour of the prohibition of one or the other —the manufacture or the importation—or of both, if they so desire.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

THE McARTHUR RAILROAD, ALBERTA.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. H. A. MACKIE: Is the press report true that it is the intention of this Government to take over the McArthur railroad now in operation in the province of Alberta?

Hon. J. D. REID (Minister of Railways): No arrangements have been made to take over the road the hon. gentleman mentions.

CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENT.

ALIENS CARRYING FIREARMS.

On motion of Hon. Charles Doherty (Minister of Justice), Bill No. 24, to amend the Criminal Code, was read the second time and the House went into Committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Mr. CANNON: Has this Bill been printed?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, printed and distributed in both languages.

Mr. CANNON: It does not show on the order paper.

Mr. DOHERTY: No, but it is the fact.

On section 1—aliens not to have firearms or weapons without a permit:

Mr. JACOBS: Why is this Act restricted merely to aliens? Does the Minister of Justice not think that a pistol in the hands of a British subject will do as much harm as in the hands of an alien? What is the particular reason why aliens should be selected in order to have this law imposed upon them?

Mr. DOHERTY: I might say that as regards pistols, or any weapon susceptible of being concealed on the person, there is no distinction between the law as applicable to a British subject or as applicable to an alien, nor does this provision make one. At the last session of Parliament a provision intended to make this distinction between British subjects and aliens was enacted, namely, that the prohibition of carrying weapons without a license in the case of British subjects was limited to weapons of a nature which could be concealed upon the person. But the intention of that legislation was to make, with regard to aliens, a general disposition requiring a license for the carrying of any firearms. In enacting that legislation, the clause as it is now proposed in this Bill was passed, but it contained the words—I have not the statute before me; they brought me the wrong volume, but I have sent for the right statute—if I remember right, " as before described," or similar words, which produced the effect of limiting the prohibition upon them of carrying firearms without a license to precisely the same class of weapons as was referred to in the prohibition upon people generally—that is to say, limited the application of the clause to the carrying of weapons susceptible of being concealed on the person. That was not the intention of Parliament, as I understand it; there would be no object in repeating a special provision about aliens if you

left them precisely in the same position as British subjects. This amendment simply drops those words limiting the application of the provision to the carrying of weapons that may be concealed upon the person, and makes it applicable to the weapons mentioned in the clause without regard to whether they are susceptible of being concealed on the person or not.

Mr. JACOBS: When this question was raised at the last session I declared my opposition to it, and I am still of the same opinion. I think it is wrong in principle that we should have one law for the alien and another law for the British subject; it is against all principles of British law. We know that under the old Roman system, in the days of the republic and later of the empire, they had one law for the alien and another law for their own citizens, but I thought we had developed a little since that time. It appears, however, that the Government does not seem to be of that view, and we are now going back to the days of the Antonines and Caligula.

Mr. MAHARG: I must voice my objection to any such law as this being placed on the statute book—I can see no necessity for it at all. Such a provision may have been necessary during war time—I am doubtful if it was, but there may have been excuse for it—but I can see absolutely no excuse for it at the present time. We have probably as large an alien population in Saskatchewan as in any other province in Canada, and I see no reason for any such provision. If these people are not fit subjects for this country then we ought to get rid of them altogether. If they are fit persons to live here then they should be treated the same as anybody else—if they are not fit persons, do not admit them to the country at all.

Mr. PEDLOW: I most heartily endorse the remarks of the hon. gentleman who has just spoken. In the riding which I have the honour to represent there are a large number of aliens—men who came out to this country forty, fifty and sixty years ago as infants, and who have been since they reached the age of twenty-one voting and exercising every function of a Canadian citizen during all the intervening years. These people have become possessed of farms throughout the riding, and they have all the necessary equipment of home life possessed by citizens of British origin. Now these people will be interfered with in the exercise of their rights to a very large extent, and it is absolutely unfair to those of them who have been brought up in this country from infancy, who have been educated in our schools, and some even in our colleges, agricultural and other colleges, that they be denied the right they have been led to believe they were justly entitled to. I beg, Mr. Chairman, to register as strenuous objection to the passage of this measure as it is possible for me to do. Such a law would be all right if it were intended to be applied to criminals and that class of people who are segregated in the cities and large centres; but to make it apply at this present time, in the manner in which it is proposed to be applied, will cause a great deal of hardship and a great deal of inconvenience to and arouse a great deal of dissatisfaction among a class of people who are just as good British subjects as any hon. gentlemen in this Chamber.

Mr. DOHERTY: Might I point out to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Pedlow) that if the people to whom he refers are just as good British subjects as anybody else they cannot possibly be aliens, and there is no more to be said. Might I further point out that the class of people to whom I believe he intends to refer to have the simplest possible remedy in their own hands. If they have lived in this country for years, as he says, and exercised the franchise and a variety of other privileges, it is absolutely open to them to cease to be aliens at any moment they choose—

An hon. MEMBER: Oh, no.

Mr. DOHERTY: Allow me to finish my phrase—at any moment they choose.

Mr. JACOBS: After the expiration of ten years.

Mr. DOHERTY: At all events so soon as peace shall have been proclaimed, and any suspension of the granting of naturalization resulting from the war shall have disappeared. So that class of people are under an exceedingly temporary disability in any event. Now let me point out, in answer to both the hon. member for Renfrew and the hon. member for Maple Creek that this is not an absolute prohibition upon these people, but having weapons, the law only requires of them that they should show all these good qualities which are ascribed to them by being willing to ask the proper authority for a permit. Then every man that possesses these good qualities will have no difficulty about getting one. Now as to the reference of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jacobs) about going back to the days of Caligula and the rest, might I just suggest this: that when people come into this

country and establish themselves here one of two things is true—either they have been in the country long enough to obtain naturalization, and then they will not come under this Act, or they have not been here long enough to obtain naturalization. Then I put it to the hon. gentleman if it is being quite as bad as Caligula to say, with regard to people who have newly come into the country and who have not as yet given those guarantees of residence and so forth which we consider necessary to make them citizens: before you go around carrying firearms you will get a permit from the proper authority who will make inquiry as to whether you are a suitable person to be entrusted with such permit or not. Undoubtedly I think the records of our criminal courts would show that crimes of violence are disproportionately frequent among newly-arrived aliens. It is no reflection upon all aliens to say that. But there the fact stands, and these crimes of violence result from the greater readiness with which certain classes of aliens resort to the use of weapons than do our own people.

Now, the purpose of this legislation is simply to afford protection against those evils, and the "awful thing" that it imposes upon every respectable alien desirous of carrying a fire-arm is that he should go to a proper authority and ask for a permit. We impose absolutely the same obligation upon all our subjects as regards weapons that may be concealed upon the person, and the slight distinction we make, for the reasons that I have pointed out, is simply that in the one instance we extend the obligation to the carrying of fire-arms of the description mentioned generally. I think that with a little reflection the hon. gentleman will see that while it may be important to consider the feelings of the alien, it is a matter of the very first importance to do everything in our power to protect our communities against crimes of violence perpetrated by means of these weapons; and in many instances we are doing a good service to the alien himself, or to any other person concerned, in depriving him of the carrying of the weapon that he may be too ready to use, with very grave consequences not only to those who may be his victims, but to himself.

Mr. PEDLOW: I appreciate very much the lengthy explanation made by the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty), but it fails to cover the point raised by me, perhaps because he is not acquainted with all the facts, or perhaps because I have not made myself thoroughly understood in regard to the subject. He has referred to the days of Caligula. I once read of a student who had not been very industrious in preparing for his examination, and in reply to the question: "Who was Caligula? State briefly what you know about him;" he wrote, being absolutely ignorant of Caligula's personality: "The less said about this man the better."

Mr. DOHERTY: The hon. gentleman had better address that to his neighbour (Mr. Jacobs).

Mr. PEDLOW: It seems to me that the less said about certain Bills initiated by the Government recently, more particularly those applying to aliens, the better. But to get back to the subject. I received just this morning from one of my constituents a letter from which I wish to read the following extract, and it will illustrate the point I desire to make:

> In the autumn of 1902 Mr. Lawson, barrister, etc., of Eganville went around the back townships making out naturalization papers, but it appears they never came before the judge, or were otherwise shelved somewhere.

This refers to a man who has lived in the country sixty years, and explains why he was never properly naturalized; and that may apply to hundreds, perhaps thousands of residents, not in South Renfrew but in the county. Naturalization is one of the first requisites to obtain consideration before a judge; in the absence of a naturalization paper it would be impossible to obtain such consideration. This man could not obtain naturalization for ten years, notwithstanding the fact that he has lived in this country so many years.

Mr. DOHERTY: May I correct the hon. gentleman so he may not continue under a misunderstanding? It is not essential to have naturalization papers to get this permit. If a man were naturalized he would not be an alien any longer, and therefore he would not come under this provision at all.

Mr. PEDLOW: The Minister of Justice does not quite understand me, Mr. Chairman. This man fully understood that he was naturalized. The naturalization process was engineered by some politician a quarter of a century or more ago—long before I had any connection with the political life of the constituency I represent; but this man, believing he was naturalized, was not naturalized; in fact, there is no record of his naturalization anywhere. A

man of that type will not be granted a license although he may apply for one.

Mr. DOHERTY: The purpose of this Bill is, among other things, to permit men of that class to get permits to carry these weapons. What is forbidden is the carrying of firearms without a permit; that is all. Any man who can satisfy the proper authority that he ought to have a permit, whether he is an alien or otherwise, will be entitled to carry firearms.

Mr. EULER: I would like to refer to a statement made by the Minister of Justice in connection with this Bill. He stated that those who were referred to by the hon. member for South Renfrew (Mr. Pedlow) if they can show that they have been good citizens for many years, can obtain permission to carry firearms by applying for naturalization, and then, having become naturalized citizens, they will be the same as all other citizens and this provision will not apply to them. That is the point to which I wish to take exception. If it were only possible for people who are to-day technically aliens to apply to this Government and to obtain naturalization papers, I would raise no particular objection. But I would like to refer to the amendment to the Naturalization Act which was piloted through the House last session by the Solicitor-General (Mr. Guthrie). At that time I protested against the clause which made it necessary for men of alien enemy birth to reside in Canada for another ten years before they could obtain naturalization. I do not desire to burden the House again with the whole story, but I did refer at that time particularly to certain people of alien enemy birth residing in the riding which I represent and also in other ridings. These men had lived there as the member for South Renfrew (Mr. Pedlow) stated, for ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty and even sixty years, and many of them were under the impression that their fathers had become naturalized British subjects, but could not prove it, and who, although they have lived in Canada for that period of years and have always conducted themselves as good British subjects and carried out their duties as citizens, having in many instances been elected to act as magistrates and mayors and councillors, find themselves in the position of being unable to procure naturalization under the amendment to the Naturalization Act of last session. I protested against that, and I pointed to the fact that in the session of 1917 the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) stated he would make provision, and he did make provision later on by Order in Council, whereby these people, old residents in Canada—I am not speaking of newcomers—could obtain naturalization by making their application to a judge, who would report to the Secretary of State, after which, if the reports were satisfactory, certificates were to be issued. In the riding of North Waterloo, some ninety-three petitions of that kind were handed in because of the Order in Council promised by the Prime Minister himself. Those ninety-three applications were approved by the judge, they were sent to the Secretary of State, but the naturalization papers were never issued.

Mr. JACOBS: An oversight.

Mr. EULER: It was not an oversight, Mr. Chairman—but I shall not go over all that again. These people have not received their naturalization papers. No one in this House or outside of it can produce one particle of evidence to show that these people are not, to all intents and purposes, British subjects. But they are not technically so, and the Act of last session made it impossible for men who have been here for so many years, to receive their naturalization papers unless they live here another ten years. I made a plea that if these men were all right in every respect, the time during which they had already lived in Canada should be credited to them so far as the ten year period was concerned. The Prime Minister said that it could not be done, because it was the desire of the House to pass a Naturalization Act that would enable the naturalization certificates to be recognized all over the Empire. He also admitted, as did the President of the Council (Hon. Mr. Rowell) that the condition of which I complained worked an injustice on many good people living in this country. The Prime Minister further promised that he would make application to the British Government to have that state of affairs remedied so that these people could obtain their naturalization papers without having to live here another ten years. The point I wish to make is this: the Minister of Justice says that all an alien who has conducted himself properly, has to do to escape the provisions of this Act is to present himself for naturalization. But that is not the case with these particular people; they have to live here another ten years before they can get their naturalization papers, and that is an injustice. So far as my own riding is concerned, we have there—unfortunately for them, and I think, unfortunately for the community at large—three or four hundred

people, perhaps more, who come under that description. I am not referring to people who came from Germany within the last ten or fifteen years; I refer to old residents who have all along considered themselves Canadians and who ought to be made Canadians by the issuance to them of naturalization papers.

Mr. McGIBBON (Muskoka): What was the attitude of these people towards Canada during the last war?

Mr. EULER: I will answer that by saying that some of the men to whom naturalization was refused had sons fighting for Canada in that very war.

Mr. P. McGIBBON: How did the majority of them vote?

Mr. JACOBS: They voted right.

Mr. EULER: It was a secret ballot, and moreover they were not allowed to vote at all. I wish to ask whether any members of the Government are able to give any information on the question whether justice is going to be done to these people. I might say further to the minister that the Government need not worry very much about the alien in this country. I do not think that, having regard to the very stringent regulations that have been made, very many aliens desire to come to Canada. Not only that; as I come down in the train from Western Ontario I see every Sunday night hundreds of aliens leaving this country because they think it is no longer a free country. The action now contemplated is quite in harmony with the spirit of oppression which has prevailed in connection with the Government of this country during the last three or four years. I make no plea on behalf of any one who is not absolutely entitled to Canadian naturalization, but I do object to the laying of further disabilities on good Canadian people who are virtually British subjects. I say that it is an injustice and I desire to protest against it.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I am opposed to this measure and I wish to register my objection; the legislation proposed is not only unnecessary; it is vicious. The minister has told us that provision is already made for the case of carrying concealed weapons, yet he is now attempting to provide for the case of an alien who carries a gun on his shoulder. Men do not go abroad in that way to commit an offence. It is difficult to understand the attitude of the Government in regard to the alien. The Government profess to be in favour of the League of Nations; brilliant pictures have been set before us during this session with regard to the great results that are to follow from the institution of this League. We are to have "Peace on earth, good will toward men," but we are busy week after week placing laws on our statute-book that are annoying and objectionable to our colleagues in the League of Nations. I find it difficult to understand why the Government are so anxious to encumber the statute-book with unnecessary legislation of this kind. Many people from the United States come into Nova Scotia to have a day's shooting in the woods; it will be necessary for them, if I understand this Bill aright, to obtain a license before they may carry a gun in any part of this country for the purpose of shooting a partridge or having a little sport in the woods. I repeat that this legislation is absolutely unnecessary, and it is my view that the Bill should not obtain the consent of the House.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I understand that under the existing laws, persons going into Nova Scotia, as my hon. friend suggested, for the purpose of shooting, have to get a license.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: But if this Bill passes they will have to get two licenses.

Mr. EDWARDS: From whom are permits to carry firearms or have them in possession to be obtained? Are they in sufficient numbers to cause no inconvenience to persons who set about to obtain such permits?

Mr. DOHERTY: I have not before me the statute which prescribes the persons from whom the permits are to be obtained, but I have a very clear recollection that when we passed the original provision we endeavoured to meet every possible need and to obviate any inconvenience in the obtaining of permits. With regard to what the member for Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) has said, if he had as much to do with seeing the regrettable consequences from the promiscuous possession of firearms as we necessarily have to do in dealing with the different criminal cases which, under the guise of applications for clemency, come before us, I think he would realize that even some slight inconvenience to a gentleman who came across the border should hardly weigh in the balance when we are considering the importance of trying to exercise efficient control over the indiscriminate carrying of arms of this description. The hon. gentleman intimates that people who go abroad with guns on their shoulders are

not dangerous. If he had to weigh the pros and cons of exercising clemency in favour of people who have committed murder with guns which they carried over their shoulders when they were not shooting them off, he would realize, perhaps, that there are more important things at issue than the difficulty which he apprehends. This legislation is not directed against aliens of any particular class. It is not directed against the alien enemy in particular. If it does happen that persons who are aliens or of alien enemy origin suffer what appears to them an injustice—and I am prepared to admit there appears to be very hard cases—in consequence of the legislation of last session, I do not think we can gain anything by trying to carry on a discussion as to the wisdom or justice of legislation which Parliament enacted last session upon a subject different from this.

I am sure that any promise which the hon. member states the Prime Minister made with regard to endeavouring to bring about a situation where that injustice might be remedied or mitigated, will be carried out. But so far as this particular legislation is concerned it is not directed against enemy aliens in particular. I have already indicated the motives that inspired it. In talking about aliens and the unfortunate prevalence of crimes of violence among certain classes of them, it is only just to say that I had not in mind, and the facts would not have justified me in having in mind any particular aliens of enemy origin. I think that perhaps among aliens of some other races we would find a greater readiness to resort to the use of firearms. The hon. gentleman will understand that I do not want to specify, or make invidious distinctions between different races. I only want to say to him, as he seems to be so specially interested, and naturally so, by reason of the population of his county, in the hardship imposed upon that particular class that I was not seeking to make any reflections upon that class in particular, but the fact remains, and the records of our criminal courts show it, that among the alien population we get a much larger proportion of crimes of violence than we do among our own population.

Hon. Mr. GUTHRIE (Solicitor General): I should like to mention that there has been a fairly widespread demand for this legislation, throughout the province of Ontario at least. I know that petitions have come to me from practically all the larger places in Western Ontario asking this Parliament to pass legislation absolutely to prohibit the use or possession of such weapons by aliens— not to permit the carrying of these weapons only under license, but absolutely to prohibit. I can recall resolutions from the following Boards of Trade and City Councils in Western Ontario: Windsor, Chatham, Welland, Hamilton, Brantford, Stratford, Port Arthur, Fort William, Kingston, Belleville, and Guelph. I do not remember any from east of Kingston, but certainly the western portion of the province has made rather a pronounced request upon this subject. Let me give an instance of the conditions which exist in my own home town. At the assizes held in the month of May last, presided over by Sir William Mulock, Chief Justice of one of the courts of Ontario, there were on the opening day of the court confined in the Guelph jail fourteen criminals, thirteen of whom were aliens. The chief justice, addressing the grand jury, specifically referred to the proportion of aliens, a great many of whom were charged with crimes of violence, two being murder. Two men, both aliens, have been condemned to death in Guelph, and in both cases the instrument of the crime was a shotgun. An altercation of some kind had taken place, and the man ran into his house for a shotgun, and shot his victim. I could enumerate a fairly large number of such cases in Western Ontario during the past five or six years. The vast majority of these crimes have been committed by aliens, and it is for that reason there has been this pronounced demand from the cities of Western Ontario. I do not know how it is in other portions of the Dominion, but in my humble judgment the law is a very wise one and will cause no injury to any one.

Mr. EULER: I should like to ask the Acting Secretary of State a question in regard to the matter I spoke of before, and that is whether any action has been taken with regard to the naturalization of the people to whom I have referred, and to whom it was admitted to me that naturalization should be granted. At the last session I made a special request privately of the Prime Minister that at least those men whose applications had been properly approved by the judge should be granted naturalization, leaving the other cases over for the future pending action by the British Government. Has anything been done with regard to that?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I do not know whether this is in order, but I may say that I am

not aware of any such action having been taken. I have been Acting Secretary of State only for the past ten days, and action might have been taken without my having any knowledge of it.

Mr. JACOBS: Would the Minister of Justice be good enough to tell the Committee from what legislation this proposed section is borrowed? Is there similar legislation in England or Ireland, for instance?

Mr. DOHERTY: I can assure the hon. member it was not borrowed from Ireland. I am not aware whether there is similar legislation in England, but if they have similar conditions in England I have sufficient confidence in their wisdom to believe that they have provided similar legislation.

Mr. JACOBS: What would the minister regard as similar conditions? Surely he does not pretend that we have more aliens in this country than they have in the United Kingdom. In the city of London alone there are probably more aliens than in the whole of Canada.

Mr. DOHERTY: I am not aware of the comparative number of aliens in the two countries. I have exposed the reasons why I think this legislation is good legislation for this country. If it should be demonstrated to me that either wisely or
4 p.m. unwisely the legislative authorities in Great Britain have not thought it to be good legislation for their country, I would not look upon that as a reason why I should not provide what seems to me to be a highly necessary legislation for our own country under existing conditions.

Mr. JACOBS: I beg to move to amend clause 1 by striking out the words " being an alien " in the first line of paragraph (d1).

Mr. MOWAT: I support the clause as it is, more with regard to sharp weapons rather than explosive ones, and I will vote against the amendment. It seems to me important that when the alien arrives in this country he should learn at once that the country is going to have supervision over his habits. The foreigner, at all events those coming from some portions of Southern Europe, now comes to this country with a dangerous knife or stiletto, and sometimes on the slightest provocation he whips it out and a crime is committed. This Bill can apply to only two classes of aliens, and to nobody else: first, an alien who has not taken out naturalization papers, and this is a very good reason therefore why he should do so; secondly, it applies to the newly arrived foreigner. This is a British country, and it is important that the man arriving here should be made to feel at once that he must become a Brtish subject and have British ideas if he wants to stay. We have an experienced magistrate in the province of Ontario, who on account of the number of crimes committed with these sharp instruments of one kind or another, stated that he was going to punish these crimes very severely, and he made it very clear to the foreigner that the way to fight in Canada, if he had to fight, was in the good old British way, with the fists, not with sharp instruments. The consequence was that the crimes due to the use of sharp instruments abated to a considerable extent.

That is the idea that I should like to see inculcated into the newly-arrived foreigner. It is amazing to me to see people, whom I have usually considered peaceful people, from South Renfrew, Maple Creek and Kitchener seeming to want aliens of the country to be going around bristling with weapons of one kind or another without a permit; to carry a razor in their boot and a revolver in their hip-pocket with a stiletto concealed somewhere else, and seeming to be willing that this should be allowed to continue. We usually get other views from the hon. members who have spoken, and I am amazed to find that, simply because they are on the other side and not on the Government side, they should hold these extraordinary views. Do they not remember that a late great leader had the Blake Act passed just to prevent the carrying of weapons of this kind? Now that they are in opposition, must they change all their views on this question in order to oppose the Bill?

Mr. McKENZIE: Would the minister be able to give us the whole section so that we may have a proper comprehension of what the law is as amended?

Mr. DOHERTY: The original section is to be found in the Statutes of 1913, and at the last session that original provision was amended by adding a provision intended to produce the effect of this one. There are two reasons why we want to amend it, the reason I have already given and also because the description of weapons that were prohibited was not as extensive as in the present provision which covers any offensive weapon.

Mr. PEDLOW: Before we decide upon the question under consideration, I would like to call the attention of the Government once more to the position of the

case to which I have already referred. If this Bill passes as presented to the House, these men who, as I have already stated, have lived in the country for forty, fifty or sixty years, who believe themselves to be in every respect British subjects, who have no doubt in their homes the usual equipment for hunting, fishing and other amusements, will be up against this propostion, that agents of the Government are going around the country informing upon them because they have weapons in their homes without a license. It requires some time for these men to obtain a license. It may take weeks or months, and in the meantime the arms will be in their homes, and they will be subject to all kinds of annoyance from that class of individuals whom one meets in every community, I do not care whether they are "bootleggers," or as the hon. member for Parkdale modified the term, men who carry razors in their boots; they are all in the same class of undesirable citizens. I do not see any reason why the amendment should not be adopted by this House. If those of British origin do not carry weapons, then they will not be under any restrictions in regard to the matter. Let this apply to all citizens equally. If those of British origin and those of Canadian birth are immune, then they have nothing to complain of, and we should let the law apply to all people, and then they will all come under the same law. I have much pleasure in supporting the amendment.

Mr. EDWARDS: The hon. member for Renfrew South (Mr. Pedlow) wants a law that will apply to all citizens of the country, including even those who belong to that highly respectable society known as the Society of Friends, sometimes called the Quakers. But there was a time when the hon. gentleman did not hold quite so comprehensive a view, when he thought and voiced the opinion that there were in this country certain people who should not come under all the laws and should not assume all the responsibilities of citizens of Canada, but should be excused from certain responsibilities and activities in defending this Dominion because of their certain pecular religious beliefs. It is exceedingly surprising that a gentleman of the quiet, peaceful demeanour of the hon. member for Renfrew South should be assuming such a warlike attitude in this matter. I am very much surprised that he should have taken that attitude, for of all men in the House of Commons, he is the one man who should be trying to prevent every citizen in this country from having in his possession anything in the nature of firearms more dangerous than a popgun. But here we find him advocating in this House that, no matter who the man is who comes into this country, no matter how short a time a man has been in this country, he may load up with knives, pistols, shotguns and all that sort of thing, and be ready to go on the warpath, I suppose, whenever he feels so inclined. That is a very fine attitude for the hon. member for Renfrew South.

Mr. PEDLOW: I object.

Mr. EDWARDS: The hon. member for—

Mr. PEDLOW: I rise to a point of order.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

The CHAIRMAN: I understand the hon. member is rising to a point of order.

Mr. PEDLOW: The hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) has, with his usual definiteness of language, and with his usual forceful character, put into the mouth of the hon. member for Renfrew South words he did not utter, and on his bearing in the House, an interpretation that is not justified.

The CHAIRMAN: I must say that is not exactly a point of order.

Mr. EDWARDS: The hon. member for Renfrew South surprised me a moment ago by supporting the amendment and by evidently desiring to see people armed with defensive and dangerous weapons. I was surprised and I gave the reason for my surprise, namely, that I had always regarded the hon. gentleman as one of a peculiarly, peaceful, gentle and loving disposition. But not only has he surprised me by advocating the use of firearms by foreigners who come into this country but he has assumed a very belligerent attitude in his own person. In fact when he arose in that hostile manner a moment ago, I got down behind the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell), feeling that I would be safe, fearful lest the quiet-appearing gentleman might have some of these firearms in his possession and might take a shot at me with something more dangerous than his tongue. There is not an hon. gentleman opposite, not even the philosopher from——

An hon. MEMBER: Brome.

Mr. EDWARDS: Not the philosopher from Brome, the one who is alongside of him, the philosopher from George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs). There is not an hon. gentleman, not even the philosopher from

Brome (Mr. McMaster), nor the philosopher who has moved the amendment (Mr. Jacobs), who would take any exception to the legislation which has been on the Statute Book for years requiring a foreigner coming into this country to reside here for a matter of three years as the law used to be before he could take out his naturalization papers. If hon. gentlemen want to be perfectly consistent, they ought to argue that a foreigner, as soon as he lands on Canadian soil, should be regarded as a Canadian citizen and not be required to live here for three years before being permitted to take out his naturalization papers. What was the purpose of putting that three-year provision in the Act? Hon. gentlemen opposite agreed to that and said that it was a proper provision. Was that showing a perfect trust and confidence in an alien as soon as he came into this country, or did it not indicate on the part of this Parliament that they thought it was a proper safeguard to take, that these people coming from foreign lands into Canada should live here for a time and get into the ways of this country before they were recognized as citizens and given full citizenship? These gentlemen who argue that you should not treat these foreigners or aliens in a different manner from that in which we treat the native-born Canadian or British subject are inconsistent. If they want to be consistent and argue along that line in regard to having weapons in their possession, they should go the whole distance and remove any restriction as regards length of residence before their citizenship is acknowledged.

What is asked in this Bill? Simply that an alien coming into this country, or an alien living in this country who has not already taken out his citizenship, and who wishes to have in his possession firearms or other weapons, shall go a short distance to some person in his own locality and ask for a permit to carry a weapon. He is not asked to come to this Government, to travel a long distance, but he goes to some person who knows him very well indeed, and that person knows whether he is a proper kind of a man to give a permit to. It is a proper safeguard. It is an intimation to the alien that, for a certain length of time or until he acquires his citizenship, he is not to be treated in exactly the same way as a British subject who is fulfilling all the responsibilities of citizenship. I commend very strongly the Bill; I think it is a move in the right direction. Many crimes have been committed in this country when men were in a passion. They got in the way of carrying guns and in a fit of passion they used them. It is no argument at all to tell us that American citizens who are coming to this country will come under this provision. Very properly they should come under it. There have been very many crimes committed on the other side of the line just for lack of some such law as this. Men in the heat of passion have committed crimes which they regretted all their lives. This is a very proper provision and it should receive the unanimous support of the House.

The amendment of Mr. Jacobs was negatived on the following vote: Yeas, 34; nays, 55.

Mr. McKENZIE: Perhaps the minister can now give us the consecutive connection between the law as it exists now and this amendment.

Mr. DOHERTY: The clause will read this way with this section added to it:

> Every one is guilty of an offence and liable, on summary conviction, to a penalty not exceeding $100 and costs or to imprisonment for three months, or to both fine and costs and imprisonment, who—(a) not having a permit in Form 76, has upon his person a pistol, sheath knife, bowieknife, dagger, stiletto, metal knuckles, skull cracker or other offensive weapon that may be concealed upon the person or any air gun or any device or contrivance for muffling or stopping the sound of the report of any firearm, elsewhere than in his own dwelling-house, shop, warehouse, counting-house or premises; or—

There are provisions in regard to the sale of weapons and then:

> "(d1) being an alien, has in his possession any pistol, rifle, shot-gun, revolver, firearm or offensive weapon without having a permit therefor, which permit may be issued in the same manner, by the same persons and as near as may be in the same form as in the case of the other permits referred to in this section; or—"

Mr. DEVLIN: Might this not lead to some confusion on account of the words "being an alien"? A person who is not an alien, and who has in his possession a firearm may fall under section 118 or he may fall under section 121. There has been confusion before the courts in connection with sections 118 and 121. I might read section 121.

> Every one who has upon his person a pistol or air-gun, with intent therewith unlawfully to do injury to any other person, is guilty of an offence and liable, on summary conviction before two justices, to a penalty not exceeding two hundred dollars and not less than fifty dollars, or to imprisonment for any term not exceeding six months, with or without hard labour.

Four or five young men going out armed. They may have had no intention of committing any offence but an offence is committed and they fall subject to section 118, involving a lesser term of imprisonment or fine, instead of falling subject to 121 which provides for a greater fine.

Mr. DOHERTY: I think the point is well taken.

Mr. McKENZIE: I wish to call the attention of the minister to the effect of this legislation. This is an innovation and provision should be made to prevent an abuse of the law. I am not finding fault with the Minister of Justice for enacting the law but it is capable of abuse. It has been disclosed to us here to-day that there are alien people who have lived in Canada for sixty years, perhaps longer, who are peaceful and law-abiding. One of these men perhaps has a gun in his house. Perhaps it has been there for a great many years. It is not used very much but perhaps it is used once in a while for sport. This law makes that peace-loving citizen subject to be penalized and prosecuted in the courts. He has no unlawful intent whatever but he just has a gun in his possession. He never intended to do anything hurtful, he is not a dangerous citizen; nevertheless, this law which we are passing to-day leaves him open to be penalized before the court and to be subjected to a fine or imprisonment or both. In a case of this kind should there not be some restriction as to the opportunity for prosecution?

I think if a permit were required from the Minister of Justice, or from the Attorney General of the province, before such prosecution should be instituted, it would give some safeguard. I would then feel satisfied that no person would be prosecuted unless there was some real justification for it. If some such restriction as I have mentioned were to be required wherever these proceedings were to be instituted in any of our courts I would then feel that possibly no great injustice would result.

Mr. DOHERTY: I can appreciate the desire to avoid this law being applied in a way to give rise to abuses, or to unnecessary hardship, but I might point out that in effect we have a great many dispositions of the law which people may innocently so to speak, or ignorantly at all events, offend against and be liable under the law to punishment. But I think that in any case such as the leader of the Opposition suggests, in the first place you have this protection—that the magistrates, having all the circumstances before them, would give consideration to those circumstances in the infliction of the penalty. In the second place, there is the further protection: I think I might undertake to guarantee that in cases with circumstances such as indicated, either my hon. friend the Solicitor General or myself would be very ready to recommend the remission of the penalty. I can understand that there are conceivable cases where a man might be arrested under such circumstances; but I may say this—as showing how slight after all the danger is—that we have in force under the War Measures Act an Order in Council practically to the same effect. From my personal knowledge—at all events from my official knowledge—I am aware that in the enforcement of that law the police officers who are charged with carrying it out gave warning; they did not jump upon a farmer who happens to have a firearm in his house and arrest him the first time they came across him. In such a case they invariably pointed out to him the nature of the offence and I think in most cases the man got his permit and that was the whole of it. Yet it is a law that is susceptible, perhaps, of abuse. On the other hand, it is a law which the persons who will be employed in enforcing will have no interest in making operate harshly, and I think we may safely leave the matter without providing a special safeguard. Take a law that is applicable to all of us, the law against carrying concealed weapons. It is quite easy to suppose that any one of us might quite innocently, and for a perfectly innocent purpose, on some particular occasion have a weapon in our possession. Of course if that were so we would be liable to be prosecuted and to be punished; but I fancy that the courts charged with the application of the law would take into consideration the circumstances in measuring any penalty that ought to be imposed. I may say this too, that leaving the matter without any special restriction it has been found to be of very great advantage in dealing with criminal classes. With regard to the provision of general disposition, I think also it would be found that the application of this disposition, in the large number of cases, would be with regard to people who for some other reason have rendered themselves liable to having their premises looked into. While I appreciate the fact that there may be some occasional cases of the kind the hon. gentleman refers to, still it hardly seems to me to be so probable as to necessitate our making some specific disposition for protection in such cases. It would be

very difficult indeed, I think, or at least would be very cumbersome, if a police officer discovering an offender in the case of an offence of this kind had to hold his hand until communication could be had with the Attorney General of the province or with the Attorney General of Canada. I think it might operate to defeat the law in many instances. On the whole I do not think there is more reason to anticipate the danger of abuse of this law than in the case of innumerable other laws that stand upon the statute book and which people may ignorantly or innocently offend against.

Mr. CRERAR: I was not in the Chamber during the early part of the discussion and therefore I would like to ask what the machinery is by which permits are to be issued. Who are to issue the permits and are they to be good only for a specific time? If so, for how long?

Mr. DOHERTY: The provision about the issuing of permits is to be found in the Criminal Code. It provides:

> Upon sufficient cause being shown, any officer of the Royal North West Mounted Police, or Commissioner of Dominion Police, or Superintendent of Provincial Police, or stipendiary, or district magistrate or police magistrate, or acting police magistrate, or sheriff, or chief constable, of any city, incorporated town, or district municipality, may grant any applicant therefor, as to whose discretion and good character he is satisfied, a permit in Form 76 for such period not exceeding twelve months as he deems fit.

That is the provision for the obtaining and for the duration of the permit.

Mr. CRERAR: That would mean that a fresh permit would be required at the expiration of the twelve months?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, the man would require to obtain a fresh permit at the end of the twelve months, as every one would require to do if he wanted to carry a weapon that was susceptible of being concealed. We thought we had made ample provision so as to render it easy to find an officer who would grant the permit; and that after all, as compared with the evils resulting from the possession of these arms, it was a trifling inconvenience even if a man had to go once a year and get his permit renewed.

Mr. CRERAR: One other question: an ordinary justice of the peace is not qualified to issue the permit?

Mr. DOHERTY: No, but the chief constable of any city, or any incorporated town or district municipality may grant it. I think at the time the section was passed we endeavoured to enumerate a sufficient number of authorities so that it would be possible anywhere throughout the country with comparative ease to obtain this permit. Of course I can understand that in sparsely settled districts there may be greater difficulty in obtaining the permit than in more populous districts. It was not at the time thought wise to authorize every justice of the peace to do it because, to speak frankly—I am speaking now of the province I know best—even in the older provinces justices of the peace are almost as numerous as king's counsel, and I do not know that it is always a certificate of discretion that a man should happen to be named a justice of the peace. It was therefore deemed better to limit the power to the officers that were mentioned in the statute, it being thought at the same time that that would practically meet the requirements of almost all, if not all, the communities of the Dominion.

Mr. CRERAR: While I am in sympathy with the general purpose of this amendment, I might point out that there are districts in Western Canada where it will impose very considerable hardship on some of the people who come to this country. Take for instance, American citizens who come to Canada to take up land and make their homes—they are individually liable to the provisions of this section. Now there are many districts in the West where such a person would be required to travel probably fifteen, twenty or thirty miles to secure a permit to have in his possession a shot-gun to shoot prairie chickens or gophers.

It does seem to me that that is rather a severe application of the principle, and I would suggest to the Minister of Justice that it might be worth while to consider some amendment, either by extending the scope of the previous amendment so that a justice of the peace would have authority to issue these permits or by making some other provision to meet the cases that I know exist.

Mr. DOHERTY: I would not like to extend the amendment to all justices of the peace. However, I will be glad to look into what possibilities there may be of providing further facilities. But it does occur to me that men of the class to whom the hon. gentleman (Mr. Crerar) refers would require to go to some centre at least once a year for other purposes than to get these permits, and perhaps they would arrange to get them at the same time. I should think that there are very few places where

a man would not be able at least once a year to conveniently get in contact with a Mounted Police officer—because any Mounted Police officer may issue a permit —or a member of the Provincial Police force. Of course, I would not compare my knowledge of the West with that of my hon. friend, but I should think such places must be comparatively rare and will become still more so. However, I will be glad to consult with him as to whether we could designate some officer or officers to be added to that list and so make it more easy to obtain a permit.

Mr. CRERAR: In that regard, Mr. Chairman, it must be remembered that every district has a justice of the peace, and it seems to me that such an officer should be just as well qualified to issue these permits, as, for instance, a police constable.

Mr. McKENZIE: Do the old provisions of this subsection (d1) enable a magistrate to give a permit to carry a rifle or a shot-gun?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes. The provision in this subsection is that the permit required may be issued in the same manner and by the same persons and as near as may be in the same form as in the case of the other permits referred to in this section. This subsection will become part of section 118.

Mr. McKENZIE: Does the section name the things for which the permit can be given?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes. As regards the form, the hon. gentleman will notice that it is to be "as near as may be in the same form." The section provides that a man shall not carry these particular weapons "without having a permit therefor." That is, a permit for the particular kind of weapons that are mentioned here, and the form of permit being as near as may be in conformity with the form for other weapons, I would be under the impression that it would specify the weapon which the man desired to be authorized to carry. I was just looking for the form——

Mr. McKENZIE: It was not the form I had in mind. I take it that the old section specifies the arms for which a permit can be granted, and if that section does not cover the arms mentioned here, then it is certainly not susceptible to any extension; it will be strictly construed.

Mr. DOHERTY: If I correctly grasp the effect of this particular section, it requires a permit for one or the other of the different weapons mentioned. "A permit therefor;" that is a permit for some one of these weapons. Without going back to the other sections, this section itself would require, for instance, if I were an alien and wanted to have a rifle, that I should have a permit for a rifle. And it is said with regard to the form in which that permit is to be issued that it shall be "as near as may be in the same form as in the case of other permits." If the other permits deal with other weapons, and I require under this a permit for a rifle, I would think that that is sufficient to prescribe that the weapon must be specified in the form. Then I turn to the form and I find this:

> Permission is hereby given so and so to carry—

And then there is a blank, in regard to which it is said:

> (Insert character of weapon).

I think that form will find its application to this present section, and that whoever issued a permit would insert in it the particular weapon which comes under this section and which the party applying for the permit desires to carry.

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not wish the Minister of Justice to suppose I am raising a point which is not well founded. The form is nothing. It must comply with the statutory provision, or at least if the form is different from the provision it must give way as there must not be anything in the form wider than the statute. I wanted to know if the statute upon which that form is based provides for the granting of a permit for carrying a rifle. If it does not, when I come before a magistrate for a permit to carry a rifle, he refers to the Act—and although I am not familiar with it I take it that it enumerates certain weapons for which a permit can be given. If he does not find a rifle or a shotgun enumerated, he would say, "I have not authority to give you a permit for a rifle or shotgun, because the statute does not specify it."

Mr. DOHERTY: When this Bill is passed this particular section which we are now discussing will be added to and become part of the original statute, and the section will then provide for permits for carrying rifles, and under this particular section, which will then form part of that statute, we have the provision that "a permit therefor," that is, for carrying any of these weapons, may be issued by all the persons who are men-

tioned in the section of which this will become a subsection.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Mr. Chairman, does not the hon. minister believe that the term "offensive weapon" should be more clearly defined? Many objects which are not by their nature offensive weapons may become so under certain circumstances.

Mr. McMASTER: A razor.

Mr. McKENZIE: An axe.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Or a knife, or the electrical battery of the hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat).

Mr. DOHERTY: It might be very difficult to undertake to give an absolutely comprehensive definition of what is an offensive weapon. After all, the words have an ordinary everyday conversational meaning, and I do think we can trust the courts to determine whether under the particular circumstances of a case a certain weapon can be properly described as an offensive weapon. I am not certain whether in the Criminal Code as it stands there is any definition of an offensive weapon, although the term "offensive weapon" is not finding its way into the Criminal Code for the first time under this section, for the other sections of the Act deal adequately with offensive weapons without a special definition of the term. In any event, "offensive weapons" is defined in subsection 24 of the interpretation clause.

Mr. McKENZIE: Take the case of a man from the United States who is travelling through Canada en route to Newfoundland and who is carrying with him firearms for the purposes of his sport in Newfoundland; would this law apply in such a case? It would be rather a hardship if such a person was a criminal during the time that he was passing through Canada simply because he had firearms in his possession.

Mr. DOHERTY: I think that the law would, strictly speaking, apply to persons of that class. As I pointed out in answer to the member for Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) while some gentlemen travelling through this country may possibly—although I do not think it at all probable—be disturbed by some policeman because they are carrying weapons of this kind, still, I do not think that the inconvenience that they may be subjected to compares at all in gravity with the importance of our having the general protection. It is very often the fellow who comes in from another country carrying arms who is the most dangerous man to deal with. We have to count somewhat on this law being carried out, as other laws are carried out and enforced, with common sense; and I doubt whether any officer would be so officious as, upon an explanation of circumstances of that kind, to insist upon making an arrest. In any case, if inconvenience followed, I think we would be quite able to remedy it. As I say, it is probable that if you take the letter of the law a man under the circumstances related by my hon. friend might find himself an offender. On the other hand, how are you going to undertake to protect everybody who for one reason or another may be in his intentions just as innocent as that gentleman who came across the border? If you undertake to do that, it will be very difficult indeed to make a law that will be effective. For example, under the general law against carrying concealed weapons, any citizen of Canada is liable to be stopped by a policeman on the street and searched to see whether he has concealed weapons or not. That is liable to happen to any of us; still, it never happens. I do not think, therefore, that we have reason to apprehend as a serious actual danger that any very grave consequences will follow on the fact that under the letter of the law what is suggested might happen. If it did happen in a few cases, I do think that our own protection is more important than the convenience of these visitors.

Mr. HAY: The ex-Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Crerar) summed up my views in the very few words that he uttered in respect to this question. We in the back benches are in unfortunate position of being unable to hear much of what is said by ministers in the front seats.

Mr. DEVLIN: We will move them back presently.

Mr. HAY: But it would seem that some provision should be made under which aliens living in districts far remote from cities and towns should be enabled to procure a permit from a justice of the peace or even the clerk of the municipality to carry firearms or have them in their possession. It is most necessary that these men should have shotguns in their possession in order to protect their property at certain seasons of the year and it would be unfortunate if we passed any legislation here that would make it difficult for them to do that. We should give due consideration to this matter, because it is one of importance, particularly to the people of the western

country. We have many citizens in our part of the country who have been living there for a great number of years but who have neglected to take out naturalization papers. Under this proposed legislation some overzealous representative of the law might prosecute men who would be guiltless of any offence against the law so far as their knowledge was concerned. The representations made by the leader of the Opposition are quite applicable under the circumstances, as are those made by the ex-Minister of Agriculture. I ask the minister to consider the matter carefully before doing anything to work a hardship on these men.

Mr. DOHERTY: I should be glad to consider it. May I point this out in connection with what my hon. friend has said: he suggests that the clerk of the municipality would be a proper person to issue permits. But under the law as it stands, permits may be obtained from the chief constable of the municipality, who, my hon. friend will admit, is quite as accessible as the clerk of the municipality.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported, read the third time and passed.

DOMINION LANDS ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Sir George Foster (for the Minister of the Interior), Bill No. 15, to amend the Dominion Lands Act, was read the third time and passed.

GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILWAY SYSTEM.

BILL CORRECTING CLERICAL ERROR IN ACT OF LAST SESSION.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (for the Minister of Railways and Canals), moved the second reading of Bill No. 23, to amend an Act to confirm two Orders of the Governor General in Council respecting the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway System.

Mr. McKENZIE: Explain.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: This Bill is simply to provide for the insertion of the word "Terminal" which was left out in the Act sought to be amended, so that the name will appear, as was intended, as Grand Trunk Pacific Terminal Elevator Company, Limited.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the second time, and the House went into Committee thereon; Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—clerical error in Order in Council as printed in Act corrected:

[Mr. Hay.]

Mr. McKENZIE: It is not often we have an opportunity of making any inquiries about this railroad.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Minister of Railways is not here this afternoon. He has some very important work to perform, and I took charge of this Bill for him. If my hon. friend desires to ask any questions, we might report the Bill and he could put his questions on the third reading.

Mr. McKENZIE: I should like to put on Hansard what I was going to say, so that the minister will be prepared to answer me on the third reading. I should like a statement from the minister of the different steps that were taken by him either as Minister of Railways or as receiver for this road since it passed into the possession of the Government. I am sure the House would like to know what moneys have been advanced by this Government for betterments or other purposes, what have been the earnings of the road, and generally how the Government stands in regard to the undertaking. Are we losing money, or holding our own? Is it the intention of the Government to bring this receivership to an end, or what is their policy in connection with it?

Section agreed to.

Bill reported.

ROYAL NORTHWEST MOUNTED POLICE ACT AMENDMENT.

PENSIONS AND COMPASSIONATE ALLOWANCES.

On motion of Hon. N. W. Rowell (President of the Privy Council) the House went into Committee on the following proposed resolution, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Resolved, That it is expedient to provide in the proposed Act to amend the Royal Northwest Mounted Police Act (Bill 22), now before the House, that section 51 of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police Act, Chapter 91 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1906, as enacted by section 13 of Chapter 69 of the Statutes of 1919, be amended so as to provide that the Governor in Council may as to him seems fit grant a pension to the widow and a compassionate allowance to each of the children of any officer who having completed ten years' service, was at the time of his death on full pay or who having completed ten years' service was at the time of his death in receipt of a pension; and that section 21 of said Chapter 91 be amended so as to increase the salary of the Commissioner of Police to $5,000.

Mr. ROBB: What is the present salary of the commissioner?

Mr. ROWELL: $4,000. The increase is due to the increased responsibilities which

will be put upon the commissioner who will now be head of the amalgamated force, and be responsible for its administration.

Mr. McKENZIE: I cannot see any more reason why a pension of this kind should be paid in the case of a mounted policeman after ten years' service than in the case of any other servant of the Government engaged in any other occupation. The life of a mounted policeman is a very pleasant one, as I understand it. It is an outside life, with no particular danger, consisting largely of going round the country on horseback, or by rail, or in any other way thought proper for the discharge of his duties. Compare that life with a conductor or a brakeman on the railroad. A brakeman's life is very much harder than that of a policeman, and no matter how long he stays with the road, whether as brakeman or conductor, he gets no pension unless he contributes to some benefit or insurance fund. I mention the brakeman just as one instance. The same is true of civil servants. Some may say that they have a particularly good time and have nothing to do. I do not agree. Civil servants are doing very useful work, and a great many of them are very capable men. We could not get along without them, although we might get along with considerable fewer than we have, and I can see no good reason why at the end of ten years' service a pension should be granted to the widow of a mounted policeman and her children for the rest of their lives, and not given in the case of other employees of the Government. Perhaps the minister will explain why he singles out a policeman and makes him the ward of the Government in this very satisfactory and kindly way over other servants who are similarly employed.

5 p.m.

Mr. ROWELL: This Bill does not introduce any new principle. The law has been, I should imagine, ever since the Mounted Police was established, that a pension should be provided for the members of the force after they had served a certain definite period, on a scale which bears a direct relation to the years of service. It is based on the number of years they serve, and the amount of the pension varies according to the length of service. I quite concede that a strong argument may be made for some kind of a pension system for the Civil Service as a whole, but we are dealing now with a pension system which has been established for decades, and the object of this is to correct what appears to be an anomaly in the existing law. As the law now stands, if the officer has completed ten years of service and retires or is retired under the special conditions mentioned in the Act a very limited pension may be given to him, and in case of his death, if he is in receipt of a pension, the widow and children may be allowed by the Governor in Council a pension not to exceed one-half of what the pensioner was drawing. This is not a pension as of right; it is a pension to meet cases of need. There are cases where under those conditions the Governor in Council would grant a small pension to the widow and children. While that is the law in case the man had retired after ten years and was drawing a pension, yet the law appears to be that if he dies after ten years' service and at the time of his death was still in the service drawing full pay, there is no power to provide any pension for the widow and children. The object of the amendment is to put the widow and children of a Mounted Policeman who has served more than ten years and who is still in service at the time of his death in the same position as the widow and children of a Mounted Policeman who had served ten years and then retired and who was in receipt of a pension at the time of his death. In other words, we could not see why the widow and children of the man who had served ten years and who died in the service should be left in a less advantageous position than the widow and children of a man who had retired after having served just the same length of time, but was on pension at the date of his death.

Mr. McKENZIE: They could not be the widow and children of a man who was still in the service.

Mr. ROWELL: To put it more accurately, a man who was in the service at the time of his death. This question has arisen on an actual case that has just come to our attention. A very efficient officer who had served over ten years has died, leaving a widow and three small children penniless. If he had been retired a year ago on account of ill health—and he had been in ill health for some time—and had been in receipt of a pension, we could, under the existing law have given his wife and children a pension to a very limited amount; but he was not retired; he died in the service. Therefore, as the law stands, we cannot make any provision for the widow and children, and this is simply to empower the Governor in Council to make the same provision for the widow and children of a man who dies in the service after ten years of service as we can do in the case of the man

who has already retired and was in receipt of a pension.

Mr. EDWARDS: Supposing a policeman who had not necessarily been ten years in the service was killed in the discharge of his duty. Is any provision made by the law for his widow and other dependents by way of pension, gratuity, bonus or anything of that kind?

Mr. ROWELL: I regret to say I cannot answer that offhand. I do not recall that there is any provision and yet there may be in such a case. My recollection is that he must serve ten years before he becomes entitled to a pension.

Resolution concurred in.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Rowell, the resolution was referred to the Committee of the Whole House to be considered in connection with Bill No. 22, which is now in Committee of the Whole House.

ROYAL NORTHWEST MOUNTED POLICE ACT AMENDMENT.

House again in Committee on Bill No. 22, to amend the Royal Northwest Mounted Police Act—Hon. Mr. Rowell—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: When this Bill was last before the Committee, all the clauses of the said Bill had been adopted. The title had been allowed to stand for further amendments.

Mr. ROWELL: I now wish to amend clause 2 of the Bill in accordance with the resolution which has been referred to the Committee.

I move:

That the following subclause be added to clause 2 of the Bill:

(5) Section 21 of the said Act as enacted by chapter 47 of the statutes of 1913, is amended by striking out "$4,000" in the ninth line thereof, and substituting therefor "$5,000."

That is the clause that fixes the salary of the commissioner.

Mr. McKENZIE: Who is the commissioner?

Mr. ROWELL: Commissioner Perry. He has been commissioner for over twenty-five years.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. ROWELL: I move:

That the following subclause be inserted in Clause 2 of the Bill:—

"(6) Section 51 of the said Act as enacted by chapter 69 of the statutes of 1919, is amended by substituting the word "ten" for the word "twenty" in the fourth line thereof.

That is to carry out the other amendment embodied in the resolution.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. ROWELL: There is one other verbal amendment in subclause 1 of clause 2 if I might ask the Committee to return to that. I move to amend subclause 1 of clause 2 by inserting the words "by commission" after the word "appoint" in the sixteenth line of the Bill.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. McKENZIE: Would the minister tell us what the expense of this force is, including officers and men? What is the annual charge upon the exchequer for maintaining this force?

Mr. ROWELL: I regret I am not able to give my hon. friend exact information. My recollection is that on the basis of a force of 1,200 men, which was our authorized strength prior to the amendment of last session, the expenditure was in the neighbourhood of $2,000,000. Provision was made for an increase of the force to 2,500 men. If the force is increased to the authorized strength the cost will be approximately double that amount. I can secure the figures for my hon. friend but I am sorry I do not have them before me.

Mr. McKENZIE: I would be very glad if the minister would take some opportunity of putting on record the details as to what this force costs including all incidental expenses.

Mr. ROWELL: I shall be very glad to do so.

Bill reported.

PATENTS OF INVENTION.

On motion of Hon. Charles J. Doherty (Minister of Justice) Bill No. 25, respecting patents of invention, was read a second time and the House went into Committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1,—minister to have power to extend time in certain cases for doing any act, etc., under Patent Act.

Mr. McKENZIE: We are quite familiar with cases of this kind where parties from time to time claim that a patent has lapsed because of some unforeseen circumstance. They used to come before Parliament and apply for special leave to renew the patent. We have had many applications of that kind. Private Bills were in-

troduced for the purpose. The parties interested had an opportunity to be heard before the Committee on Private Bills. One circumstance may arise in connection with a patent that parties have begun to produce the article which is supposed to be covered by the patent. They have invested a large amount of money for the purpose of manufacturing the article and they have got fully under way in the business. I find no provision here that all the parties who may be interested in a patent must be called before the minister and fully heard. I think we should provide for a case of that kind so that if a man who has allowed his rights, or his application, to lapse comes back for restoration, any person who may be involved in the production of the article covered by the patent shall be heard because he certainly would have an interest as well as the man who is claiming the patent rights.

Mr. DOHERTY: If the hon. gentleman will refer to section 3 he will see that the situation is contemplated and that provision is made for it. Section 3 deals precisely with the case that my hon. friend has in mind. For failure to do something a patent has lapsed. Some one else goes into the business and starts to manufacture. No doubt the rights or interests of that party who, when he started out was doing that which was perfectly lawful, must be taken into consideration. Provision is made that:

> In any case . . . . where a patent has become void . . . . and during the period when such patent was void any person has commenced lawfully to manufacture, use or sell the invention covered by such patent, the patentee or proprietor of the patent shall not be entitled to any claim, action or demand in respect of such manufacture or sale, or the use of the article so manufactured or sold; and moreover the minister upon hearing the parties and considering all the facts and circumstances of the case may impose such terms and conditions (including if he so deems advisable, permission to continue such manufacture, use or sale), to which his order shall be subject, as the minister may deem reasonably necessary for the protection of persons who have commenced lawfully to manufacture, use or sell the invention covered by the patent.

That provision was intended to meet the case which the hon. gentleman has in view and it seems to me that unless something more satisfactory can be suggested it is sufficient.

Mr. McKENZIE: The only thing that I wish to bring to the notice of the minister particularly is the question of notice. It is quite possible that the application may be placed before the minister, or before the deputy minister, when the facts on one side would be presented and a perfunctory notice, or attempt at notice, given. I would suggest to the minister, however, that provision should be made so that it would be clearly proven to the satisfaction of the minister that all parties interested were notified of the hearing. Sometimes provision is made for gazetting such notice but that is no notice to the ordinary man. Only about one-twentieth of one per cent of the Canadian people read the Canada Gazette, and if notice by publication is to be necessary at all it should be in some newspaper where the interested parties reside and where it would most naturally come to their attention. Or else provision should be made for such other regulation as the minister might deem necessary in order to make it certain that the parties concerned would have proper and sufficient notice that such a hearing was to take place.

Mr. DOHERTY: I fancy that the minister, in the exercise of his powers, inasmuch as he is required to hear the parties, would see the propriety of notice being given. I think we can trust any minister administering an Act of this kind to see that sufficient notice is given. It is difficult to prescribe just the kind of notice that would be suitable to each case but I would be glad to make this suggestion: That after the word "parties" in the eighteenth line the words be added "after such notice as he may deem requisite and sufficient."

Amendment agreed to.

Section as amended agreed to.

On section 4—proviso respecting rights under Treaty of Peace:

Mr. McMASTER: I notice in the section the words "British Empire" and I wish to suggest to the minister how wise it would be to employ the words "associated British commonwealths" or some such phrase instead of "British Empire." No later than the day before yesterday I had an example of how dangerous it is to continue the employment of these words. I had the privilege of talking with an old friend, who for many years has been employed in religious work in India, and he said that the feelings of educated East Indians were very much aroused through our prohibition of Asiatic emigration even from India. In discussing the matter with him I asked whether this feeling of soreness was directed merely against Canada, or whether it was not also directed against the British Government.

He expressed to me the idea that it was also directed against the British Government because the very words "British Empire" connoted the idea that Canada was in a position of inferiority to Great Britain, and that legislation by us, and for which we are in fact solely responsible, was, through the mere nomenclature of our organization, considered to be legislation for which the people of Great Britain and Ireland were responsible. Now that we have, by our signing of the Peace Treaty, declared ourselves to the rest of the world as being a sovereign nation, or a nation reaching out to sovereignty, I ask the minister is it not a mistake to continue the employment of words which connote an entirely different idea.

Mr. DOHERTY: I doubt if it rests with us to change the name even though we may be of opinion that the relations of the nations, the group of nations, that constitute what is designated as the British Empire, have grown to be such that perhaps the word "Empire" is not a suitable designation. I think there is a good deal to be said for that proposition; but though we may entertain that view, still the British Empire is the name by which this group of nations is known, and I hardly think that we could take upon ourselves, of our own authority, to change that name. The whole question which the hon. gentleman raises might in this connection be avoided, and perhaps it would have been a more logical thing to have done, by not singling out the British Empire at all. Inasmuch as the provision speaks of "the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers, on the one part, and Germany on the other." If we used the language "any other power with which the said Allied or Associated Powers are or have been at war" then we would not raise the question at all. I do not attach great importance to the point myself, but I think it will make the phrase more correct as we describe the Treaty with Germany as being a treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers on the one part and Germany on the other, and the war as having been between the Allied and Associated Powers on the one part, and Germany on the other. Such being the case, it would be more correct, as it occurs to me now, to take that phrasing which would avoid the question which the hon. gentleman raises. Therefore I beg leave to move:

To amend clause 4 by striking out the words "British Empire is" in the thirty-seventh line on page 2 of the Bill, and replacing the said words by the following, "said Allied and Associated Powers are," and by replacing the word "has" in the same line by the word "have."

[Mr. McMaster.]

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: It seems to me that the member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) proposes to make some change in the statute which affects our standing as a Dominion associated with the British Empire, and I do not agree with him at all in that direction until there has been a full discussion of the question in this House, and I hope I will be present at that discussion. I would not at all agree with him that we are to define in such a roundabout way our future in connection with the Empire even in an Act of Parliament of this kind.

Mr. DOHERTY: We have not defined it at all.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: I have no objection to the minister's suggestion; but the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMaster) is framing a constitution for this country in a roundabout way, and I hope, subsequently there will be a full discussion of the whole proposition.

Mr. CURRIE: I would like to ask the minister what effect this legislation will have on German patents. Unfortunately I was not here at the beginning of his address.

Mr. DOHERTY: The real purpose of this legislation is to make provision for questions that may arise between our own nationals. With regard to German patents, that is to say, either to patents issued in Germany and held by our nationals, or patents issued by us and held by German nationals, what will happen to them is governed by the Treaty of Peace, and that is the reason why we have inserted a clause here that nothing in this Act is to affect anybody's rights as provided for in the Treaty.

Mr. CURRIE: But that does not answer the question I was going to ask the minister. During the war a number of German patents were taken out in this country and machines were built after the designs of those patents. Under this law will the Germans be able to come in and claim a royalty on all such machines operated during the war? I know of two or three German machines that had to be built here.

Mr. DOHERTY: This amendment does not affect that case at all. The rights of parties in the case the hon. gentleman (Mr. Currie) refers to would be governed and determined by the conditions of the Treaty, and not by this Act.

Mr. CURRIE: For instance, there is a German patent for the separation of minerals, such as silver and gold, by means of oil. That patent right was obtained in Canada by a German group, and they also secured the patent in the United States. They then transferred the Canadian rights to the United States, and throughout the whole war those people were threatening suits and doing everything they possibly could to prevent the production of silver and gold in the Canadian north country. Now, what effect will this Bill have on their position when the case comes before the courts on the question of their right to royalties on the patent? It is a serious matter involving millions of dollars.

Mr. DOHERTY: This Bill will have absolutely no effect whatever. The question is with regard to the rights to patents in this country held by German nationals on the one hand, or to patents in Germany held by our nationals on the other hand, and this very clause is inserted because those rights are governed by the Treaty stipulations. On a suitable occasion I would be very glad to give the hon. gentleman what I understand to be the effect of the Treaty with regard to those rights. But to make my hon. friend's mind perfectly at ease, I may say that those questions are not governed by this Act, and that is what section four says; they are governed by the stipulations of the Treaty. Although I have not the text of the Treaty before me, I think I would be safe in saying for his information that if he will refer to it he will find that although under the terms of that Treaty patent rights are or may be revived, any such revival is to be subject to such provisions as we, any of the Allied or Associated Powers, may deem fit to make for the protection of people who while the German patents were in abeyance have acquired interests with regard to them. I think he will find that the Treaty amply provides for the protection of our nationals in cases of that kind.

Mr. CURRIE: Glancing through this Bill, it seems to me that it is really intended for the revival of German patents. The officials of the Government may issue a patent to a man or may renew a latent patent. For instance, in the case of a German patent which existed before the war and lapsed here during the war, a German can come along, and although we may have been using the machines covered by that patent, he can say, "Well, owing to the war I was unable to renew this patent. I want it renewed now." Thereupon the minister must cause an inquiry to be made, and if the Treaty permits it he may renew that German's patent without regard to any rights that may have accrued to Canadians in the meantime. I believe it is a great mistake tying up our patent and copyright law to these foreign countries, and for that reason I would like to know if it is the intention of the minister to bring in a revision of the whole Bill next session. There are lots of things in our Patent Act that require attention.

Mr. DOHERTY: There may be; I have not given it consideration. But may I point this out, that if the hon. gentleman will read the first section of this Bill he will find that it is intended principally for any distinguished soldier like himself who because he was absent at the war may have failed to comply with some requirements and as time went by he forfeited his patent rights. Now, we want power to remedy that state of things.

Mr. CURRIE: That does not apply to Germany.

Mr. DOHERTY: As regards the Germans, we have made it very clear that the Treaty settles their rights, and therefore we say that this Act will have no application to any rights that are governed by the Treaty. The hon. gentleman need have no apprehension on that point.

Mr. CURRIE: All right, if the hon. minister says so.

Mr. CANNON: What is the meaning in the thirty-eighth line "at war with regard to industrial property"?

Mr. DOHERTY: There ought to be a comma after the word "war." I move that section 4 be amended by inserting a comma after the words "at war" on line 38.

Amendment agreed to, and section as amended agreed to.

Bill reported.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: When shall the Bill be read the third time?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY: If consented to, I should be glad to have the Bill read the third time now, and I so move.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: This motion, of course, can be accepted only with the unanimous consent of the House.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the third time and passed.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

MANUFACTURE AND IMPORTATION OF OLEOMARGARINE.

On the motion of Hon. Hugh Guthrie (for the Minister of Agriculture) the House went into Committee on the following proposed resolution, Mr. Boivin in the Chair:

Resolved, That it is expedient to provide,—

1. That the manufacture in Canada and importation into Canada of oleomargarine be permitted until the thirty-first day of August, 1920; and the offering for sale, the sale and the having in possession for sale of oleomargarine be permitted until the first day of March, 1921.

2. That no person shall import oleomargarine into Canada or shall manufacture oleomargarine in Canada without having first obtained a license to do so, and such license may be cancelled for the violation of any of the provisions of the proposed legislation or regulations made in pursuance thereof.

3. That oleomargarine imported into Canada under the provisions of the proposed legislation be imported free of customs duty.

4. That no person shall sell, offer for sale, or have in his possession for sale any oleomargarine, unless the packages containing it are marked or labelled as prescribed.

5. That the Governor in Council may make regulations as to the importation, manufacture, inspection and sale of oleomargarine, the issue of licenses, the seizure and confiscation of apparatus and materials used in the manufacture of oleomargarine in contravention of the provisions of the proposed legislation, and for the efficient enforcement and operation of the proposed Act; and further that penalties may be imposed for violation of the Act.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This resolution proposes to extend the Orders in Council which have been in force since July, 1917, in regard to the manufacture, importation and sale of oleomargarine. The Orders in Council as originally passed were perhaps a little indefinite as to the length of time during which they should remain in effect. The first Order in Council was passed on October 23, 1917, and provided that it should have effect for the period during which the then abnormal condition should continue, the conclusion of such period to be determined by the Minister of Agriculture with the approval of the Governor in Council, and it was passed as a war measure only. This Order in Council was supplemented by a subsequent one passed on July 18, 1918, rescinding the first Order in Council. The chief difference between the two is that the regulations attached to them differ rather materially, the regulations passed in connection with the second Order in Council being the more stringent. The Order in Council of July 18, 1918, has not yet expired, but as it was passed under the War Measures Act it might be said that it might expire almost any time now, and it has therefore been deemed proper to introduce this resolution to continue the Order in Council in effect until the 31st of August next. Importation and manufacture therefore, are permitted until 31st August next, which is about ten months, and provision is made for the sale for a further period until March 21, 1921. The regulations, I assume, as set out in the resolution are in general terms about the same as the regulations now in force.

[Mr. Deputy Speaker.]

Mr. CAHILL: What is the objection to making this legislation permanent, rather than extending it from time to time by Order in Council?

Mr. GUTHRIE: There are two opinions upon that question. The matter was pretty thoroughly debated in the House during the session of 1918, and the House was by no means of one opinion. Many men consider that oleomargarine is not a proper article of food. Others take the ground that its permanent adoption in this country would be a serious blow to the dairying interests of Canada. There is a great deal to be said in favour of each of these views. Personally, I see no very great objection to making the policy permanent. However, the Government has not gone that far, and until the matter has been more fully discussed and things become more normal all the Government seeks to do by this resolution is to extend the present Orders in Council. I have no doubt the time will come, and in the near future, when the Government or the House will have to determine upon a policy in regard to oleomargarine.

Mr. McKENZIE: This is where our much-vaunted Department of Health could come into play and tell us whether oleomargarine is fit to be used for human food, whether it is wholesome or otherwise. I see my good friend from South Toronto (Mr. Sheard) here, who is quite an authority on matters of this kind, and who took a very prominent and eloquent part in promoting the Department of Health. Possibly he will give us some side lights, if not head light, on this question. If a Health Department is required at all, and there is no doubt that it is, I think this is a case where the Minister of Health or an officer of the Health Department could be of service to the Government and the country. I should like to know whether oleomargarine is a wholesome food. Perhaps the Solicitor General (Mr. Guthrie) can tell us its ingredients. I will be perfectly honest and tell my hon. friend that

I do not know them myself. I tried to eat oleomargarine once, and I would not try it a second time. I do not know that I would have tried it once if I had known what it really was. It certainly did not agree with me at all, but that is neither here nor there. If oleomargarine is nutritious, and a suitable and proper food for the men, women and children of this country to use, if it nourishes the body properly, and is obtainable cheaper than butter, its use should be encouraged; but if it is not a wholesome food and does not nourish the body properly it is too dear at any price. I think that before laymen like myself should give their sanction to its adoption as a food, we should have some reliable information from some department of the Government as to the value and safety of introducing this commodity into the country. This is not a new question at all, although oleomargarine to myself is new. I do not know that it is very much used in the part of the country from which I come, but it may be. I trust the Solicitor General will satisfy the House, that, so far as he knows, oleomargarine is a proper commodity to be introduced as a food.

Mr. SHEARD: As the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) has been gracious enough to make some reference to myself I think, I may say that I did intend to say a word or two on this subject. At the outset let me say that among the fats there are three basic or neutral fats, olein, margarine and stearin. Their essential difference is the difference in the temperature at which they remain fluid. Olein is a fluid at ordinary temperatures. Stearin is solid at all ordinary temperatures. Margarine is betwixt and between; thus, it would be fluid on a hot summer's day, and solid at an outside temperature such as we have had to-day. The purity of these fats determines absolutely whether they are deleterious or otherwise. The very moment a fat begins to decompose—it makes absolutely no difference whether it is olein, stearin or margarine, certain acids are produced, most of which are poisonous, and all of which are strongly odorous. The quantity of acids produced by decomposition is practically the same in the case of all fats. Therefore, as to whether or not oleomargarine, which, as its name indicates, is a mixture of the food fat olein and the semi-food fat margarine, is deleterious as a food product depends upon the condition of purity and of freshness at the time they were made into oleomargarine. Thus you can get almost as poisonous results from butter made in a creamery from a Jersey herd as you can from oleomargarine; but the fact remains that in making oleomargarine you can collect various qualities and varieties of fats which you would not be able to do in handling the butter fat only. Butter is butter fat out of the milk, and therefore it is limited to one variety of fat; whereas, olein may be oil from many sources, it may be vegetable oil or it may be animal oil; and so with margarine, it may be fats obtained from a series of animals; and the mixture of these two fats constitutes oleomargarine. I think that clarifies to some extent the question whether oleomargarine is deleterious or noxious as a food product. It depends very largely upon who prepares it, how it is prepared and how long and in what condition it has been kept. It is, therefore, for the Government to provide conditions under which its preparation and supervision will ensure to the public the purest form of fat admixture, so that it will contain no decomposing elements from fat.

But there is another feature and, to my mind, a very important one which should be presented. If oleomargarine can so closely resemble butter that the ordinary consumer cannot tell the difference, and if the price would necessarily, probably, be one-half the price of ordinary creamery butter, and if oleomargarine serves all the purposes both as to food and other conditions which butter serves, I can see very urgent reason and justification for oleomargarine being made a proper article of commerce. Why we should, as consumers, pay tremendous prices for creamery butter in order to keep up the reputation and record of a dairy herd is something that I cannot understand. Therefore, I would urge the Government to favour and to foster the manufacture and development of oleomargarine in Canada under proper supervision for the very purpose of bringing down the price of butter, as it will do, because it will be a substitute for butter. Those who want to pay the price of butter may do so; they will pay for all the care, the record, the housing of a dairy herd, for example, and that is a very expensive proposition, and it will all be embraced in the original manufacturing cost of creamery butter from that source. There is this point about the matter, however, that there is in oleomargarine a proneness to decomposition which probably is wider in its field of operation and more extensive in its results than is the case with butter but that can be very easily and readily controlled.

Those are the facts as far as I know them, and sufficient, I think, to clear up the point as to the value or otherwise of oleomargarine as an article of diet.

I am well aware that the agricultural interests of the country are generally opposed to the use and sale of oleomargarine, because it is, as I said, a substitute for butter, and they feel that whatever provides a substitute in a sense competes with dairy interests. That is true, but the substitution of an article of food which ordinarily will serve the purpose of butter and which only under extreme circumstances can be distinguished from butter is, I think, an economic argument for the sale and production of oleomargarine, which argument ought to weigh with those who are legislating for the common good. I have every desire to assist the dairy interests in this country as far as they can possibly be assisted, but if that entails the purchase of a costly product where a cheaper product can be substituted, I question if that is good economics for this country to follow.

Mr. BOYCE: The hon. member for Toronto South (Mr. Sheard) has told us that the farmers, the dairymen, are very strongly opposed to margarine. I differ from him on that, because we do not think it is going to hurt us in the least, the reason being that the food qualities contained in this margarine are so low that it will not affect the butter trade at all. I have no hesitation in saying that if you keep this margarine for, say a week, you will have to have a very strong constitution if you are able to touch it at all. On the other hand you can keep good butter for six months if you so desire. But if margarine is something that the public wants, by all means let them have it, and no doubt they will soon tire of this newly-found food substitute. There is no use in talking about margarine taking the place of good butter, because in that case it would have to be made of ingredients that would be almost as valuable as butter. As we all know, it is made of many substances, and, as has been well proved, not one of them is good for human consumption. I think we have enough of diseases and troubles without courting, I might say, any more. It is all very well for doctors to advocate something that is not good for the public health because that is only bringing grist to their mill, and there is no doubt our worthy friend from Toronto South has an eye to business just as well as farmers, or any other body of men. If you wish to use this margarine, which, if you knew the ingredients of which it was made, is not fit for human consumption, the dairymen and the farmers are not going to say "no" to you, but we are going to produce an article that will in the very near future convince you that we are looking only to your benefit. Just play shy of those men who endeavour to tell you that margarine is a good healthy substitute for butter. Doctors, I suppose, all around, will tell you this, as I have said before, but we good, honest dairymen, say what we are saying about it, not for our own good, but for the well-being of the country at large. There is no doubt that there is not by twenty per cent as much margarine made to-day as there was two years ago, and the longer it is used the less there will be made, and before very long there will be none at all made in this Dominion of Canada.

Mr. BALDWIN: I should like to give the House a summary as my memory serves me on the oleomargarine question. Thirty years ago there was probably no question that caused such a great fight throughout the United States, especially the agricultural states, as that of legalizing the manufacture of oleomargarine in that country.

Practically all the New England States with the exception of Rhode Island and Connecticut were against it. At that time butter of the finest quality was selling throughout the United States for about 15 cents a pound. It had to be splendid butter at that. Much of it was being sold as low as ten and twelve cents a pound. After several strenuous years of fighting, the law was adopted by which oleomargarine could be manufactured and sold in the United States. The law provided that any one selling oleomargarine had to pay a tax of $60. From the day it was manufactured and put on the market in the United States dairy and creamery butter advanced in price gradually, never declining for one moment because oleomargarine was on the market. The price increased and it was always from two to five cents higher than the price of Canadian butter.

I do not wish to go into the question of the wholesomeness of oleomargarine but I know that the manufacture of oleomargarine was a good thing for the dairying interests. They purchased the separated milk from the farmers and creameries, and churned it and they bought a certain percentage of butter which was mixed in the manufacture of oleomargarine. As time went on they improved and perfected the process until no expert could tell the difference in taste

and flavour except when the oleomargarine was put in comparison with the very best butter. Taking into consideration diseased cattle, impure milk and carelessness of milkers, I believe that oleomargarine will compare favourably with a great deal of the butter that is turned out throughout the United States.

As regards Canada I would not do or favour anything in this House that would work against the interests of the farmers. But how has it worked out here? Since oleomargarine has been on the market in Canada dairy butter has gradually risen until it nets the farmer at the present time close to 60 cents a pound. I know that the farmers were unanimously against the adoption of the proposal to admit of the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine and that petitions against it were circulated throughout the eastern townships in which I live during the year prior to the permission being given. It is my impression that if we allow oleomargarine to be sold we will be doing the greatest good to the greatest number of people, and I do not believe personally that it will be against the interest of the farmer. However, I will not commit myself against the will or interests of the farmers on this question.

Mr. GLASS: I presume that there have been some representations made to the Government expressing a desire that the permission to sell oleomargarine be extended for a further period. I realize that there are many interests to be considered and that the Government has in its wisdom seen fit to throw around this permission such protection as it deems necessary to at least see that people are supplied with what they would consider to be a pure and staple food. Notwithstanding the steps that may be taken in this direction, it has a disturbing influence on the farming community. I do not think it wise at a time like this to introduce measures that have a tendency to upset the minds of the agricultural community. The production of dairy products in this country unfortunately is shrinking rather than increasing. There seems to be a distinct reaction throughout the country, largely due to the unsettled state of the markets and the lack of assurance of fair prices for his products that would give to the farmer adequate remuneration for his effort in the industry. This has possibly been more marked in regard to cheese, also a dairy product, but with regard to butter it has likewise been in evidence. A large quantity of butter has been produced, we admit—possibly an increasing quantity—but our export market has increased and the export market sets the value for the product of our own country. The opinion has been expressed that the manipulation of butter by the cold storage companies, in withholding it from the market, is the cause alone of the unusually high price, but I am very strongly of the opinion that this theory is entirely wrong and that the cause of the prevailing high price is the export demand.

I was not in when the minister introduced the Bill and I did not hear upon what grounds he based its introduction but I think it is unfortunate that we have from term to term of Parliament these disquieting measures and matters being constantly brought up. I wonder whether the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Tolmie), who has proposed this legislation, has come to the conclusion that the first day of March, 1921, will be the final limit of time and whether this will be the last time the country will be disturbed by legislation on this matter. I am not disposed to view with favour this constant meddling that creates so much disturbance amongst the agricultural community. I think that we should devote our attention to the encouragement of the producer and the farmer in the effort to increase the supply of butter, so that we may have a pure article in abundance in our own country and at the same time have a large amount for export. If we do so we will be considering the best interests of our country from the standpoint of supplying our people with a pure food and of increasing the standard of our butter in the markets of the world, thus building up a reputation that in the years to come will stand us in good stead.

I do not know, as I say, just what arguments have been presented for a continuance of the privileges permitted under the motion; nevertheless I think it is dangerous and undesirable to be constantly tinkering and dealing with this matter. I think the needs of the great agricultural community might more properly be considered in the best interests of the country than the small amount that might be saved to the consumer by the admission of oleomargarine to Canada, because I think the consumer throughout the country is earning a wage that enables him to pay the higher price for that useful article of food, butter. I think it is unfortunate that even in the family of the poor man it should be necessary to substitute oleomargarine for that more wholesome food, butter. I trust, Sir, that whatever may happen to this resolution to-night, this will be the last we will

hear of any effort to continue the sale of such a product in this country.

Mr. McCOIG: Mr. Chairman, before you declare the resolution carried, I might add something to what has already been said by the hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat in the way of warning the Government about taking action on matters of this kind without giving such matters thorough consideration. The Solicitor General stated that there were two opinions held in regard to this question. Having regard to a pamphlet which has been printed and circulated by the Ontario Government among the farmers in my constituency, at this particular time, when an election is in progress, there undoubtedly are two opinions on many of the questions pertaining to agriculture and affecting the consumer upon which action by the Federal Government has been taken in recent years. In the pamphlet to which I have just made reference, the Ontario Government begs not to be held responsible for certain Federal issues, among which they enumerate tariff embargoes, military service, fixing the price of wheat and cheese, and so on. Now these are matters which the Federal Government should give some consideration to, more especially when the Conservative Government of Ontario wishes to be freed from responsibility for the action taken in regard thereto and are pleading with the people of the province not to vote against them on account of what the Ottawa Government have done. This leads to the thought that any action by this Government on the subject of oleomargarine should also be given very serious consideration. The consuming population in Ontario are anxious to get butter and food generally as cheaply as they possibly can, and the Government should do everything they can to lessen the spread in price between what the producer receives and what the consumer pays, and do their utmost to enable the people in the cities to obtain cheap food stuffs. At the same time they should see to it that the producers of butter, who have to compete with oleomargarine, receive a fair price for their product. I merely draw the attention of the Government to these facts because it shows the feeling which exists throughout Ontario at this time and which the Provincial Government recognize when they want to be relieved of responsibility or blame which is being saddled upon the shoulders of the Conservative party in the province.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I regret that I was not in the House when this motion was introduced, and I am therefore somewhat handicapped by reason of not having heard the arguments advanced in favour of extending the time for the importation of oleomargarine into Canada and its manufacture here. I would like to remind the House that all the dairymen's associations throughout the country have, I believe, protested against such action. No very serious objection was taken to the admission into Canada of this substitute for butter when it was first authorized, I think in April, 1918, by reason of the fact that we were at war and that there was a very great demand from overseas for butter. I then pointed out what I considered to be unfair and unjust features of the measure, namely, that it permitted the manufacturers of oleomargarine to incorporate butter to any extent they saw fit into these oleo oils and other things which constitute margarine. In this connection the evidence given by the general manager of one of the largest concerns manufacturing oleomargarine in Canada, given here a few weeks ago before a special committee, was somewhat significant, when he pointed out that they were purchasing all the June make of butter they could get for the reason that it was so highly coloured and added a colouring to the oleomargarine, and that if the people really imagined they were eating butter and had something of the exact colour of butter, it would make the article much more palatable to them. I think the committee will agree that it is hardly just to try to reach the consumer unfairly, and to take advantage of the merits of an important food product that has been manufactured in this country for many years—a product in regard to which the manufacturers have spent many millions of dollars in providing plant and equipment and the stock and stabling necessary for carrying on dairying throughout this country. Let hon. gentlemen read the Dairy Act and they will find it contains the strictest provisions in regard to the manufacture of butter and dairy produce in any of the factories of Canada, and that there is no possibility of these products being adulterated, heavy penalties being prescribed for any violation of the law in that respect. It is a common thing to find that people are being fined for what might be considered very slight infringement of the provisions of the Act regarding the manufacture of dairy produce. Yet we permit to be brought into and manufactured in this country something that is being placed in the market, not on its merits, remember—if it were

so placed no one would take any exception —but as a deceptive counterfeit that the manufacturers are endeavouring to place before the people as a substitute for this wholesome article of food which is surrounded with such stringent restrictions. I ask the committee if they consider it is fair that one body of manufacturers in this country should be singled out and restricted, as the farmers and dairymen are, by the Dairy Act, and other manufacturers permitted to purchase pure butter, or any grade of butter they see fit. Not only that, but churning it in milk in order to take the flavour of the milk, so as to make it palatable to the people, and then incorporate it into this grease and place it on the market? It is well known that there is no substitute for butter as a wholesome article of food. Butter is the most wholesome article of food that there is to be found to-day and nothing that the ingenuity of science and skill can devise can take its place.

Then I ask why by the legislation passed a little more than a year ago we permit the manufacturers of oleomargarine to purchase millions of pounds of butter and incorporate it in this grease, then churn it in milk, and put the resulting product up in prints exactly the size of butter and enclose it in wrappers identical with those used for wrapping butter, except that they are forced by law to state on those wrappers that the product is oleomargarine. But when the wrapper is taken off, owing to the colour imparted to the oleomargarine by the methods I have just stated, the people are deceived and do not know exactly what they are eating, although it is against the law not only in the United States but in this country to so colour this grease that it is indistinguishable from butter. In many a boarding house and restaurant throughout the country to-day I venture to state one is very often given oleomargarine instead of butter. It is true that a card must be displayed somewhere indicating that oleomargarine is being sold. I contend, Sir, that at this particular juncture when it is necessary to increase the production of our food supplies that this is not the time to extend the period for the importation and manufacture of this article. Margarine is sold at a much lower price in the Old Country, but here the manufacturers contend that they cannot sell it unless there is an admixture of from 20 to 35 per cent of pure butter. It is evident that this was not the idea in the minds of hon. members when they put the legislation through permitting the importation and manufacture of oleomargarine. It was boosted as an article that could compete successfully with any other similar article placed on the market, that it was being manufactured from wholesome oils of various kinds, and that it was a common article of food in the Old Country. But the high price of oleomargarine has been severely criticised, and it has been felt that the Food Board should have controlled the price as well as it did the price of some other food commodities. We have not noticed that the Board of Commerce has been very active in this regard. It will be found that the price of foodstuffs for stock is higher to-day than it probably ever was before, and yet in face of those conditions it is proposed to extend the time for the importation and manufacture of this counterfeit article, which its manufacturers are not able to sell on its merits, but only when treated in the way I have described.

I am sorry I did not know that this Bill was coming up to-day, Mr. Chairman, or I would have had some data to give to the House in regard to oleomargarine. I remember a sworn statement made by the manager of one of the packing houses in regard to this article before a committee of this House a short time ago when he admitted that without the oleomargarine being coloured by the admixture of butter it would be practically unsaleable because of the fact that people would realize they were not eating butter. I have pointed out before that it is somewhat significant that during the last year and a half so many of these Bills that have proved such a handicap to agriculture have been permitted to pass this House. I pointed that out particularly with regard to foodstuffs. I have at the present time a Bill before the House which is designed to regulate the millers of this country in regard to the manner in which they have been adulterating bran and shorts, two of the most important feeding stuffs for the production of dairy produce, and I am not too sanguine yet as to whether that measure will become law. As I say, it is rather significant that all these measures should have been introduced while we had a certain member of the Government charged with the duty of looking after the Department of Agriculture.

I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that I object to the extension being made in this form. If we are going to permit margarine to come into this country and be manufactured here, and if that is the desire of hon. members, I have no objection, provided you do not permit its manufacturers to incorporate in their product a staple ar-

ticle of food surrounded with such stringent regulations as is the manufacture of butter, in order that oleomargarine may be given an appearance indistinguishable from butter. Too many restrictions have been imposed on the producers of butter to permit a substitute of this kind to come in unchecked under the guise of an Act of Parliament to enable its manufacture to deceive the people. If we are going to have stringent regulations with regard to one class, then I say, Mr. Chairman, that we should have just as stringent regulations with regard to all other classes in the community; and I say further, Sir, that when our dairymen object as strenuously as they have objected to this legislation, their voice is entitled to some consideration at the hands of this Committee and of this House.

Mr. McKENZIE: While we are on this subject, Mr. Chairman, I would like to call the attention of the minister in charge of this Bill to complaints that come from the public very often not only about the impurities of oleomargarine, but the impurities of butter itself, not perhaps impurities in the first instance, but it is said that butter is put through certain processes in the stores after it has left the hands of the dairymen and is worked up in such a way that a far greater percentage of water is in the butter than it should naturally contain, and in that way merchants who are handling butter are guilty of selling something to the consumer that is not really what it is represented to be. I do not know which department of the Government should look after this, but it is certainly something that should receive proper attention. I merely mention this matter so that steps may be taken to insure that when a man buys a pound of butter—which undoubtedly is expensive enough—he is getting the real article, and that no one should be permitted to fool him by mixing something which in effect debases the commodity.

As for the manufacture of oleomargarine, I presume that we have Canadian factories now manufacturing this article. The only thing that I would suggest to the minister is that, if manufactured at all, oleomargarine should be manufactured under the most stringent system of inspection so that the very best article of its class will be produced. Presumably the manufactured article that is imported is subject to inspection of some kind, but I suppose in any event if it is not the sort of article that it should be people will not buy it. I would like to see some system of inspection of the imported article as well as of the article produced in Canada, so as to provide, as far as possible, a wholesome food for the people.

Mr. GLASS: What would be the effect in law if a hotel man who had "butter" on his bill of fare served margarine instead? A year or two ago when the campaign was on for greater production, I stayed over Sunday at a little town not very far from here. "Butter" was on the bill of fare and I asked for butter, but was served with margarine. I told the waitress that I wanted butter. She said, "That is butter, sir." I said, "I beg your pardon; it is not butter. You tell the proprietor of this hotel that I have asked for butter and that I want it; if he attempts to serve me a substitute of this kind I shall have him prosecuted." The proprietor evidently thought that I was serious about the matter, so he served me with butter. If we throw around the manufacture of butter all the safeguards and stringent regulations to which my hon. friend has referred, it is important that we protect the consumer by providing that the hotelman or restaurant keeper shall not have the right to serve his guests with margarine when those guests ask for butter. Such action on the part of any one who keeps a public eating place is certainly fraudulent, dishonest and unfair.

Mr. GUTHRIE: The regulations in regard to the importation and sale of oleomargarine are far more stringent than those with regard to the importation and sale of butter; it is necessary, I think, that that should be the case. Regulation 16 covers such a case as that mentioned by my hon. friend. It reads:

> In all hotels, restaurants and public eating places where oleomargarine is served there shall be prominently displayed in some conspicuous place a placard containing the words: "oleomargarine served here," in capital block letters, not less than one and one-half inches long.

So plain that he who runs may read. Then section 23 provides as follows for any violation of that regulation:

> Any person violating any of the provisions of these regulations shall be guilty of an offence and liable on summary conviction to a fine of not less than fifty dollars nor exceeding five hundred dollars, or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or to both fine and imprisonment.

So that in the case referred to by my hon. friend, if the innkeeper or restaurant keeper did not have such a sign displayed in a conspicuous place on his premises, an information might have been laid against

him and he could have been severely punished.

Mr. GLASS: Could he not be required to display the notice on the table?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The language is "in some conspicuous place." The words have a well known legal effect; that language is used in many of our penal enactments.

In reply to the leader of the Opposition, I may say that there are pretty stringent regulations in regard to the sale of butter. These are contained for the most part in section 6 of the Dairy Industry Act, which provides as follows:

No person shall import into Canada, or offer, sell or have in his possession for sale:—

(a) any butter containing over sixteen per centum of water; or

(b) any process or renovated butter, or butter to which milk or cream has been added.

2. No person shall manufacture any butter containing over sixteen per centum of water.

3. No person shall sell, offer or have in his possession for sale:—

(a) any butter moulded or cut into prints, blocks, squares or pats, unless such prints, blocks, squares or pats are of the full net weight of one-quarter pound, one-half pound, one pound or two pounds at the time they are moulded or cut. Nothing in this paragraph shall be held to apply to butter in rolls or lumps, of indiscriminate weight, as sold by farmers; or

(b) any butter packed in tins or other packages alleged to contain any definite weight of butter unless such package contains the full net weight of butter as alleged exclusive of the weight of the package and of any paper, brine or other filling.

Severe penalties are provided for any infringement of the requirements of section 6.

I am not an expert on oleomargarine. But I have been told by those who know something about the matter, that since the importation and manufacture of oleomargarine was permitted in Canada there has been no great increase in the consumption of the product; in fact within the past six to ten months there has rather been a notable decrease in the consumption. On the other hand, I am informed that there has been an increase in respect of butter and that butter has maintained, if not actually increased, its price since the Order in Council was passed permitting the importation and manufacture of oleomargarine. From this it is to be inferred that the entrance into this market of oleomargarine and its manufacture in Canada have not to any appreciable extent injured butter-making as an industry. I agree with the member for Carleton (Mr. Boyce) in his remarks on that subject. Prior to the passing of the Order in Council, people who could not procure butter had to go without it or use drippings as a substitute. These people are now the present consumers of oleomargarine, the cost of which, I believe, is about half the cost of butter. If these people were deprived of their opportunity to purchase oleomargarine it is doubtful whether they would be able to purchase butter at present prices. It is for the benefit of that class of the people that the extension of this order is now asked. Personally I do not think that it will adversely affect the dairy industry. The extension is only for a limited time—eleven months for importation and fourteen months for sale. I think that is a rather reasonable proposal and I trust that the committee will accept it.

Mr. CAHILL: How much oleomargarine has been imported into Canada and how much has been manufactured in Canada since the Order in Council was passed?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This matter was handed to me only during the course of the afternoon; I tried to get those figures for this evening, but was unable to do so. I will have them before the House on the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Mr. Chairman, I do not think that any one will take exception to the importation of oleomargarine into Canada under present conditions, provided there is no attempt to incorporate butter into this article in order to deceive the people.

I think that that is obviously unfair to those who are engaged in the manufacture of butter. In the regulations regarding the manufacture of oleomargarine it is provided that no person other than a manufacturer of oleomargarine shall mix oleomargarine with butter. As the matter stands, you are simply destroying a very important industry in this country; there is no getting away from that fact. You may say that more butter is being manufactured to-day than some years ago, but do not forget that butter has been commanding a very high price during the war, a price it will not command later on when prices generally will reach a lower level than at present. You may also argue that oleomargarine is permitted to enter the country and to be manufactured only for a short time, but at the end of that time you will find it will be very much more difficult to cut off the manufacturing of it than it would be now, because then the manufacturers will be pointing to the capital they have invested in their plants

for turning out this product. I think it would be well before we pass this resolution to understand thoroughly the nature of the Bill permitting the manufacture of oleomargarine in this country. I doubt whether very many members of this House realize the very wide powers that were granted when the measure was put through enabling this adulteration to take place. Personally I have not the slightest objection to oleomargarine being imported and manufactured in this country on its merits, but I do object to millions of pounds of good butter being incorporated with it often a total loss, for oleomargarine will not keep in cold storage. That has been amply demonstrated. It has to be quickly consumed because of the milk that is incorporated in it in order to deceive the palates of the people. I think we should also be informed how many millions of pounds of butter have been used in the manufacture of oleomargarine in this country since the legislation was passed a little over a year ago. We should also know how much of this oleomargarine has been destroyed as unfit for food as a result of attempting to carry it in cold storage. The conservation of food is a very important matter, and I therefore think we should have information on this point before we pass the resolution.

I mentioned before that only the manufacturers of oleomargarine were permitted to adulterate, and I said, why not allow the dairymen to do the same. I do not think, however, that such a proposal would meet with the approval of the dairymen of this country, because on account of the extreme care that has been exercised in order to standardize our butter and improve its quality, it has obtained a place for itself in the markets of the world that is invaluable. The province of Quebec, I believe, is the largest producer of butter in the Dominion, and their butter has a very high reputation, which I do not think it would be well to jeopardize.

I again say that we should be furnished with further information before we pass this resolution, particularly with regard to the quantity of butter that is being incorporated into this article of food. Why cannot oleomargarine be sold on its merits in this country as in other countries, if it is the superior article of food that some people would have us believe? You can purchase oleomargarine in the Old Country for about half the price you have to pay in Canada, largely because the people of this country, having been accustomed to a wholesome article of food, will not consume oleomargarine, unless they are deceived as they have been deceived by incorporating butter, by churning it in milk, and by putting it up in identically the same pound prints as butter is sold in. Why should it be permissible to put this stuff up and sell it in that way? The object is quite apparent.

The Solicitor General says that the card must be displayed in some conspicuous place in restaurants and eating houses where oleomargarine is used. Quite true, but you have to search diligently for these cards, and you will then find them in letters one and a half inches in length in a large dining room perhaps fifty or one hundred feet in length. That is not displaying the card conspicuously. In other cases you may find it on a shelf partially concealed by some article of furniture. It may be that the people are complying with the law in that respect. I should like to know how many fines have been imposed during the past year for the violation of this law. Possibly it is enforced somewhat in the same manner as the Act dealing with the adulteration of bran and shorts, through which adulterations thousands of animals have been poisoned and, so far as I can learn, in not a single instance has any one been prosecuted for violating the law in that respect. Some hon. members may think this a small matter to take so much interest in, but it is a very important matter when we consider how essential increased production is in order that we may overcome the difficulties confronting this country to-day. Now you are not increasing production by permitting this stuff to be brought in and butter to be incorporated with it, because you are taking away from the people a good wholesome article of food and mixing it up with this oleomargarine, and it is a question whether the people receive any benefit as a result. I repeat, we should have some information as to the quantity of oleomargarine that has been manufactured in this country, the firms who have been manufacturing it, and the quantity of butter each of them have used in the manufacture of oleomargarine, before we put this motion through.

Motion agreed to; yeas 22, nays 15.

Resolution reported and concurred in.

Mr. GUTHRIE moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 28, to permit the temporary importation, manufacture and sale of oleomargarine in Canada.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

BILL RESPECTING THE POLICE—WITHDRAWN.

On the Order for the second reading of Bill No. 5, respecting the Police:

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): I move that Order No. 5, second reading of Bill No. 5, an Act respecting the Police, be struck from the Order Paper. The reason is that the effect of the operation of a Bill introduced by the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) and passed by the House will be to make unnecessary the present legislation, the matter being susceptible of being dealt with by regulations under the Northwest Mounted Police Act.

Motion agreed to and Bill withdrawn.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

PROPOSED EXTENSION TO NON-RAILWAY SECTIONS OF MARITIME PROVINCES.

On the Order:

Resuming the adjourned debate on the proposed resolution of Mr. McKenzie,—Whereas on the 16th of March, A.D., 1914, this Honourable House passed the following Resolution which was accepted by the Government,—

"Mr. McKenzie moved that in the opinion of this House the time has arrived for the extension of the Intercolonial Railway of Canada into the non-railway sections of the Maritime Provinces within reasonable range of the said railway." See pages 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739 and 1740 of Hansard for the said year, A.D., 1914.

Be it therefore resolved that, in the opinion of this House, the proposals of the said Resolution of the 16th of March, A.D., 1914, should be carried forward to completion at the earliest possible date.

Mr. McKENZIE: I spoke to the Minister of Railways (Mr. J. D. Reid) about this matter to-day, and it seems he will not be here. As I should like him to be present when we are dealing with this matter, I should prefer that the Order stand.

Order stands.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by asterisks.)

SERVICE IN FRANCE AND IN CANADA.

On the question (Mr. Lanctot):

On 1st October, 1919, Mr. T. A. Cox, of the Militia Department, made a statement before the Parliamentary Committee inquiring into the question of a further gratuity to Canadian soldiers, to the effect that out of the 590,572 men enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 172,520 saw service in Canada only:

1. Is the statement correct?
2. Where were those men stationed?
3. To what regiments did they belong?
4. How many of this number were recruited in Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, respectively?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: This is the question which was referred to by Mr. Speaker the other day when questions were called, and it must be dropped as not being in order.

Mr. ROBB: The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Lanctot) drew my attention to the fact that he got the information as to who took part in the great war, not from the committee now in session, but from the publication issued by the Department of Public Information, which publication I hold in my hand. For that reason, he feels the question is in order.

Mr. SPEAKER: As this question deals with a matter which is at present under consideration by a committee of the House, it is not competent for the House to deal with it, the committee not having reported. If the hon. member desires the information regardless of the fact of its having been disclosed before the committee, he may revise his question on the Order Paper omitting reference to the committee. In the meantime, the question must be dropped.

Question dropped.

KENT COUNTY, N.B., TELEPHONE POLES.

Mr. LEGER:

1. Were tenders called for by the Government in the years 1918 or 1919 for the purchasing of telephone poles for the line of telephones between Point Sapin and Kouchibouguac Beach, Kent County, New Brunswick?
2. If so, was there any notice calling for tenders posted in Kent County?
3. If not, where were the notices posted?
4. Was the lowest tender accepted?
5. What is the name of the contractor?

Hon. Mr. SIFTON:

1. Yes.

2, 3, 4 and 5. A poster inviting tenders for a supply of cedar poles 25 feet long and not less than 5 inches across the top, to the number of 640 more or less, distributed along the roadway was issued on 15th February, 1918, to the telephone agents along the line, Chatham to Point Sapin, and was circulated in the neighbourhood generally and resulted in an offer from Mr. D. Lewis, of Escuminac, 25th February, at $3.10 per pole and from Mr. P. A. Robichaud, of Point Sapin, 26th February, at $2 per pole. These offers were however crossed by the issuing, in March, 1918, of a newspaper advertisement inviting tenders and requiring a 5 per cent security deposit. The only tender received in response was one from

Mr. L. J. Loggie, of Chatham, at $2.50 per pole; this price was considered too high and inquiries were made along the route of the line for poles distributed at the price of $2 each, and in October, 1918, Mr. J. A. Manzerolle, of Lower Sapin, was arranged with at that price. Later on however Mr. Manzerolle, in November, 1918, withdrew his offer, whereupon a similar offer was made by Mr. L. J. Loggie and accepted. The poles were in due course accepted along the route at the price of $2 per pole to the total number of 514, the distance covered measuring 16 miles.

MILITARY DOCTORS.

Mr. EDWARDS:

1. What are the names, military ranks, overseas service, dates of appointment and rates of pay and allowances of the doctors connected with Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment at Kingston?

2. What are the duties of the doctors alluded to in the first question, and how many returned soldiers have they had to deal with in an official way during each of the last six months?

3. What are the names and rate of pay and military rank of the doctors connected with Ongwanada and Mowat Memorial Hospital?

Mr. DOHERTY: Stand.

Mr. EDWARDS: Might I ask the Government when I may expect an answer to my question which has been on the Order Paper since the 17th of September, and which should have been answered in a few days?

Mr. DOHERTY: I shall bring the question to the attention of the Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, by whom it is to be answered. It is possible that it has escaped his attention for the reason that he is not in this House.

Question stands.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty, the House adjourned at 9.25 p.m.

Wednesday, October 8, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

FIRST READING.

PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS COMMITTEE.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE (Solicitor General) presented the report of the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, as follows:

Your committee to whom was referred for consideration Bill No. 9, an Act to amend the House of Commons Act and to provide that polling days at elections shall be public holidays, have agreed to report the same with amendments.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by asterisks).

FOREST PRODUCTS LABORATORIES, MONTREAL.

Mr. KAY:

1. Is the position of Superintendent of Forests Products Laboratories, Montreal, vacant? If so, how long has it been vacant?

2. Was the position advertised by the Civil Service Commission? If so, how many replies were received, and how many were from returned soldiers?

3. Has an appointment been made to this position? If not, is it the intention of the Government to fill it?

Hon. Mr. GUTHRIE:

1. Yes. Since May 1, 1919.

2. Yes. Fifteen. Four from returned soldiers.

3. One of the applicants has been offered the position.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF OCEAN STEAMERS.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton):

1. What action, if any, has this Government taken with a view to carrying out the recommendations, as set forth in the final report of the Royal Commission on the Natural Resources, Trade and Legislation of certain portions of His Majesty's Dominions, as presented to both Houses of the British Parliament by command of His Majesty, in March, 1917, showing that it is not desirable that the operations of the steamship companies carrying passengers and freight between the Dominion of Canada and the United Kingdom should remain longer without some measure of Government supervision?

2. Does this Government intend to take immediate steps to assist the Imperial Government in bringing about Government control of the ocean carriers doing business (or, from time to time, doing business) between ports in the United Kingdom and ports in the Dominion of Canada?

3. Has the Canadian Government called the Imperial Government's attention to the fact that serious discrimination in freight rates is being practised against products carried from the Dominion of Canada by British shipping interests as compared with similar products carried from other countries?

Sir GEORGE E. FOSTER:

1. The report of the Royal Commission referred to has been presented to the British Government and the recommendation referred to is now under consideration of that Government, and with others will probably form the subject matter of consideration at the next Imperial Conference.

2. The Canadian Government will cooperate with the Imperial Government and the other Overseas Dominions in consider-

ing the question of the supervision and control of ocean tonnage between the different parts of the British Dominions.

3. The Dominion Government has called the Imperial Government's attention to certain alleged discriminations and injustice in connection with the supervision by the British Ministry of Shipping in the employment of vessels under charter by Canadian shipping interests.

GOVERNMENT TERMINAL ELEVATOR AT VANCOUVER, B.C.

Mr. REID:

1. In what year was the Government Terminal Grain Elevator built at Vancouver, B.C.?
2. Was it built by contract or day labour, or on a percentage basis?
3. If it was built by contract, who were the contractors?
4. What was the total cost of the same when ready for operation?
5. What is the total storage capacity in bushels?
6. What was the cost of the per bushel capacity?
7. If built by day labour or on a percentage basis, who were the superintendents?
8. What amount of grain passed through the said terminal during the first year of operation, and in each succeeding year until the present time?
9. What are the total earnings per year, from the first year of operation up to date?
10. What is the total number of employees?
11. What was the gross overage per year from the start of operation until present date?
12. What was the market value of above overages?
13. How much wheat and other grain passed through the said terminal en route to European markets via Panama Canal?
14. How did the moisture content of the wheat when landed in Liverpool after passing through Panama Canal compare with moisture test made before being loaded from elevator in British Columbia?
15. What was the estimated cost per bushel of transporting wheat from Vancouver via Panama Canal to Liverpool?

Sir GEORGE E. FOSTER:

1. Construction commenced in 1915. Power first laid on 10th May, 1916.

2. By contract.

3. Barnett McQueen Co., Ltd., Fort William, Ont.

4. Total cost of construction at commencement of operation, including machinery and equipment, $760,671.39.

5. 1,500,000 bushels.

6. $50^{711}/_{1000}$ cents per bushel.

7. Built by contract under supervision of C. D. Howe, engineer.

8. 1916-17, 216,284 bushels; 1917-18, 671,205 bushels; 1918-19, 889,234 bushels.

9. For fiscal years ending 31st July: 1916-17, total earnings, $4,731.24, net loss, $11,506.98; 1917-18, total earnings, $9,422.81, net loss, $4,641.59; 1918-19, total earnings, $22,043.65, net income, $13,514.54.

10. Six.

11 and 12. No average has existed at Vancouver elevator in commercial grades. We have, however, disposed of grain sweepings according to the statement below:

1916-17, nil; 1917-18, $4^{1820}/_{2000}$ tons grain sweepings, at $51.30 per ton, $251; 1918-19, $124^{1379}/_{2000}$ tons grain sweepings, at $72.40 per ton, $8,995.44. Total, $129^{1199}/_{2000}$ tons. Value, $9,146.44.

13. Wheat—1 Hard, 15,165.50 bushels; 1°, 151,296.20 bushels; 2°, 94,107.00 bushels; 3°, 53,340.20bushels; No. 1, 40,154.10 bushels; No. 2, 9,845.50 bushels; No. 4, 23,459.30 bushels; No. 5, 13,232.40 bushels; Australian, 173,979.10 bushels. Total, 580,580.50 bushels.

14. Comparison of the moisture content of certain parcels of wheat sampled during loading and discharging.

Parcel.	Sampled at loading. Per cent.	Sampled at discharging. Per cent.
B	14.0	14.1
E	13.8	13.7
Y	15.0	14.7
C	13.2	13.1
D	13.6	13.5

15. All shipments from Vancouver via Panama canal to Liverpool were made for account of the Wheat Export Company, and the Government has no information as to the cost of transportation.

UNOPPOSED MOTIONS FOR PAPERS.

Mr. GAUVREAU:

For a copy of all correspondence, petitions, plans, specifications etc., in connection with a request of Fraser & Co., of Cabano, Que., for aid or subsidies for the construction of a lock or dam on Touladi River, which flows into Lake Temiscouata, Que.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR:

For a copy of all letters, telegrams, petitions, memorials or other papers or documents received by the Right Honourable the Prime Minister or any member of the Government during the year 1919 relating to the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor for Prince Edward Island and the replies thereto.

INQUIRY FOR PAPERS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Mr. Speaker, I wish t make a humble request of the Government. When I put questions on the Order Paper or make motions for the production of papers I do so because I deem them to be important. On September 15,

an order was made for a return regarding the trips of ministers to Europe during the war but the papers have not been tabled as yet. On September 18 an Order was made for the production of papers regarding the Siberian expedition, and on the 29th a motion was passed for a return with reference to Ste. Anne de Bellevue hospital. As the session is so far advanced I would like to know if it is intended to produce these papers before Parliament prorogues?

Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN: Papers ordered by the House are always prepared by the officers of the department immediately following the passage of the motion calling for their production. I heard the hon. gentleman refer to a motion for papers concerning the Siberian expedition, which was passed on the 18th September. I would not think it at all probable that the papers in question could be secured for a while yet. However, I know nothing specific about that motion. As to the one passed on the 29th September, of course only a few days have since elapsed, but I have no doubt the preparation of the papers is attended with the greatest expedition.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: As to the Order for papers concerning the trips of ministers to Europe, it was sought to learn how many trips were made by the ministers and what their expenses were. That should be pretty easy information to obtain.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I remember the question being put and I know of the answer to the question going from my own department. As the question did not again appear on the Order Paper, I presumed it had been answered. Possibly, though, the information was incorporated in the return in response to the motion that was passed. I know of no reason why it should be delayed.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: There was an Order for a return of the papers in the matter.

DISPOSITION OF EASTERN GALICIA.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I have received a cablegram sent by Roman Kramer, of Winnipeg, on behalf of the Galicians, of whom there are upwards of four millions in Eastern Galicia, intimating that the fact was to be made public yesterday by President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George that that territory, three-quarters of the population of which is made up of Ukranian people, contrary to the general understanding, was being handed over to Poland instead of to Ukrania. This is a matter which the Government has had before it on several occasions and I desire to ask what are the facts of the case and if there is any satisfactory and sufficient reason why seventy-five per cent of the population, numbering four or five millions of people, should be handed over to be governed by the Poles?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I am afraid one ear was listening to something else while this question was being asked, but if I apprehend the nature of the interrogation, it is this—

Sir SAM HUGHES: I did not catch the minister's first remark.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It is not very vital so it is not necessary to repeat it.

Sir SAM HUGHES: The members of the Government are here to answer the questions of the people's representatives.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. On the Orders of the Day it is for the Government to answer or not, as they choose.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: To make it perfectly clear I said that at the time the question was being put by my hon. friend in rather indistinct tones, that one of my ears was trying to catch something else, and I did not succeed in gathering the full purport of his question. However, if I understand it aright, the hon. gentleman wants to know whether the Government has any reasons to give why a certain number of people are allocated by the executive of the Peace Conference, or by the Peace Conference, to one country rather than to another. My hon. friend will realize that that is a pretty difficult question for the Canadian Government or myself to answer—

Sir SAM HUGHES: It is a matter that has been before the Government for a long time.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: —but if he will entrust the telegram to me I will have an answer ready for to-morrow. Whether it will be satisfactory or not, I do not know.

Sir SAM HUGHES: If I may be permitted to make myself clear—this is a matter which has been before the Government for a long time, and before the hon. gentleman returned from Europe Mr. Lloyd George intimated in a cablegram to your humble servant as well as to the Prime Minister of Canada that the matter was being looked after and that these people would in all probability be allocated to Ukrania instead of Poland.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Then I suppose we will have to ask Mr. Lloyd George why this has not been done—

Sir SAM HUGHES: It is a matter for the Canadian Government to look after—

Sir GEORGE FOSTER—and the reasons why it was not done. I am afraid the Government of Canada could not give an affirmative or a negative answer.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Then we will have to get after the Government with a sharp stick.

ITALIAN OCCUPATION OF FIUME.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. S. W. JACOBS (George Etienne Cartier): The Associated Press has published a statement to the effect that a report is current that the Italian Government has asked the Allied Powers to send an Allied force, exclusive of Italians, to drive D'Annunzio out of Fiume. I would like to know whether the Government has any information to give the House on this matter.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Government has no information to lay on the Table. The Government is not a prime actor in the matter at all.

DISPOSITION OF HUDSON BAY RAILWAY EQUIPMENT.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL (Nelson): I would like to ask when I may expect an answer to question No. 11 on the Order Paper with respect to the disposition of ties and steel and railway equipment taken from the Hudson Bay Railway during the years 1917 and 1918.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I will bring the matter to the attention of the Minister of Railways.

TREATMENT OF CANADIAN SOLDIERS IN WANDSWORTH JAIL.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. R. J. MANION (Fort William and Rainy River): I would like to call the attention of the Government, and particularly that of the Minister of Militia, to a report which appeared in the Toronto Star Weekly of October 4th and put a question in reference to it. The article deals with the treatment of Canadian soldiers in Wandsworth jail, England, and if the report is true that treatment has been most barbarous. I would ask the Minister of Militia if he has a statement to make in reference to that article?

Major-General MEWBURN: Before putting this question the hon. gentleman was good enough to show me the article in the Toronto Star Weekly to which he has alluded. I have no personal knowledge of the matter, but I have made inquiries, and from the information I could obtain in the absence of the Overseas Minister, Wandsworth jail, prior to the war, was a civil institution, but was subsequently taken over by the Imperial military authorities and used as a military detention barracks, at all events up to the end of 1917—I am not sure whether it has been since used for the purpose or not. Some Canadian military prisoners, who were convicted of offences and sentenced to undergo detention for more than fourteen days, were sent to Wandsworth detention camp, but as far as I have been able to ascertain there is no evidence of any brutal treatment being meted out to them. I am informed that a Canadian officer was, in 1916, detailed on Canadian guard to assist the Government at the detention barracks, and, as my hon. friend who is a medical officer in the Canadian army medical corps must be aware, no prisoner was allowed to undergo punishment without a medical certificate that he was fit to undergo the punishment imposed. I can understand that discipline in the detention barracks was probably fairly severe, but the article in question, which was an entirely anonymous report from supposed soldiers, did not give any names, and as far as I can ascertain no brutal treatment was meted out to any Canadian soldier.

Mr. MANION: Might I ask another question in regard to that? Is it the intention of the Government to permit men to continue making slanderous statements of this kind—because if the minister's statement is correct this is a slanderous statement—without forcing them to come forward with their proof or are they to be stopped from making such statements?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY ACT AMENDMENT.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister) moved the third reading of Bill No. 23 to amend an Act to confirm two orders of the Governor General in Council respecting the Grand Trunk Pacific System.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): When this Bill was before the House a few days ago I requested that certain information might be given to the House in regard to the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The leader of the Government (Sir George Foster) replied that the Minister of Railways (Mr. J. D. Reid) would give the information, and to facilitate matters I then put on Hansard certain questions to which I required answers; but as far as I know no answers have been given. I would like the minister to allow this Bill to stand until he is put in a position to furnish that information.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I will either do that, or I will undertake that the Minister of Railways will answer the questions of my hon. friend just the same as if the Bill still stood. If he will accept my undertaking, that would give us another Bill for the Senate to operate on.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the third time and passed.

ROYAL NORTHWEST MOUNTED POLICE ACT AMENDMENT.

On the motion of Hon. Newton W. Rowell (President of the Privy Council) Bill No. 22 to amend the Royal Northwest Mounted Police Act was read the third time and passed.

THANKSGIVING DAY.

Discussion as to adjournment of the House.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Before we proceed further, Mr. Speaker, a question has been asked by the Whips on both sides as to whether or not we shall sit on Thanksgiving Day, and I would like to take the sense of the House on the question. As far as I am concerned I am entirely within the wishes of the House. As Thanksgiving Day comes directly after Sunday, it may be that hon. members generally would wish to enjoy the day otherwise than in a session of work; but if the House is of the opinion that it would rather go on with its sessional duties, as far as I am concerned, I am quite willing to attend. I would like to hear the views of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No sittings.

Mr. McKENZIE: Mr. Speaker, I am surprised to find this Government and its supporters anxious for a Thanksgiving Day. It is only a few days ago that legislation looking towards a permanent Thanksgiving Day received the six months' hoist from hon. gentlemen opposite. I may say to the leader of the Government (Sir George Foster) that last Friday I insistently urged upon him to give us a few private members' days. He then told me that time was short, that we would be finishing the session this week, and that unless we wanted another week he could not grant my request. Now it appears that he has changed his mind and is adding another cubit to our time in the House. However, he and his friends run the House and can suit their own convenience. I think it is well that we should enjoy Thanksgiving Day, and as long as we declare a holiday it is only proper that we should observe it ourselves. As far as we on this side of the House are concerned, I think we are agreeable to observe Monday as Thanksgiving Day.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Of course, the Government is setting a swift pace, but will it not be possible to get through the business of the House by Saturday? A great many Liberal Conservatives—and there are a few of us living yet—would like to help in the provincial elections.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: We have not yet given up the idea of getting through this week, and Government business will be pushed with that end in view; but should Committee work keep us from getting away this week I thought it would be well to ask the opinion of the House with reference to Thanksgiving Day. If by working on Saturday we can get through this week, I am quite sure that all hon. members would be quite willing that that should be done—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: —and the Government will keep that in mind. Its business will be pressed just as rapidly as possible.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN: Mr. Speaker, in regard to that proposition, could the leader of the House say now whether we are to have any railway legislation this session?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Minister of Railways (Mr. J. D. Reid) is out of the House at the present time. I will call his attention to that question and we will have a statement made probably to-morrow.

Mr. H. A. MACKIE: I would like to point out that so far as sitting on Monday is concerned, it is all very well for hon. members from the provinces of Ontario and Quebec to have a holiday—

Mr. GAUVREAU: I am from Quebec. I am against a holiday on Monday; I want to sit.

Mr. H. A. MACKIE: Such a holiday would no doubt be very convenient to a large number of hon. members from the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, as they can get home over the week-end; but we who are from the West cannot take advantage of the holiday and are waiting for the business of the House to finish so that we may return home.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Pedlow.

Mr. PEDLOW: I would be discourteous if I failed to respond to an invitation from the Speaker to say something on this question. If I might retort by saying "I told you so." Only a few days ago a Bill on this subject was debated at length, and if my views had been adopted this difficulty would not have arisen, for we would have had Thanksgiving Day and Armistice Day observed on the same day. But, Sir, if you wish my private opinion on the matter, I think now that the House has decided to observe Thanksgiving Day on Monday, the 13th of October, we should set a good example to the country and observe the days and dates and events that we ourselves order.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Probably we had better bring this discussion to a conclusion with this understanding: That we will try to get through this week even by taking Saturday if it is necessary to do so; but if we cannot get through this week we will make a pronouncement a little later as to whether the holiday will be observed by work or by leisure.

I may say that I have followed my hon. friend (Mr. Pedlow) as rapidly and as uniformly as I possibly could in respect of his thanksgiving proposition, but he wobbled so frequently that he ended by leaving me in the lurch. I voted for his Bill and he voted against it.

MILITARY TRAINING.

On the notice of motion Mr. Mowat being called:

That, in the opinion of this House, it is a duty of every citizen in a democratic country to be ready to defend it, and that it is desirable as soon as may be to save the expense of a standing army and to substitute for it the training of all young men physically fit, and a reserve force of those already trained; that such training be done for such periods and seasons as will not substantially interfere with industrial life, and that no pay be given other than for personal comfort allowances.

Mr. MOWAT: Mr. Speaker, the subject matter of this motion has come before the commission of which General Sir William Otter is chairman. I think it advisable, therefore, to ask leave to withdraw the motion until we get an announcement from that commission.

Motion withdrawn.

UNIONIST PROGRAMME—PROTECTION.

Mr. J. H. BURNHAM (Peterborough, West) moved:

Whereas the Ottawa Morning Journal contains the following programme of the Unionist policy given out after caucus, viz.:—

The Programme.

No statement, either official or unofficial, has been given out as to what this programme contains, but, from reliable sources, it is learned that the following are its cardinal principles:

"(1) Imperial.—The maintenance of British connection upon the basis of equal partnership with the Mother Country within the Empire. The question of Empire relationship to be taken up at the Imperial Conference which is expected to meet early next year, and the autonomy of the Dominion and the supremacy of its Parliament on all questions, including that of war, to be safeguarded.

(2) Economic.—Revision of the tariff on a scientific basis and upon the principle that customs duties shall be levied with due regard for the interests of the consumer. Maintenance of direct taxation but not upon a scale so severe as to place Canada in a disadvantageous position in industrial competition with the United States.

(3) Trade.—Extension of foreign trade by encouragement of ocean and railway transportation and by the development of inland waterways and of harbour and shipping facilities.

(4) Labour.—Labour legislation based upon the principles incorporated into the Labour clauses of the Peace Treaty.

(5) Defence.—A standing army of sufficient size only to meet domestic requirements. In future wars of the Mother Country, Canada to be consulted as an essential preliminary to aid being expected.

The Prime Minister put these proposals before the caucus for consideration between now and the next session of the House. When the next session is called members and senators are expected to meet in another caucus and discuss and consider the propositions as desirable planks in the platform of a proposed new party."

And, whereas, in the above reported pronouncement of policy and in the official announcement by the Prime Minister, not one word concerning protection or protective tariff appears and no mention of the same is made; therefore, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the Leader of the Government should know that a proper degree of protection is necessary to the progressive and well-balanced development of Canada and that no policy ignoring the protective principle in a Canadian tariff will be acceptable or for the general benefit of Canada.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Lost.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Mr. BURNHAM: Carried.

Motion negatived on division.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

PROPOSED EXTENSION TO NON-RAILWAY SECTIONS OF MARITIME PROVINCES.

On the Order:

Resuming the adjourned debate on the proposed resolution of Mr. McKenzie,—Whereas on the 16th of March, A.D., 1914, this Honourable House passed the following Resolution which was accepted by the Government,—

"Mr. McKenzie moved that in the opinion of this House the time has arrived for the extension of the Intercolonial Railway of Canada into the non-railway sections of the Maritime Provinces within reasonable range of the said railway" See pages 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739 and 1740 of Hansard for the said year, A.D., 1914.

Be it therefore resolved that, in the opinion of this House, the proposals of the said Resolution of the 16th of March, A.D., 1914, should be carried forward to completion at the earliest possible date.

Mr. McKENZIE: I am still hoping that the Minister of Railways (Hon. J. D. Reid) will be here some time some day; therefore I ask that this motion stand.

Motion stands.

ADJOURNMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I move that the House do now adjourn. In making that motion I wish to direct the attention of the leader of the Opposition to the fact that his plea for reservation of days for private members to get their resolutions and motions through, whilst founded upon the best of intentions, does not seem to have had much response from that side of the House or from members generally. Since that plea was made, opportunity has been given six times for all or any of these resolutions and motions to be brought up. There has not, however, seemed to be any great disposition to take advantage of that opportunity, from which I gather that these resolutions and motions are not considered of sufficient importance to justify the time of the House being taken up to any considerable extent in their consideration.

Mr. McKENZIE: When I made that plea I myself had three notices of motion on the Order Paper, and I did not know when I would have an opportunity of dealing with them. Since then, in order to show the leader of the Government my determination to get through with my own motions, I dealt with the whole three and made three speeches with regard to them in one afternoon.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That is a remarkable feat for my honourable friend.

Mr. McKENZIE: I have been very industrious, therefore, and the matter can go high or low so far as I am personally concerned; the House can be closed at any minute, for I am through. But there are as many motions coming from Conservatives or Government members as there are motions coming from members on this side. I took it for granted that everybody who put a notice on the Order Paper meant business; otherwise the motions would have no right to be there, and I thought opportunity should be given to deal with these motions. However, if hon. members opposite do not want to deal with their notices of motion, why it is no fault of mine.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 3.41 p.m.

Thursday, October 9, 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN presented the report of the Special Committee to which was referred Bill No. 18, to amend the Civil Service Act, as follows:

Your Committee have had under consideration the said Bill and agreed to report the same with amendments.

In respect to the classification, your Committee approve of the principle but recommend that the compensation provisions do not come into effect until the beginning of the next fiscal year. And that in the meantime the Civil Service Commission do further consider the same, affording ample opportunity to all members of the Civil Service to be heard thereon. In the opinion of your Committee, this work should be completed by 1st March, 1920, and then presented to the Governor in Council for approval.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by asterisks.)

CANADIAN MERCANTILE MARINE, LTD.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Antigonish and Guysborough):

1. How many cargo vessels are at present in the employ of The Canadian Government Mercantile Marine (Ltd.)?
2. What are their names and D. W. tonnage?
3. What was their initial cost?
4. How much insurance is carried on the hulls?

5. How much of the said insurance is carried in (a) Canadian Companies; (b) British Companies; (c) American Companies; (d) Foreign Companies?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. Eleven.

2. Voyageur, 4,575 d.w.t.; Pioneer, 8,408 d.w.t.; Warrior, 3,995 d.w.t.; Ranger, 8,382 d.w.t.; Volunteer, 4,530 d.w.t.; Recruit, 3,964 d.w.t.; Seigneur, 8,100 d.w.t.; Trader, 3,400 d.w.t.; Sailor, 3,400 d.w.t.; Trooper, 4,300 d.w.t; Signaller, 3,750 d.w.t.

3. Seigneur, $1,522,800; Trader, $684,905; Sailor, $688,185; Voyageur, $947,025; Pioneer, $1,513,440; Warrior, $818,975; Ranger, $1,575,816; Recruit, $812,620; Volunteer, $890,100; Signaller, $768,750; Trooper, $933,-110.

4. $9,115,907.

5. (a) $139,091; (b) $6,348,691; (c) $2,-628,125; (d) nil.

MEDICAL DOCTORS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE AT KINGSTON.

Mr. EDWARDS:

1. What are the names, military ranks, overseas service, dates of appointment and rates of pay and allowances of the doctors connected with Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment at Kingston?

2. What are the duties of the doctors alluded to in the first question, and how many returned soldiers have they had to deal with in an official way during each of the last six months?

3. What are the names and rate of pay and military rank of the doctors connected with Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment at Kings.

Hon. Mr. GUTHRIE:

Return showing names, ex-military ranks, overseas service, date of appointment, rates of pay and allowances, and duties of the doctors connected with the D.S.C.R., at Kingston.

Name.	Ex-Military Rank.	Overseas Service.	Date of Appointment to Staff of D.S.C.R.	Yearly Rate of Salary paid by D.S.C.R.	Duties.
				$	
Dr. E. E. Latta.....	Major....	France.....	6- 8-18	4,500	Unit Medical Director.
Dr. K. C. W. Dean.....	Captain .	France.....	22- 8-18	3,600	Asst. Unit Medical Director.
Dr. R. W. Clark.....	Captain .	Canada.....	1-10-18	3,500	President of Medical Board.
Dr. J. A. MacGregor....	Private..	France and Egypt	1- 2-19	3,000	Member of Medical Board.
Dr. A. B. Haffner.....	Private..	France and Egypt	14- 4-19	3,000	Member of Medical Board.
Dr. W. F. Jackson.....	Captain .	England.....	25- 6-19	3,000	Medical Clinic and Assistant Member of Medical Board, Orthopaedic Appliances.
Dr. C. H. Elliott.....	Captain .	Canada.....	8- 1-19	3,000	Medical Clinic and Administrative, Electro-hydrotheraphy
Dr. S. E. L. Thompson.	Major ...	France.....	1- 7-19 .	3,000	Medical Clinic and Genito-Urinary.
Dr. E. Ryan.....	Captain .	England.....	1- 6-19 (Parttime)	2,400	Neurological Specialist and treatment of neurological cases.
Dr. J. C. Connell.....	Colonel..	Canada.....	1- 3-19 (Parttime)	2,400	Eye, ear, nose and throat specialist treatment of specialist's cases.
Dr. B. H. Hopkins.....	Captain .	Canada.....	9- 9-17	4,200	Medical Superintendent.
Dr. W. MacKay.....	Captain .	Canada.....	14- 9-17	2,400 and subsistence.	Assistant Medical Associate.
Dr. C. B. Waite.....	Captain .	France.....	4- 6-19	2,400 and subsistence.	Assistant Medical Associate.

Return showing number of returned soldiers dealt with in an official way by the doctors connected with the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment at Kingston during each of the last six months:

During the month of March, 1919, 111 admissions, 88 discharges, 60 vocational students were treated, approximately, as outpatients, class 2; 259 were approximately dealt with by this office.

During the month of April, 1919, 175 admissions, 129 discharges, 50 vocational students were treated, approximtely, as out-patients, class 2; 354 were approximately dealt with by this office, as out-patients, class 2.

During the month of May, 1919, 95 admissions, 85 discharges, 60 vocational students were treated, approximately, as outpatients, class 2; 240 were approximately dealt with by this office.

During the month of June, 1919, 104 admissions, 98 discharges, 43 vocational students were treated, approximately, as outpatients, class 2; 245 were approximately dealt with by this office.

During the month of July, 1919, 98 admissions, 95 discharges, 60 vocational students were treated, approximately, as outpatients, class 2; 253 were approximately dealt with by this office.

During the month of August, 1919, 93 admissions, 113 discharges, 50 out-patients, vocational students, were treated, approximately; 256 were approximately dealt with by this office.

In addition to the above figures, many out-patient treatments are given at the clinics as follows:

Total number of treatments to out-patients Class 11, in "C" Unit for the month of June, 1919.. ..	4,244
Ditto for the month of July, 1919..	4,272
Ditto for the month of August, 1919	4,256
Making a total for the three months of..	12,772

These figures do not include certain cases of minor treatments by outside representatives.

Sydenham Military Hospital, Kingston
(Formerly Ongwanda Hospital.)

The following are the names and military rank of the doctors connected with this hospital:

Connell, W. T., Lieut.-Colonel; Mundell, D. E., Lieut.-Colonel; Quigley, J. P., Major; Armstrong, L. N., Captain; Asselstine, S. M., Captain; Gibson, W., Captain; O'Connor, F. X., Captain; Tucker, R. J., Captain; MacDonald, J. O., Captain; Stewart, G. R., Lieutenant.

These officers all receive the pay and allowances of their rank, with the exception of Lieut.-Colonel Mundell, who has been employed as a part-time officer only since June 1st, and as such, received the pay of his rank, plus field allowance for the days actually employed.

Names and rate of pay and ex-military rank of doctors connected with the Sir Oliver Mowat Memorial Sanatorium, Kingston.

Dr. B. H. Hopkins, Captain, $4,200; Dr. W. MacKay Captain, $2,400; Dr. C. B. Waite, Captain, $2,400.

FINANCES OF CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAY.

Mr. ROBB:

1. What were the gross earnings of the Canadian National Railway from January 1, to August 1, 1919?
2. What were the net earnings for the same period?
3. What is the total interest paying debt of the Canadian National Railway?
4. What is the amount of interest on debt of said railway annually payable?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. $50,730,974.94.
2. $9,041,464.62. (Deficit.)
3. $460,225,148.93.
4. $19,073,387.08.

HUDSON BAY RAILWAY.

Mr. CAMPBELL:

1. How many ties were taken from the Hudson Bay railway, for use elsewhere, during the years 1917 and 1918?
2. What disposal was made of these ties?
3. How much steel and railway equipment was taken from the Hudson Bay railway, for use elsewhere, during the years 1917, 1918 and the present year?
4. What disposal was made of this steel and railway equipment?
5. Was any of it sent to France?
6. Has any work been done on the Hudson Bay railway this year in the way of ballasting or betterment of the road in any way? If so, to what extent?
7. In May last contracts were let for ties to be delivered on the Hudson Bay railway. Are these ties to be used for the completion of this railway?
8. The steel on the Hudson Bay railway having been laid in 1916 as far as Mile 332, and the dump or grade having previous to that time been constructed to Hudson Bay at Mile 424, when does the Government propose to have this road completed to the Bay by the laying of 92 miles of steel from Mile 322 to Mile 424?
9. Why was this work not done this year?
10. Early in 1918 it was reported that the Government had purchased in the United States a large quantity of steel rails which were originally intended for shipment to the Russian Government, and that a considerable quantity of these rails had been shipped to Vancouver and that it was the intention to use certain of these rails for completion of the Hudson Bay railway. Was any purchase of this nature made? If so, what quantities of steel rails were purchased and what disposal was made of them?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. Approximately 425,000 ties were turned over to the Canadian National railways.
2. These were for use on the Canadian National Railway lines in Western Canada.
3. Eight hundred and twenty-five gross tons rails and part of J. D. McArthur's equipment.
4. The rails were purchased by Grand Trunk Pacific railway and the McArthur equipment purchased by the Canadian National railways.
5. No.
6. A small amount of ballasting only.
7. The ties were for renewals on the Hudson Bay railway.
8. Just as soon as the financial condition of the country will permit.
9. Owing to the building of branch lines in the West, which it was considered were urgently required.
10. The Government purchased 35,999.3 gross tons rails in the United States, which were rolled for shipment to the Russian Government, and these rails were used for branch lines and betterments to existing railways throughout Canada, owing to Canadian rails not being obtainable due to the rail mills of Canada being utilized for the production of munition steel.

FINANCIAL OBLIGATION OF CANADA.

Mr. ROBB:

1. What are the amounts which go to make up the difference between $2,907,669,041.50 and $1,670,263.52, stated to be the gross debt and

net debt of Canada respectively as stated in answer to question given in Hansard September 25, 1919?

2. What are the amounts of bonded debt due by Canada payable respectively in Canada, United States and Great Britain, on August 31, 1919?

3. What is the amount of interest payable per year on the indebtedness referred to in question two?

4. What is the total amount of the indebtedness of the Canadian National Railway Company on which interest was payable on August 1, 1919?

5. What is the amount of interest payable annually on the indebtedness referred to in question four?

6. What is the amount of floating indebtedness for which the loan of $300,000,000 is now being asked for?

7. What are the purposes for which said loan of three hundred million are to be devoted in settlement of?

8. Is the indebtedness of the Canadian National Railway Company included in the statement of gross debt given in answer to question on September 25, 1919?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER:

1. Investments:

Sinking funds	$ 18,667,513 13
Other investments	343,662,592 52
Province accounts	2,296,327 90
Miscellaneous and banking accounts	872,776,916 43
Total assets	$1,237,403,349 98

2.

Canada	$1,513,516,567 76
London	362,703,312 40
New York	135,873,000 00

3. Estimates 1919-20 provide for interest on public debt $102,767,625.94.

4 and 5 relate to the Department of Railways and Canals.

6. $265,000,000.

7. Payment of floating indebtedness as above and to meet expenditures to be made in connection with demobilization (including the authorized war service gratuity to our soldiers, land settlemeent loans, and other purposes connected with their re-establishment into civil life), for capital outlay upon shipbuilding, and other national undertakings forming part of Canada's industrial reconstruction programme, and for the establishment of any necessary credits for the purchase of grain, foodstuffs, timber, and other products, and will be spent wholly in Canada.

8. No.

NIGHT OPERATOR AT LEMIEUX.

Mr. TRAHAN:

1. Has the position of night operator at Lemieux (Nicolet), on the Intercolonial Railway, been abolished?

2. If so, why?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. Yes.

2. To reduce expenses.

ALLEGED BOGUS PASSPORTS IN MONTREAL.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:

1. Is the Government aware that whilst the Military Service Act was in force before the armistice, one thousand bogus passports were issued by the Russian Consul General in Montreal, Mr. Likatschiff, to foreigners, even to alien enemies?

2. Is it true that Captain Carter, Inspector of alien enemies in Montreal and representing Sir Percy Sherwood of the Dominion Police, being aware of this situation, decided to carry on an investigation and to arrest said Consul, but was prevented to do so by the Government?

3. If so, for what reason?

4. Did the American authorities make representations to the Government regarding said bogus passports being issued for the United States?

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY:

1. No.

2, 3, 4. Answered by No. 1.

TELEPHONE POLES, KENT COUNTY, N.B.

Mr. LEGER:

1. Were tenders called for by the Government in the years 1918 or 1919 for the purchasing of telephone poles for the line of telephones between Point Sapin and Kouchibouguac Beach, Kent county, New Brunswick?

2. If so, was there any notice calling for tenders posted in Kent county?

3. If not, where were the notices posted?

4. Was the lowest tender accepted?

5. What is the name of the contractor?

Hon. Mr. SIFTON:

1. Yes.

2, 3, 4, 5. A poster inviting tenders for a supply of cedar poles 25 feet long and not less than 5 inches across the top, to the number of 640 more or less, distributed along the roadway was issued on 15th February, 1918, to the telephone agents along the line, Chatham to Point Sapin, and was circulated in the neighbourhood generally and resulted in an offer from Mr. D. Lewis, of Escuminac, 25th February, at $3.10 per pole, and from Mr. P. A. Robichaud, of Point Sapin, 26th February, at $2 per pole. These offers were however crossed by the issuing, in March, 1918, of a newspaper advertisement inviting tenders and requiring a 5 per cent security deposit. The only tender received in response was one from Mr. L. J. Loggie, of Chatham, at $2.50 per pole; this price was considered too high and inquiries were made along the route of the line for poles distributed at the price of $2 each, and in October, 1918, Mr. J. A. Manzerelle, of Lower Sapin, was arranged with at that price. Later on, however, Mr. Manzerelle, in November, 1918, withdrew his

offer, whereupon a similar offer was made by Mr. L. J. Loggie and accepted. The poles were in due course accepted along the route at the price of $2 per pole to the total number of 514, the distance covered measuring 16 miles.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (leader of the Opposition): I would like to inquire if the leader of the Government is able to give us definite information to-day as to when we may expect prorogation, and further, if any definite conclusion has been reached as to whether the House will sit on Monday (Thanksgiving Day) or not?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): On making inquiry I think it is absolutely impossible for us to do our duty and get through business this week. Mr. Calder's Committee, which is a very important one as hon. gentlemen know, will not be able to report as soon as expected, and the membership of the House desires to be present when that report is submitted. I do not think it is possible therefore to anticipate getting away this week. That being the case, I think probably we had better intermit Thanksgiving Day for the business of the House and devote our hearts and our minds seriously to thanksgiving for the many mercies that are vouchsafed to us, particularly in comparison with other countries and other peoples. With regard to other legislation I am not in a position to make an announcement to-day. In reference to this I might extend the advice to both sides that the Whips and members should conjointly arrange to be present and have as large an attendance as possible for the important legislation which is coming up in the later days of the session. I think our duty is not to slight legislation for the sake of getting away a few days earlier than we otherwise might be able to do. The session has not been a long one, and I should invite the Whips on both sides to make arrangements to have during next week as full an attendance of members as possible.

Mr. McKENZIE: Is the leader of the Government intimating that further legislation is coming down?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I have no announcement to make in reference to that, but an announcement will be made probably to-morrow as to what, if any, legislation will yet be brought down.

[Mr. Sifton.]

PRIVILEGE—STATEMENT BY MR. D. D. McKENZIE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Mr. Speaker, I wish to refer to what may be regarded as a question of privilege. In the Halifax Chronicle of October 4, the hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) is reported under Parliamentary Proceedings to have stated as follows:

> Mr. Mowat of Toronto rather scored off the Opposition Leader when he recalled that in his own peaceful bailiwick the militia had to be called out a few weeks ago to stop riots, and Canada had to come to the Courts to collect for the expenditure on the same.

If the hon. member for Parkdale is correctly reported, I must say that there is not a scintilla of truth in that statement, nor the slightest foundation for it. There were no riots in Nova Scotia, no militia were called out, and no expense of this kind were incurred or attempted to be collected. When the hon. member spoke the other day he made reference to something that took place thirty-six years ago, but he is reported as having referred to an event of three weeks ago. I do not wish to have any stain like that on my province, and therefore I deem it to be my duty to set the matter right.

CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce) moved the second reading of Bill No. 21 respecting the Canadian Wheat Board.

He said: Mr. Speaker, I dislike making extended remarks on the motion for the second reading of this Bill, but some statements I made in the House on the resolution seem to have been misunderstood, and I therefore think it necessary to take up a few moments of the time of the House in answering some of the questions which have been put by way of criticism and comment. The President of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange took a newspaper report of my speech and considered that if it was true I misrepresented the situation, insofar as the farmers' market was concerned in the West, both absolutely and comparatively, as taken in relation with the farmers' market in the United States. Generally in the criticisms a number of questions have been asked, which I think are quite in order, and I desire to make a reply to them before we go into Committee of the Whole.

In the first place, the question is put as to why the exchange market was opened up in Winnipeg, and why it was afterwards closed. A great many opinions have been

expressed as to the reasons for both steps. I am free to say that if the Government had had the same information before the market was opened up as it had shortly afterwards, probably the market would not have been opened up at all; but we all depend for our sources of information on agencies, and we have to take from them what information we get from time to time, and in these confused and abnormal conditions information sometimes develops quite rapidly and changes the point of view of the seeker for enlightenment on the general question. As far as I am myself concerned, as the head of the Department of Trade and Commerce, and as far as the Government is concerned, there is no doubt that we were not at all anxious to undertake any controlled system of the marketing of wheat this year. We had experience of the controlled system of marketing during the two preceding years when the war was on, and when I think by general consent, even though some felt that their business and their privileges were largely curtailed by the fact of Government control and operation, it was conceded that nothing else was possible during those times. When the Armistice was declared and peace came in sight the natural desire, both of the Government and of the grain trade, reverted again with all its force that the shackles should be taken off and control should not be exercised, and I was of the opinion, as was the Government, that quite probably very great freedom, if not complete freedom, might be given to the Grain Trade, so that it could resume its normal and accustomed channels for carrying on its various operations. A delegation was sent by the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, which visited London while I was there, and I was in communication with that delegation. The opinion of that delegation was entirely in favour of the open market, of resuming the former methods of carrying on the grain business in this country and for export purposes.

Mr. MAHARG: Is the minister referring to the delegation that I accompanied ?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. MAHARG: Well, I wish to disassociate myself entirely from that view. I was not agreeable to the opening up of the grain market at any time.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Possibly I have confused the delegations. There were two, were there?

Mr. MAHARG: Probably the minister might separate them by saying there was a delegation from the Grain Exchange.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I am speaking of the delegation from the Grain Exchange. Whether my hon. friend was on that or not, I do not remember; I do not suppose he was. As he now says he was not, I will confine myself to the delegation from the Grain Exchange which was in favour of the open market for the current crop. I may say that the grain trade in Great Britain and also the Royal Wheat Commission were favourable to that idea if it could possibly be carried out. Then I say in reference to the criticism that the Government were desirous on their own part that control should have place rather than the normal methods of carrying on the business.

It certainly is not a thing which a Government wishes to undertake; it is a thing which primarily belongs to those who are experienced in the business and understand it from a practical point of view. However, as matters progressed, it became more and more evident that if there were an open market and normal methods were reverted to, there would be slight prospect of a speedy sale for the farmers' wheat—if, indeed, it would be possible in the lapse of time to market the wheat at all by the old methods. This condition arose from several considerations. In the first place, there was a lack of speedy decision amongst the purchasing powers of the Allies, and several considerations contributed to that lack of speedy decision. Two or three of these are the following: Until the crops attained a certain state of maturity it was impossible to estimate what would be the requirements of the European countries, measured by what quantities these countries could produce for their own needs. Until the crops had progressed to a certain stage towards maturity no one could make a fair estimate of what amount would be contributed by the production of the European countries themselves towards their own possible consumption. On the other hand, it was impossible to estimate accurately what would be the surplus of wheat in the producing and exporting countries until a certain stage of maturity had been reached. Consequently, the British Government, the Wheat Commission, the Allies themselves, did not go into the market; they held off on account of the two very important considerations which I have mentioned before making con-

tracts or entering into arrangements for the supplying of their needs.

There was also the consideration of finance, which I spoke of the other day. It was impossible for them to gather up a sufficient amount of cash with which to buy for their needs. Credits were necessary and those credits had to be arranged as between Governments. The question of the wherewithal to pay and the credits to be made where cash payments were impossible—as they would be in the majority of cases—was, therefore, a third and very important consideration in coming to a conclusion in the matter. All these considerations had the direct effect of keeping out of contracts and actual engagements those European countries which would ultimately require more or less, the quantity to be determined later.

The impression being entertained that it was possible to carry on the business of the grain trade in Canada and for export by a reversion to the old methods, permission was given for the opening of the exchange and it was opened. Subsequent information led the Government, after careful consideration, to the conclusion that it was impossible satisfactorily to market the grain crop of the farmers of Canada on the old open system. Practically without exception, the European countries, as they did last year, make their purchases of grain and the necessary arrangements in connection therewith under Government control. There are no open exchanges in Europe where prices are fixed. There was and is no organized system of individual or corporate buying, owing to the conditions to which I have already referred. The Government, therefore, came to the conclusion that we would have to revert to control; that Government supervision would have to be exercised and that Government facilities for moving the crop would have to be made available. The grain exchange was open for a short time; then it was closed at the request of the Government. Hon. members connected with the grain trade are quite familiar with what took place at that time. There was a speculative rise in the price of grain. I do not know how far that advance went, but it was continuous and it was considerable, and the Government felt that those speculative advances and the conditions under which they were brought about produced an unhealthy situation as well for the farmer who wished to market his grain as in respect of the possible buying sources in the Old Country. If one looks into the transactions during that time in the Exchange, he will find that the number and amount of actual sales were very small indeed. The price went up and that gave the farmer the idea that that was an indication of the price at which he could sell his product. We did not think that it was an indication of the price, and if it was not an indication of the real price that the farmer could get, the running up of prices by speculative operations was not in the interests of the farmer; it tended to create erroneous impressions on the part of the farmer as to what he would ultimately get and to bring about discontent when those anticipations were disappointed.

Again, suppose that the market had been kept open and that speculative prices had gone up to $2.50, $2.75 or $3 a bushel, what would have been the effect upon possible buyers in Europe? The quotations of exchange would have been taken as the price to be paid by parties on the other side for Canadian wheat. These buying parties, therefore, would say: We cannot undertake to buy from Canada at $2.50, $2.75, $3 a bushel—indeed, at any price that was indicated by the Exchange—because we can get it much cheaper elsewhere.

It would consequently have thrown them off from any pursuit of the Canadian market at all. Therefore, it would have a doubly bad effect, first, on the farmer at home, raising in his mind the idea by means of a speculative quotation that he should get higher prces for his wheat than he possibly could, and, secondly, in the throwing off of those who were seeking wheat supplies because of the high quotations which were made on the exchange itself. If there is a farmer who says: The Government did me an injury because when wheat went up on the exchange, the exchange was closed and I was precluded from selling my wheat at that price; again I revert to my statement that if he had attempted to sell his wheat, and if all the farmers had attempted to sell their wheat at the speculative price quoted on the exchange during those weeks, they would have been able to sell no proportion of their wheat at all. Those were simply speculative prices. The farmer says, and the critics of the Government plan say: You closed the market and the farmer now is down to the initial price of $2.15, with the prospect of getting what he can out of the surplus of the marketing of his crop; but on the other side of the line the United States farmer is getting $2.50, $2.60, $2.75, $2.80, $2.90, $3 a bushel for his wheat, and I can give you the market quotations at Minneapolis and at other points where those

prices are being paid. And the farmer says: Why should the Canadian farmer not get an equal price as his product is of an equal or of a better quality than the wheat produced on the United States side of the line? The answer to that is this, that the market on the other side of the line is not open to the farmers of Canada. Whether you had an open exchange or an open market or not, the United States market is closed to the seller of Canadian wheat and to the seller of Canadian flour. Consequently, whatever methods you had of marketing in Canada, the farmer who produces wheat in Canada cannot, under the circumstances of to-day, market his wheat in the United States, and, therefore, he cannot share in the same rate as the United States farmer gets. I think that is clear enough, and I leave that statement as to that part of the matter at that.

It was stated that my remarks led to the conclusion that the Canadian farmer got $2.15 as an initial payment at the station to which he brought his wheat. I do not think the members of the House understood me in that way, and I do not think those who are conversant with the grain trade and with the system we have been pursuing for the last three years misunderstood me. But if any one did understand the matter in that way, my statement in regard to that is this, that I was speaking of the wheat business on the basic price which had been settled by the Canadian Wheat Board and of the basic price which had been settled by the United States Government on the other side of the line; that all of us, I supposed knew if that basic price were paid at a certain point, there would be a variation in the price paid on that basis at every point distant more or less from the basic point, and that you would have to take freight and charges between the station point and the basic point in calculating what the farmer would get. It was never my intention, as it was foreign to the information which I possess, to state that $2.15 was received by the western farmer at every station to which he brought his grain. So much with reference to that.

I have been criticised also—and maybe there is ground for the criticism—for leading up to the impression that in the United States the farmer got no more than the $2.26 which was fixed by the United States Government as what they would pay the farmer, that price being based, I think, on the Chicago price. Well, maybe my remarks were not sufficiently guarded to avoid an impression of that kind, but you cannot have everything in your mind at the same time. I was pursuing the argument as to what the Government had fixed and what the aspect of the farmer was towards the Government's fixed price. To make the explanation which would at once carry the whole of the truth, I may say that $2.26 is both the maximum and the minimum price fixed and paid by the United States Government for export wheat, and it was with reference to export market that I was speaking at that time; that the United States will pay no more and, we suppose, will pay no less, and that every bushel of wheat, whether it be in the form of wheat or of wheat flour, that goes out of the United States for export to European countries, goes out on the basis of that fixed price of $2.26. But there is in the United States domestic market a freedom of millers to compete one with another above the fixed price of $2.26. They may not pay less, but they may pay as much more as they choose, and that accounts for the fact that you have in the United States at various market points, without the competition of the millers for special grades under special circumstances, wheat going up to as high a price as $2.75, $2.90 and $3.00. But if that be the case in the United States, as I stated before, it is impossible for the Canadian farmer to benefit by that condition in the United States, no matter under what system, free or controlled, the grain trade was carried on in our country. So, though this is not pleasing to the farmer, at the same time, it is not the fault of the Government, it is owing to conditions fixed by the United States Government, which has fixed a price for its surplus and for its wheat, and which will not allow importations of wheat or of flour into that country to interfere with the very heavy responsibility that it took, and with the marketing of its surplus at, if possible, nothing below the price that is paid for it to the United States farmer. Some might argue that if you had the open system in Canada and gave the millers the right to compete one with another, you would have a similar condition of things in this country, and that the farmer would get a higher price for his wheat through the competition of the millers. That may seem to be so, but to my mind it is not and cannot possibly be so owing to the different conditions. Supposing that the millers had the right of competition in an open market and that they did so compete, the inevitable consequence would be that, if they paid more than the fixed price which obtains, the consuming population of Canada would have to pay that much more for their

flour. In the United States, if you take the quotations of flour, you will find that they run from $1.25 to $2.00 per barrel higher than quotations for similar brands in the Dominion of Canada. That is, if for any special reasons the millers pay $3 for their wheat, they must work out the profit to themselves on the brands of flour that they make from that wheat, and that causes a higher price for flour to the whole of the consumers of the country. That would take place provided that competition amongst the millers in Canada did bring about the result of the farmers getting higher prices for the wheat that they sold to the millers. But there is in Canada another condition which is a very important and serious one, namely, that to-day there is very little market; indeed, I might say that at certain times there is absolutely no market for wheat flour from Canada. I explained that the other day. Your Italian, your Greek, your Frenchman, your United Kingdom man—all of these people want wheat because they want the offal and secondary products from that wheat, and they are the ones to say what and, if possible, to get what they want. Before the war, if I am not mistaken, the wheat flour export of this country was some three to four millions of barrels. During the war it ran up to eight, nine or ten million barrels. To-day, under the conditions I have just mentioned, it is difficult to get an order for wheat flour for export from Canada at all and the Canada Wheat Board are putting forth some of their best and shrewdest efforts in order to mingle certain of the orders for flour along with orders for wheat as well so as to provide some export market for the Canadian millers and help them in that direction. But if, in the open market, the millers were left to find a market for themselves in European countries for flour, it would be very difficult indeed for them to do so. Consequently, they would not be anxious to buy more wheat from the Canadian farmer than was necessary for their own home consumption. They would tread very warily before they would pay competitive prices in order to store up an amount of flour for export a market for which they had a very poor prospect of getting. Therefore, they would march slowly, and they would buy from the farmer from day to day, week to week, or month to month, what was necessary to provide for the home consumption demand which would be small.

If you sum up the trend of these observations the situation sizes itself up in this way: Here is your Canadian farmer with his wheat threshed out in September and October. He wants an immediate market for that wheat. He wants as large a price as possible and he wants cash payment for his wheat. Under the conditions which existed there was no source from which this cash might be expected. I was at the centre of operations there for several months and I never could get the buying authorities, or the prospective buying authorities, in European countries to make any decision as to when they would be in the market or as to the price they would be willing to offer. Therefore, you have this situation, that unless somebody came to the front and supplied a method by which the cash was ready for the immediate purchase of the grain, and the immediate payment to the farmer, you would have a condition of things which would be very detrimental to the farmers themselves.

Their crop was garnered, their sales would be few and far between, comparatively, and the cash they demanded would be difficult to find. In that position you would have no work for your railways for, unless the grain starts to go out promptly upon its being ready for sale, the railways lose their best opportunity for carrying. That was another item which led up to the conclusion reached by the Government. As it is the Government steps in and cash for the immediate purchase of the wheat is provided for. The banks take on the payments, the purchases are made promptly and they are paid for in cash. Up to the present moment, I think I am justified in saying that at least 50 per cent of the total surplus of the Canadian farmers has already been sold and to that extent the money is provided in so far as it is required for prompt and speedy payment when the farmer sells his grain. I am satisfied that with no organized buying with credits, under the conditions that existed and with all these things government controlled on the other side of the water, which in the main they were, it would have been impossible to have had speedy and cash transactions in the wheat of the Canadian farmer under any other system than that which has been provided by the Government.

There was a lot of misconception—I am not going to call it by a harsher name—I might say that it was misrepresentation—of the Government's position in reference to this matter. In the first place it was stated, and held to with the most wonderful tenacity that I ever experienced in this country,

that the Government had fixed a price of $1.75 and that that was all they were going to pay or that was going to be allowed to be paid to the Canadian farmer. That all existed in the fertile, and not inocuous, imagination of some people who wanted that argument in order to use it to the detriment of somebody or of some Government. That is the only remark that I am going to make in regard to the matter. Neither by myself, by any member of the Government or by the Government as a whole, was there any decision or supposition or suggestion as to the fixing of a price of $1.75. Yet that has been made to do duty against the system which has been brought in by the Government, and to this day it is held more or less firmly by quite too many of the people of this country.

Then again, when the price was fixed, it was not a price fixed by the Government itself. It was a price which was fixed as the initial payment by the Canadian Wheat Board. I want to correct the misrepresentations which are abroad in reference to the relations between the Government and the old Board of Supervisors of last year and the preceding year and the present Canada Wheat Board. When the Government placed in the hands of the Board of Grain Supervisors in 1917 and 1918 the management of the marketing of the grain of Canada it left it with these gentlemen and it did not interfere with what they did. In the same way in relation to the Canada Wheat Board, the Government tried to get the best representative men that it could, and having got that board it leaves the matter in their hands and it does not interfere with what they do.

If representations are made to the Government, they will be submitted to the Canada Wheat Board, by whom they will be considered. The millers, the producers, the consumers and the varied interests are all represented on that board, and I do not think that its capacity or calibre has been adversely criticised with any success; nor indeed has it been largely criticised in any event. The board having once been appointed, comprised of practical men, the Government leaves them unhampered to do the work that has been entrusted to them and for the performance of which they are empowered. Now, the board took the situation into retrospective consideration, and they decided that the initial payment should be $2.15. But, as a matter of fact, this had to be approved by council, and council did approve of it immediately, as the recommendation of the board's mature consideration. In regard to the criticism that is made against that action, I think it is well that I should say something. The general trend of criticism is to this effect: "You have your $2.15, which is all you will get." I may mention just what the scheme is. The Board of Wheat Commissioners shall market the whole crop at the best possible advantage, shall pay the costs, and return shall be made, upon the basis of the quantity which each producer has sold, of any amount in excess of the $2.15 paid initially. The general trend of the criticism, as I say, is to induce the farmers to believe that they will get the $2.15, or the proportional amount wherever they have their grain, and no more. The contention is: "It will all be squandered and nothing will be left." There are participation certificates that every purchaser gets which entitle him to his proportionate return from the pool—his return proportionate to the quantity of grain that is sold. These certificates are negotiable and the farmer may sell them; and the whole force of such criticism, wherever it originates, tends to confirm in the farmer's mind the idea that he has all that he will get. Probably he lends a too-willing ear to the broker or the buyer who says to him: "You have your participation certificate for which you will never get much; but I am prepared to pay you a certain sum for it and will take my chances of loss." Now, it is but human nature that if that impression is forced upon the farmer, that he is not likely to get anything more, he will take what is offered to him by the broker or dealer and consequently part with his certificate. I would advise farmers to hold their participation certificates. Taking my view from the amount of grain that has already been marketed and the prospects for marketing all the rest of it, I would urge upon the farmer the importance of retaining the certificate and would counsel him not to part with it for a song. It will be a substantial advantage to him. No one can tell exactly how much the advantage will be, but looking at the matter in the light of present experience, the advantage will be considerable. I merely mention this as a sort of caution or warning in this respect; for undoubtedly I do not think that any man is doing the most good to the farmer in disseminating the idea that he is not going to derive any greater advantage than the initial payment of $2.15. I think I have met quite a large number of the objections that have been raised, and it is not my in-

tention to multiply words unnecessarily in connection with this matter. But I think I should touch upon the United States system. There is competition in the United States over the $2.26 fixed basic price for domestic purposes. The millers may buy and pay more; the bakers may also buy and pay more; but if either miller or baker buys and pays more than $2.26 for whatever surplus of wheat or flour he finds on hand he has to go to the United Grain Corporation to dispose of it and will be paid for that surplus on the basis of the fixed price of $2.26 and not upon the basis of the price that he has paid to the farmer in his competition with other millers or bakers. So that it is fair to say that everything which is exported of wheat and wheat products out of the United States goes on the export basis of $2.26 as the maximum price which is to be paid. There are other sources for European countries in the obtaining of grain than Canada. Australia is opened up by better conditions and its trade has a very large surplus. The Argentine is also open and at rates which are far lower than those quoted from the United States or from Canada. Neutral and allied countries can therefore turn to these sources, and it seems to be fairly settled, as a result of this condition, that the United States is ready to sell to any European customer who desires to buy, provided cash or credits are forthcoming at $2.26, or probably a shade under that price. My opinion is that the farmer in Canada, for the export grain which goes out of the country either in the shape of wheat or of flour, will get a larger price than that for what he has to market. Consequently, looked at in that light, and taking into consideration the advantages of quick market, steady market, and cash market, it seems to me--and I believe it will so prove —that it will be ultimately concluded that the system adopted by the Government after very careful consideration has saved the situation in Canada so far as the disposal of its grain is concerned. The question is asked: why did you turn down the grain trade; why did you shut them off from participation in the work? Well, it is unfair to say that the grain trade has been precluded from their usual work. Under this present system to-day, after all the criticisms that have been made as to what the Wheat Board would do in the way of machinery, what are the facts of the case? Your street buyer is at work as usual; your track buyer is at work as usual; your elevator buyer is also at his customary work; the elevator storage system is doing precisely what it did before or would do under an open system, and is doing it in exactly the same way. The commission man is also getting his commission and in buying and selling. The broker gets his brokerage, —probably not as much as he wants or would like to have, but he is getting it the same as before. The insurance man is getting insurance contracts as he previously did, and the banker is making his advancements as of yore. Every particle of machinery in the grain trade is functioning to-day just as it did before or would do under an open and unrestrained market, with the exception of this fact, that under the present system speculative prices and profits are absolutely shut out and the farmer receives the actual return for his grain, minus the actual expenses of carrying on the marketing of the grain.

Now speculators or grain traders' profits are legitimate things because these men take risks and if they take risks they must pay themselves by the price that they get compared with the price that they pay. Therefore, it is their interest to pay the lowest possible price for what they buy and to get the highest possible market price for what they sell, and they make out of that margin their expenses and their profits, and sometimes those profits are very substantial. Expenses go on the same as before and not to a greater extent if to as great an extent; but profits are absolutely shut out to the trader and consequently the return is by that much the greater and should be the more satisfactory to the farmer himself.

But the question is asked: Is this to be a permanent system? My answer to that is an emphatic no. It is not a system that the Government coveted to have. A tremendous amount of difficulty, of criticism, and of bad feeling is inevitably aroused when a government takes hold of a thing of this kind and carries it through. No government courts a proceeding of that kind; and it was only the force of circumstances, and their conviction that nothing else could be done to save the situation well, that induced the Government to take the system of supervision and control this year. It is not the intention to make it permanent. We believe that this year is the last year during which the same system of government control will be carried out in the same way. Whatever the country, through its legislature, may determine to do with the nationalization of the wheat or the grain business hereafter, is a different matter but I have answered the question

whether this is to be a permanent system or not. I apologize to the House for taking up so much time—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Go on.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: —but I felt it was necessary to make some of these points in order that adverse criticism, which is not well-founded, should not be allowed to prejudice either the farmer or any one else. I cannot think of any other points to deal with, but as we go through with the Bill in committee I shall be glad to answer any questions that may be asked.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: We have had a repetition to-day of what was heard in this House in the latter part of 1910 and in 1911—that is a very eloquent and clever speech as a substitute for satisfactory trade conditions. We had in the years 1910 and 1911 the prospects of a magnificent trade between Canada and the United States. A population of less than eight millions of people then had the opportunity of exchanging freely with one hundred millions of people the products which the people of Canada could produce in abundance. The opportunity was at our door, it was obtainable, it was within our reach. I remember well the speeches on that occasion of the hon. gentleman who to-day leads the Government, and who, at that time, headed the forces of the Tory party in the movement to break down those relations that were being built up and which really did exist between the Government of the United States and the Government of Canada. He and his party succeeded in making the people of Canada believe that it was a bad thing to have freedom of trade between our country and the great country to the south of us. He made the people of Canada believe that if we had wheat or cattle to sell to the United States it was a mistake to send it immediately across the border to the neighbouring republic; that it was a greater advantage for us to use our railroads, and the ships that might be available, and send that freight out of the country and across the Atlantic. That was the system of trade which the hon. gentleman and his party thought was a good thing for Canada in preference to trade with the United States. It was not very long after the hon. gentleman and his party came into power when they made it their boast that they had acquired, or obtained, for the people of the Canadian West this freedom of trade—that they had obtained in a better way, as they said, the reciprocity which was so much coveted by the Canadian people and that it was a fixture for them; they had found it in a better way. To-day, Sir, we are told by the Minister of Trade and Commerce that the doors of the United States are closed against any trading in any way. The doors are closed against our wheat and our flour, there is no foreign market for these products of ours, and we are in the position, according to the minister, where we must find money ourselves—put our hands down in our pockets and find the money—and send it over to a trading commission in England who will buy our own flour with with our own money. That is the substitute, Sir, that is the alternative, which is brought about in this country by the policy or hon. gentlemen opposite, led by the Minister of Trade and Commerce from 1911 up to the present, on that question of trade. It is for the Canadian people——

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Would the hon. gentleman state whether or not he is opposed to the giving or extension of credits to buying countries, who are not able at the present time to pay cash, in order to help our export trade and consequently employment in Canada itself? Is he opposed to that principle?

Mr. McKENZIE: We are not dealing with that question to-day.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The hon. gentleman is making an argument upon it.

Mr. McKENZIE: I hear the exclamations of hon. gentlemen opposite. They are watching with interest and care for the slightest consolation they may receive from the gentlemen on the treasury benches who lead them, and lead them they know not where. I say to the right hon. gentleman, who at present leads the Government, that I am in favour of an honest, straightforward and wholesome trade for this country, and that I am opposed to his asking me, or asking the ordinary man in Canada, to find money and to send that money to Europe to buy the goods of this country in order to keep up war prices for the ordinary consuming people of this Dominion. I give the complete answer to the hon. gentleman that I am not in favour of artificial trade of that kind. I am in favour of selling our goods to the people of the United States who have the money to buy those goods and who are willing to send the money here; but the hon. gentleman and his party have brought about a condition, have brought about such relations with the hundred millions of people on the other side of the line, that we cannot trade with

them, which puts us in a position that we must find our own money and with our own money trade with ourselves without anything coming in in return for it—the goods going out bought with Canadian money, and nothing coming in in return except old bonds which we cannot sell, that we might get from Roumania, Poland, and other places. If my hon. friend is anxious to put up good Canadian money—which we must borrow and which we must go down on our knees to obtain from the United States—and then put that up against very doubtful Roumanian, Polish and other foreign bonds in return for our goods or if that is his system of trade I am against it absolutely and entirely.

I hope, Sir, that my answer to the hon. gentleman (Sir George Foster) is satisfactory and that it will not be a laughing matter for hon. gentlemen opposite who think that a clever question was thrown across the floor by their leader. I do not so regard it; there is nothing clever about it. We have a very clever speech, and very poor trade. This country, Sir, is looking for good trade, and is very indifferent about speeches. That is the situation which confronts us to-day.

For many years, Sir, it was difficult to get the American people to talk trade with us. Since 1872 great statesmen like the late Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper and Sir Wilfrid Laurier and others have made unsuccessful attempts to establish proper trade relations with our neighbours to the south. At last, in 1910-11, it was the good fortune of our hon. friend Mr. Fielding, associated with the Hon. Mr. Paterson, to get the ear of the American people to establish proper, efficient and satisfactory trade relations with them. That opportunity was put at the door of the Canadian people. But hon. gentlemen opposite thought they could play upon the prejudices of our people, so they told them: Why are you going to turn round the railroads that we have built? Are you going to destroy our trade across the continent? Are you going to shove everything we have down south and be a mere adjunct to the United States? Under which flag are you going to be, under the British flag, or are you going to sell yourselves and your loyalty for trade with the United States? That appeal had its effect, and that nonsense, Mr. Speaker, carried the day against the very best interests of the people of this country. That, Sir, has been bearing its results, until to-day the Minister of Trade and Commerce—no less a person; it is not the Minister of Labour, it is not the Minister of Customs, it is not any other minister who may not know about the trade relations of this country with the United States or with any other country who had made the speech which we have listened to this afternoon but it is the Minister of Trade and Commerce, whose business it is to know these things, and yet he comes down to us, Sir, with the poorest kind of a story that could possibly be presented to any country or to any Parliament. He tells us that we cannot trade with the people of the United States—that we have plenty of wheat but we cannot sell it. I have a telegram in my hand which I received from a man in the province of Saskatchewan—

Mr. EDWARDS: Is it signed?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. McKENZIE: Yes, it is signed—and it is not in cypher either.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. McKENZIE: It is in perfectly plain English.

Mr. EDWARDS: It is not forged?

Mr. McKENZIE: It is in perfectly plain English. This man says:

> We can get $3.01—or 86 cents added to $2.15—we could get that for our wheat if we were allowed to sell it across the border. There is a great deal going across, but only by truck loads.

That is the difference to-day, Mr. Speaker. The farmers of the West by reason of the short-sighted policy, which, of course, brought hon. gentlemen opposite into power, are placed in this trade condition, that although they could get $3.01, or about $3 a bushel for their wheat if there were proper trade relations between the two countries, they are bound down to this $2.15—and they may or may not get the whole of that amount. If I understand the right hon. gentleman, they do not get that price at once, and the chances are they may not get it at all, depending on how wheat will sell.

That short-sighted policy, Sir, a policy which was not in the best interests of the farmers or of any other class in Canada, was foisted upon the Canadian people in 1911 by representations from hon. gentlemen opposite which were not borne out by the facts, but which representations were well coloured in speeches such as the one made to-day by the right hon. gentleman who leads the Government. To me, Sir, having heard such speeches during the election of 1911, and knowing the result of that

election and having to some extent suffered in consequence, it is some satisfaction to stand here to-day and to see hon. gentlemen obliged on the floor of this House to acknowledge that they were wrong when they advised the people to refuse to trade with the Americans, to decline the offer of reciprocity—that they were wrong from start to finish, and that they must now go to the people and tell them that instead of getting money from the United States and elsewhere for the goods they have to sell, they must sell those goods through a trade mission beyond the seas, and take bonds in exchange—in short finance the purchase.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Will my hon. friend allow me another question? I do not want to interrupt him unless he is perfectly willing.

Mr. McKENZIE: Certainly.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I want to ask my hon. friend this question, and I think it is necessary for the proper understanding of the subject matter of this debate. He has read a telegram, the purport of which is quite evident. When the tariffs of the two countries provide for the free passage of wheat and the products of wheat between Canada and the United States, why is it that the Canadian farmer under that tariff arrangement cannot take his wheat in and get his $3.01 the same as the United States farmer? My hon. friend understands my question. What he was arguing for, so far as wheat and the products of wheat are concerned is what has actually been the tariff condition during the last year or more. Now, what I want to ask my hon. friend is this: Why is it, that being the tariff condition, that the Canadian farmer cannot put his wheat into that market and get the price that the United States farmer does? Will my hon. friend say now exactly what is the reason?

Mr. McKENZIE: Let me say to my right hon. friend that it is very difficult for an ordinary private member of the House as I am to follow the twists and turns and changes of this Government. They have bungled everything from start to finish. They have switched off from themselves to boards and commissions and private parties everything that they could do themselves. When the minister and his deputy and the men around him who are responsible to this House should have this matter in hand and be able to give us the information first hand, they switch it off to a commission, absolutely independent, and that commission has made regulations which rendered it impossible to send wheat out of this country, and has brought about the absurd conditions which exist to-day. I suppose I shall be called to task if I again go back to ancient history and quote Scripture. But I may be permitted to say that the attitude of the right hon. gentleman reminds me of the answer given by him that aforetime was blind: "One thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see."

Arrangements had been made for good trade relations between Canada and the United States; these arrangements were ready to be taken advantage of, but hon. gentlemen opposite destroyed them and we have not those trade relations to-day. No amount of ingenuity; no amount of questioning; no amount of turning around and putting it this, that or the other way, can alter the fact that we had an opportunity of bringing about good trade relations, permanent and lasting, but that that opportunity was destroyed by hon. gentlemen, who are responsible for the unsatisfactory conditions which exist to-day. How that condition came about the right hon. gentleman knows very much better than I do. This Government is responsible to the people; it is suposed to bring about proper trade conditions and to be far-sighted enough to see what is best for the country. Hon. gentlemen who comprise the Government are supposed to have something in their minds more comprehensive, more conducive to the production of dollars and cents within the country, than the mere desire to keep themselves in power absolutely regardless of the trade and development of the country. Representations were made by hon. gentlemen in 1911 as I have intimated, and the fruit of their success is now before us; the chickens have come home to roost. Instead of bringing money to those whom they represent, hon. members from the West have to sit back and take the speech of my right hon. friend, which I suppose they will send to the constituents in place of wheat and wheat prices. If any of our good friends from the West go back to their ridings and say to the farmers: I have in one hand $3 a bushel for your wheat and I have in the other hand the speech of the Right Hon. Sir George Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce; which will you have? Every one of those farmers will say: Give me the $3 for my wheat and keep the speech for yourself. When the Liberal party were in power they put forth every effort in a proper way to make a good bargain for

the country so far as trade is concerned—particularly for the people of the West—a bargain which would have brought about development of the country and happiness and prosperity in every line of trade and commerce in the West as well as in every part of Canada. But the people have chosen to put their trust in hon. gentlemen opposite, and the result is the condition which we have to-day. It is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when the hon. gentleman will submit themselves and their conduct and their administration to the people, and that a change will take place which will once more put us on the road to happiness and prosperity.

Mr. J. W. EDWARDS (Frontenac): Mr. Speaker, if such a change did take place as that which the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) so hopefully looks forward to, what would the people get? Suppose a change did take place; suppose this Government was put out of office and the party so imperfectly lead by the hon. gentleman at the present time was returned to power, would the people get the benefit of that beautiful policy which was announced in 1911? The hon. member says that that was a splendid, a magnificent policy, perfect in every detail, requiring no changes; and that a curse has fallen like a blanket upon the people of Canada because they did not adopt that policy in 1911.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. EDWARDS "Hear, hear?"

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. EDWARDS: "Hear, hear" again. Hon. gentlemen opposite, from the leader of the Opposition as well as those immediately behind him, are saying "hear, hear" from the depths of most profound ignorance.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. EDWARDS: From the depths of most profound ignorance, Mr. Speaker.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. EDWARDS: And from the depths of—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: The expression may not be very desirable, but I do not understand that it reflects upon hon. gentlemen. I rather take it that the hon. member who has the floor is intimating that hon. gentlemen opposite are mistaken.

Mr. EDWARDS: ——and, from the depths not only of an ignorance profound, but of an ignorance so profound that they do not know their own policy. They are profoundly ignorant, I say, with regard to their own policy, because the leader of the Opposition, when he spoke a few minutes ago about their policy of 1911 being the correct and proper policy for this country, entirely lost sight of the fact that the very party of which he is temporary leader, and of which he sought to be the permanent leader, in their convention at Ottawa a couple of months ago repudiated that policy in 1911 and asserted that it was not right for this country.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Mr. EDWARDS: Isn't that true?

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Mr. EDWARDS: It is absolutely true, and I will prove it in a few minutes. In the policy of 1911 the Liberal party went on record as advocating free trade between the two countries in natural products, but affirmed that in their opinion no changes should be made in the tariff on manufactured articles. In that policy, which, according to the leader of the Opposition, was so perfect, they proposed no changes in the duties on manufactured articles except a slight change in the duty on agricultural implements—a change which brought the duty down to less than the present duty on agricultural implements. That was the only change they favoured. Is that in accordance with the platform which they laid down at their convention in Ottawa in the month of August last? No, Mr. Speaker; they wanted to appeal to the residents of cities and towns. They had become aware of the fact—it had at last filtered into the grey matter of their systems—that the farmers refused in 1911 to be put up against the competition of the world in what they had to produce and sell and at the same time to be obliged to pay duty on the articles that they had to buy in order to work their land. The farmers said: "If you are going to oblige us to compete with the United States, with Argentina, with all the countries on the face of the earth, in what we produce and have to sell, we ask you to carry the proposal a step further and remove the duties on the things that we have to buy." The farmers were absolutely dissatisfied; and that has at last got into the brains of hon. gentlemen opposite. At their convention in August last, they said: Our policy in 1911 was wrong, unfair and unjust.

Mr. BALDWIN: If the hon. member has at hand the platform of the National Liberal Convention, will he kindly refer to the Fielding resolution?

Mr. EDWARDS: The hon. gentleman knew before he put the question that I had not the platform in my hand; I have nothing in my hand, not even notes. He knew, therefore, that it was safe to ask the question.

The hon. gentleman, if he has any regard for the truth—and I am sure he has—will not undertake to say, nor will any other hon. gentleman undertake to say that the platform of 1911, boasted of by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie), is the same as the platform laid down at the recent Liberal convention held in this city in the month of August. The platform lad down in 1911 was a platform which distinctly told the manufacturers of this country: We will not interfere with you. And that platform did not interfere with the manufacturers in any particular except in the one that I mentioned, namely, agricultural implements, and then only to a very slight extent. They said to the people of Canada: You can go on under the curse and burden of protection which the Liberal party had been cursing from Dan to Beer-sheba, speaking politically, ever since there was such a thing as a Liberal party. Talk about twistings and turnings! The leader of the Opposition cannot follow this Government in its twistings and turnings! The leader of the Opposition in regard to twistings could hide behind a corkscrew. Twistings and turnings! The Liberal party has had as many fiscal policies in this country as there are Liberal representatives sitting behind their leader. Every man has had a policy of his own.

The leader of the Opposition waxed indignant this afternoon over the situation created in this country because the reciprocity pact of 1911 was not adopted, because we did not open our doors and let things pass freely between this country and the United States. Did he want to open the doors as regards coal? Has he ever wanted to open the doors as regards coal? Why, as regards coal and steel and those products which happen to pertain to his particular part of the country, the leader of the Opposition would erect a tariff as high as Haman's gallows; you could not make it too high to suit that hon. gentleman when it touches his particular part of the country. As regards manufactured articles, one of the gentlemen who went down to Washington to negotiate this treaty was mighty particular that his special industry should not be touched. He sat on the biscuit box, and he said: Take the tariff off what the farmer has to sell, but you must not interfere with the duty on biscuits; and so it was all along the line. The chief whip of the Liberal party (Mr. Robb) is not exactly an out-and-out free trader when his industry is touched, as I suppose hon gentlemen have frequently noticed, and the same may be said of all hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House.

An hon. MEMBER: Paper.

Mr. EDWARDS: That would apply to another hon. gentleman who sits over there, and who is very particular when it comes to that sort of thing. Twistings and turnings! It seems so utterly ridiculous for the leader of the Opposition to make such statements, just because his memory is getting weak in his old days and he forgets past history even though the matter dates back only a few months. It is just a couple of months since the Liberals held a convention in the city of Ottawa, just a couple of months since they said: It is our firm belief that you ought to reduce the duty on cloth and to cut down the duty on boots and shoes and other articles of all kinds; it is true that is not what we said in 1911, but a new light has broken upon us since then; this is the policy which we throw to you now; just a new one, that is all, something different from our policy of 1911, just as 1911 was different from 1896 and so on throughout the political history of this country. Every election that has occurred in the Dominion of Canada from Confederation down to the present time has demonstrated this: that as regards the fiscal policy of this country, hon. gentlemen opposite are absolutely as innocent as babes; they appear to know nothing at all about economic conditions; they appear to be absolutely unable to sense economic things and to get to the roots of them. Every time they have appealed to the people of the Dominion of Canada on a fiscal policy they have been licked, and yet they say: This Government, by waving the flag or something of that sort, has caught the people:

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. EDWARDS: It might be better for hon. gentlemen opposite if they waved the flag a little more, although the flag might not be in very good hands if it were in the hands of some of them. I do not know why they should be throwing this up as a reproach. If we on this side of the House have in the past seen fit to announce that

we believe in one flag, is that such a terrible thing? Do not hon. gentlemen opposite believe in that? If they do, then what is the point against us on this side? If they believe as we believe in one flag for this country, why do they not wave the flag also? If hon. gentlemen opposite could appeal to the people and make the people feel and believe that they were just as earnest for the protection of that flag as we were, we would not have anything over them in that regard.

As regards this other question, to pass away from the small things to which I have referred as indicating the personalities of hon. gentlemen opposite, and particularly the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) who, in his argument on this matter, is the campaign leader, the "pork and beans" member of this House and representative of the people—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I think the hon. member is exceeding the bounds of Parliamentary language. If he desires to refer to an hon. member, he knows how to do so.

Mr. McCREA: Give him a little rope and he will hang himself.

Mr. EDWARDS: If I hang myself, it will not be with a "paper" cord, I will tell my hon. friend (Mr. McCrea) that. As regards trade matters, my hon. friend has hanged himself a good many times, for he has preached free trade on every article until his particular pocket had been touched, and then he has been a very strong protectionist. I might have been more explicit; but since I have referred to "pork and beans", I will come back to that. It is not such a very great way from wheat to pork and beans after all. I do not suppose, in view of the absolutely ridiculous statement made by the leader of the Opposition as regards the way in which this country had treated its soldiers overseas in shipping them rotten pork and beans, we should be surprised at anything the hon. gentleman says in this House.

Mr. CAHILL: That is not the subject under discussion.

Mr. EDWARDS: That is what I meant when I referred to him as the "pork and beans" representative of this House. Perhaps I was not just as select in my reference as I should have been, and I apologize.

Mr. CAHILL: You are improving.

Mr. EDWARDS: As regards this matter of wheat and the fixing of the price of wheat, if I remember correctly—and I think I do—wheat was made free by this Government as passing between Canada and the United States, and I am not aware that this Government is responsible for any change in those conditions. If any change arose in those conditions which were brought about by this Government enabling Canadian farmers to ship their wheat into the United States and American farmers to ship their wheat into Canada, it was brought about, not by this Government, as was insinuated by the leader of the Opposition, but by the action of the United States itself. That is the situation as I understand it, but I want to add in regard to this matter of wheat, another word which I think is pertinent to this discussion.

I think action should be taken in this country looking towards the greater manufacturing of the wheat of Canada into flour, looking towards the exportation of Canadian flour rather than to the exportation of Canadian wheat. I think the Government should bestir itself and try to have wheat exported from Canada, not as wheat, but as flour.

I suggested some time ago in this House that I thought the Government would be justified in providing transportation and carrying flour made from Canadian wheat, to be shipped from Canadian ports, absolutely free across the ocean to Liverpool. I want to repeat that suggestion here today in all seriousness. I do so for several reasons. I believe they will be justified in adopting a policy of that kind, because, in the first place, it would have a tendency to divert the Western Canadian crop to Canadian railways. Much of it now goes over American railways and is shipped from American ports. The more of it that can be sent over Canadian railways the more we will be helping to solve the railway problem of this country, providing freight for our railways and work for our railway men and elevator men. Secondly, I believe they would be justified in encouraging wheat to be ground in Canadian mills, because that would be an encouragement to the milling industry. Thirdly, I believe they would be amply justified because if it was ground in Canada and exported in the shape of flour we would have the bran and shorts in this country which we stand very much in need of especially in the older Eastern Provinces. From the standpoint of the assistance which will be given in building up our railway lines, affording traffic to our railways and giving employment to Canadian railway men, helping our milling industry and more particularly because it would give the farmers, and especially the dairymen of Ontario, Quebec and the Mari-

time Provinces, in large quantities and at low prices, the bran and shorts which they stand so much in need of in their business, I believe this or any government would be justified in taking steps to bring about the change I suggest; that is to provide transportation which would encourage the milling of wheat in Canada and by transporting Canadian flour from Canadian ports free across the ocean to Liverpool. These are things which I think are of more importance to the people and to the interests of this country than is a consideration of why the Liberal party did not succeed in the election of 1911.

Mr. J. A. ROBB (Chateauguay-Huntingdon): Mr. Speaker, the debate has taken on a somewhat wide range. I do not purpose following my hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) through his discussion of the duty on coal and steel when we have before us a Bill which deals primarily and only with wheat. But inasmuch as the hon. member has made a reference to certain resolutions passed at the Liberal Convention held in this city in the month of August, will the House have patience with me while I put on Hansard a resolution which was adopted at that convention? I hold in my hand a copy of the resolution on reciprocity adopted at that convention. It is as follows:

That the Reciprocity Agreement negotiated with the United States by the Liberal Government of Canada in 1911 was a measure which realized the hopes that had been entertained and efforts made for better trade relations between Canada and the neighbouring republic by the statesmen of both political parties in the Dominion from the beginning of the Dominion's history.

That the Agreement was fair and just to both countries and well calculated to promote the good relations so desirable;

That the action of the Conservative party under the leadership of Mr. now Sir Robert Borden in opposing and defeating the Agreement was a sacrifice of the best interests of Canada for distinctly partisan ends.

That the insincerity of the movement of the Conservative leaders on that question has been abundantly evidenced by the fact that after coming into office they proceeded to make some of the very tariff changes a denunciation of which was their chief ground in the elections of 1911.

That the action of the Conservative leaders in preventing the consummation of so excellent an arrangement between the two countries deserves and should still receive, whenever the opportunity occurs, the severe condemnation of the Canadian people.

That the Reciprocity Agreement was approved in 1911 by the Congress of the United States and the law giving such approval still remains on the American Statute book.

That if the proposal lately made in the Congress to repeal the said law be carried out the people of Canada will have cause to complain, since the Americans have kept the law unimpaired for the long term of eight years during which Canada has made no move to avail herself of its provisions.

That while, for these reasons, this Convention can take no exception to the proposal so made at Washington, we as Liberals again place on record our appreciation of the object of the said Agreement and our faith in the principles of friendly international relations underlying it, and we express our earnest hope that in both countries such principles will be upheld, and that a favourable moment may come when there will be a renewed manifestation by the two Governments of a desire to make some similar arrangement.

That was the resolution adopted at the Liberal convention.

Mr. EDWARDS: I would like to ask my hon. friend a question in regard to the duties on manufactured articles. Was not the lowering of duties on manufactured articles referred to in that platform?

Mr. ROBB: As I said at the opening, the question before the House this afternoon is the question of wheat and I do not propose to be dragged into a discussion of coal, steel, or other subjects of that kind. But at some other time, or at any time, we upon this side will be prepared to discuss with hon. gentlemen opposite our attitude on the tariff as compared with the programme—the wobbling programme—of this Government which has, in fact, no programme to-day in the face of eight by-elections throughout this country.

Mr. EDWARDS: I stated that the attitude of the party, of which my hon. friend is a member, in 1911 in regard to manufactured articles, was not the same as the attitude laid down in the platform in August last. Was I right or wrong in making that statement?

Mr. ROBB: In 1911 my hon. friend argued that the policy of the Liberal party was the destruction of the trade and commerce of this country. After listening this afternoon to the eloquent speech of my right hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce and Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster), and then subsequently listening to the speech of my hon. leader (Mr. McKenzie), I looked across the floor to see which of the western representatives upon the other side was going to give us a repetition of the speeches we heard in this House for very many years in defence of western ideals as regards the price of wheat. Those of us who have sat in this House for some years can well remember the eloquent speeches delivered by representatives of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta,

when they were urging on the Government of the day a policy of larger and wider markets with the United States. We can recall how eloquently they argued respecting the difference in prices. They told us what was the difference in the total price of a carload of wheat or barley in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta as compared with the price prevailing in Minneapolis. To-day we have an admission from the Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster) that there is a considerable difference in price, ranging from 40c. to 60c. a bushel, representing from four hundred to six hundred dollars on a car of a thousand bushels of wheat; and I have perforce to ask myself now, looking across the floor of the House, where are the men who formerly advocated in this House the ideals of Western Canada? Mr. Speaker, the conclusion very obviously is that they have either taken to the woods, or are sitting in this Chamber in the condition of a certain meek and submissive creature: "As a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth."

The Acting Prime Minister has said that wheat cannot be got into the United States. Wheat is higher in the United States to-day than in Canada, and you cannot export it into that country, and he asks the reason why. Well, I have the answer for him in an official document issued by this Government. In the first place, I have the Government's Order in Council of the 18th of August, 1919. In that Order in Council the Canadian Wheat Board is created and is given certain powers, one of which, under letter "J," has for its object the prohibition of the export out of Canada or the importation into Canada of any wheat or wheat products otherwise than in accordance with the regulations and orders of the board. Now, the board were not very long in taking advantage of the powers conferred upon them, because regulation No. 36—an order from the Canadian Wheat Board, acting under the authority given them by the Order in Council—says that no wheat or wheat products shall be exported out of Canada or imported into Canada without a license or permit of the board. That is why wheat is not permitted to go into the United States to-day; but it is not a new policy on the part of this Government. The questions is asked: Why all this discussion to-day upon the question of wheat? Have we not had free wheat in this country? Did the Conservative party not give free wheat, which was the keystone of the arch of reciprocity? Yes, they did, by Order in Council on the 16th of April, 1917, after the western farmer had sold his crop, which was then in the hands of the millers and grain dealers. We have the evidence of honourable gentlemen who were then members of this House as to why that Order in Council was passed. There is the statement of a then member of the House representing Saskatchewan—and his remarks may be found in Hansard—that the then Solicitor General had made a trip through the West. There were prospects of an early general election, and his friends in the West had told him: "You must grant reciprocity in wheat. You must conform to the regulations of the United States tariff so that we may have free wheat and get our wheat into the United States. Otherwise, you will not be able to elect one supporter west of the Lakes." That is not my statement. It is the statement of a gentleman who was then a member of this House and is now a member of the Senate, created a senator by this Government. This Order in Council was therefore passed on the 16th of April 1917, and the general elections did take place. The Union Government was created, the Union Government party having captured the organization of both parties. I repeat, Sir, that the Union Government party had captured the organization of both parties throughout Canada, and the position of the Government was consequently fairly safe. The wheat issue was no longer a very grave one in the West, and the Government thought they might very well step in and uphold the policy they preached in 1911 and repeatedly championed in this House when resolutions demanding free wheat were introduced by representatives of the West. And so, on the 4th of December, 1917, another Order in Council was passed practically nullifying that of seven and a half months previously. That other Order in Council prohibited the export or import of wheat, so that from that day until this there has been no reciprocity in wheat between Canada and the United States. That is exactly the situation in regard to wheat, and western members may assemble in private caucus and adopt all the resolutions they like, but the fact remains that this Government, which has prevented the free movement of wheat between Canada and the United States, is in power to-day, sustained in that power by the representatives of the western provinces. Now, if the western provinces are sincere in their desire for free interchange of wheat, they can obtain that interchange by adhering to the ideals which they have enunciated and advocated repeatedly as the ideals of Western Canada.

I shall leave that phase of the subject. I do not purpose to labour the point any further. I think that the country will admit, and indeed the Acting Prime Minister has admitted to-day, that there is no reciprocity in wheat between Canada and the United States. The minister has also admitted that wheat is higher in the United States than in Canada, and I leave the question between him and his western supporters to settle. But there is another question in connection with this Bill that affects us in Eastern Canada very materially. I was obliged to leave the Chamber for awhile and I am not sure whether the minister made reference to the tax of 15 cents.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I left those details for the Committee.

Mr. ROBB: Well, I shall still make my statement. Under the regulations of the Wheat Board all millers—not only merchant millers, but grist millers—are licensed, and the miller is made the tax collector for the Government. That is to say, any miller licensed is notified by the Canadian Wheat Board that he must collect 15 cents upon every bushel of wheat brought to him by a farmer, whether or not the farmer grows barely sufficient wheat to suffice his family, without any commercial intentions; and unless he does this his license will be cancelled. The Acting Prime Minister will not contradict that statement. Now, what does this mean? It means that this Government, who are supposed to advocate a reduction in the cost of living and who have preached greater economy and greater production, organizing campaigns to urge the farmers to grow sufficient food for their own families with a little extra for export, are imposing upon the people a tax of from 68 to 75 cents a barrel on flour. This is exactly the position of affairs, and the Government will have to revise their arguments in defence of the Wheat Board if they intend to convince the people of Eastern Canada, who are attempting to feed their families by growing wheat on their own farms, that this is an economical administration.

Perhaps the minister will be able to make a statement that will be satisfactory to the country and we await that statement with interest. I know that the minister will say that this fifteen cents is the profit for the handling of the crop and that later the balance left in the hands of the Canadian Wheat Board will be handed out to the farmers. Let us see how that is going to work out. Take a farmer who, perhaps, grows twenty, thirty, or fifty bushels of wheat for the use of his own family. At the end of probably two years—because there has been no statement made yet of the handling of the 1917-18 crop, so we cannot anticipate that the 1919-20 crop will be handled any quicker—at the end of two years the millers will have to hunt up all these farmers throughout the country to give them, maybe, seventy-five cents, a dollar, or a dollar and a half, which will be at the utmost the extent of their share of the participation certificates. That is putting a generous estimate upon it, a more generous estimate than is entertained in Western Canada, because I am told by reputable western grain men that you can buy whole rafts of these participation certificates in Winnipeg to-day at two cents per bushel. That is the estimate the western farmer has with respect to the value of the participation certificate; and I hope tnat when the minister goes into detail on this subject he will be able to clear up the situation and remove some of the restrictions put upon the trade of Eastern Canada. As regards Western Canada and the price of wheat, I can only repeat, in closing, that those of us who have sat in this House for so many years and heard the eloquent appeals for larger and wider markets for the products of the farms of the West are compelled today to believe that Western Canada has been abandoned by its own friends.

Hon. J. D. REID: I would not have risen to speak on this question had it not been for the statements made by the leader of the Opposition and the hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat with reference to the situation at the present time as between Canada and the United States in regard to the importation and exportation of wheat. I do not intend going back to the history of the political fight that took place in Canada in 1911 further than to say this: At that time the reciprocity agreement was proposed between the United States Government and that of the Dominion and the issue between the two parties in Canada was this: The then Opposition took the ground that if we allowed the importation of wheat and wheat products from the United States free of duty, it would interfere with the manufacturing of wheat in Canada. The wheat would probably be taken to the country to the south and the American millers would get the advantage of manufacturing there, while the American farmers would profit by the use of wheat products for fattening their cattle. Furthermore, United States wheat and wheat products would enter this country and injure our own Canadian mar-

kets. The result of the election at that time was that the people of Canada expressed the belief that the agreement as proposed by the then Government was not in the interests of this country, and accordingly the Conservative Government came into office. Now the two honourable gentlemen in question have declared that that Government had done nothing to accomplish the free interchange of wheat and wheat products between Canada and the United States. For the life of me I cannot understand the ground for that statement or why it should be said that is the law at the present time. I believe the two hon. gentlemen in question are thoroughly familiar with the provisions of the present Canadian law in force against the United States. The hon. member (Mr. Robb) waves a paper which he holds in his hand and says that is the law. I will come to that in a few minutes. The hon. gentleman knows there was a law on the statute books of the United States whereby wheat, wheat flour, and semolina, should be admitted from Canada into that country free of duty provided we adopted a similar law here. The honourable gentleman, as well as the leader of the Opposition, knows that and both gentlemen are also aware that this Government passed a law for the free admission into Canada of wheat, wheat flour and semolina from the United States. That law was put into force on April 17, 1917, and is in force to-day, and the farmers of this country have had the advantage of it. In view of that fact I am unable to see why these two hon. gentlemen should make such statements as they have made here to-day.

Now as to the Order in Council prohibiting the exportation of wheat products to the United States. This Government gave power to a board to prohibit the exportation from or the importation into this country of the several products referred to, without a license. That is given as the reason why exportation of these products to the United States cannot now take place. Now the hon. gentleman (Mr. Robb) must know more than he is suggesting. He must be aware that the United States Government enacted a law prohibiting importations into that country of wheat or wheat products, and that is the reason why Canadian farmers cannot now export those products to the neighbouring republic. If the hon. gentleman was sincere why did he not give that explanation. I want to say to him that if that law was not in force in the United States a similar law would not be in operation in Canada. First of all, the United States enacted that wheat, wheat flour, and semolina should be allowed into that country free of duty provided Canada would pass a similar law. When we did so the United States Government annulled the existing law and passed another statute prohibiting such importations without a license, and they will not even grant a license. Do hon. gentlemen opposite think that is a fair or right course to pursue?

With a barrier like that erected against us, nothwithstanding the fact that their tariff allows free importation, are we to sit still and let the United States take all the products that our farmers require for feed and exclude our wheat? In passing, I may say that the reason the United States Government give for passing that law is that they guaranteed to their own people a very high price for wheat, and consequently they made up their minds that they would not allow wheat from any other country to enter the United States until they had made their own people use all their domestic wheat.

Mr. ROBB: I have quoted authority for an Order in Council passed by this Government on the 4th December, 1917, and another passed on 4th September, 1919, whereby this Government placed an embargo on the exportation of wheat to, or the importation of wheat from, the United States. Will the hon. member quote his authority from Washington?

Hon. J. D. REID: I can get the information, but as the matter has come up quite unexpectedly this afternoon, it is impossible for me to furnish it to my hon. friend at once. But I want to ask him if he will say he never heard of any order issued by the American Government whereby they prohibited importation without license?

Mr. ROBB: We have had a statement from my right hon. friend, the acting Prime Minister, this afternoon that there is a small quantity of wheat going into the United States, and that wheat is from forty to sixty cents a bushel higher in the United States than in Canada.

Hon. J. D. REID: Mr. Speaker, I ask the hon. member on his honour as a gentleman if he ever heard of an order of that kind being issued by the United States Government. I take it for granted that if he does not answer he has heard something of such an order.

Mr. ROBB: Mr. Speaker, I do not want to be discourteous to my hon. friend. I read in to-day's papers that the millers of Minneapolis are threatening to shut down unless restrictions against Canadian wheat are removed.

Hon. J. D. REID: Then the hon. member admits that he has heard of it to-day. That law has been in force quite a long time. Might I ask him through you, Mr. Speaker, if he ever heard of an order of that kind until he read it in the newspapers to-day?

Mr. ROBB: I have a letter in this file from the Canada Food Board telling our millers that they could not export flour into the United States in quantities over twenty-five barrels. I have never had any communication from Washington in that regard.

Hon. J. D. REID: I take it that the hon. member has not heard of it until to-day. But I feel, Mr. Speaker, that he has not given me a direct answer, for this reason: He states that he has had no communication from Washington. That does not answer my question at all, and I leave it just there, because I feel that any miller in Canada—I am not referring to the hon. member particularly—knows all the laws in so far as the importation and exportation of wheat is concerned. Therefore the position the hon. leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) and the hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) are taking to-day is embodied in a speech that can be sent broadcast throughout the West to the effect that the whole trouble has arisen because this Government passed an Order in Council prohibiting the export of wheat, and that that is the reason why there is a difference of 86 cents per bushel. I want to tell the hon. member that the United States tariff allows wheat, wheat flour and semolina to enter without restriction, provided Canada makes a similar provision, that a reciprocal law has been placed on the Statute Books of Canada, and that if the United States will remove the order they issued that those articles of food shall not be imported without license, then the farmers of Western Canada can get that difference in price.

Mr. ROBB: No, because your Order in Council still exists.

Hon. J. D. REID: There is not a farmer in the West or in any other part of Canada who can prove that that Order in Council interfered to the extent the hon. member has stated. I could name quite a number of other cases where the United States Government have enacted laws, and when the time came for them to be put into effect the Government would take some means of nullifying their operation. Let us see just exactly what position the Government is in at the present time with reference to wheat and wheat products. In the West the farmers want to send their wheat across to the United States, for they want the difference in price, and I do not blame them at all; but I repeat again that it is the fault of the United States Government that that market is not available to them. All our farmers want us to keep our bran and shorts here, because they cannot possibly raise pork at the price they are getting for it if they allow those by-products of wheat to go into the United States. What are we to do? Are we to allow the United States Government to prevent any bran or shorts coming into this country? Are we to sit still and say to the United States Government: "You have issued an order preventing the by-products from your wheat or from any wheat that we send over coming in here; but we think we should allow our by-products to enter the United States for the benefit of your farmers." Talk about reciprocity in wheat, wheat flour and the other products of wheat! The hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) in my opinion, Mr. Speaker, probably understands this matter better than any other member, and understanding it as well as he does, there is not any other member can go before a meeting and, if I may use the word, so completely confuse the issue that no one would understand really what it means. Therefore I believe that in putting this matter before the House to-day the hon. member has done so more particularly for the purpose of placing his views before the farmers of Western Canada in order to confuse the issue and lead them to impute to this Government the whole blame for the condition of things against which they complain.

Hon. T. A. CRERAR (Marquette): Mr. Speaker, I should like to participate in this debate for a short time before a decision on the resolution is reached. Unquestionably the discussion has taken a very wide range; it has launched out into the consideration of a question which was a live issue in this country nine or ten years ago. To me as a Westerner, and as a man who believed profoundly in reciprocity with the United States, and believes in it yet, the discussion has been decidedly interesting. My recollection, however, of the discussion of reciprocity in 1911 as it took place in East-

ern Canada, is that it had not very much to do with the merits of the question—I mean to say that the election was not fought on the real merits of the question. In the province of Quebec the election was fought upon issues that were as foreign to reciprocity—well, as the Mikado of Japan is to a Laplander; on issues that when the political history of this country comes to be written, will stand revealed as probably the most sordid that ever were placed before the Canadian people. In Ontario the question was not debated to any great extent; my recollection is that extraneous issues were introduced and that the judgment of the people was not at all upon the question of reciprocity. I maintain, Sir, that Western Canada to-day is in favour of reciprocity; I believe that Canada from one end of the country to the other is in favour of it, and that this would be amply demonstrated if a dispassionate verdict could be obtained from the people.

I have always been amazed—and I take this opportunity of discussing the question a little bit, since the debate has taken such a wide range—I have been amazed that the benefits of reciprocity did not appeal to the people of Ontario and Quebec more than they did. The fact that they did not appeal to them is due, as I say, to the fact that the question itself was not discussed. Two-thirds of the population of the United States lies east of a line drawn north and south through Chicago; the greater part of the population east of that line is in the New England States and in New York and Pennsylvania. Adjoining the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, therefore, we have this dense population, and here in these provinces we can produce the finest quality of butter, cheese, milk, lambs, hogs, hay—everything, in fact, that a great consuming population requires in order to maintain itself.

Mr. P. McGIBBON (Muskoka): If this subject was not discussed on its merits in Ontario or Quebec, was it so discussed in Manitoba?

Mr. CRERAR: The question was discussed in Manitoba.

Mr. P. McGIBBON (Muskoka): And what was the result?

Mr. CRERAR: The decision in Manitoba was the result of the operations of the well-organized and unscrupulous machine of the party to which the hon. member then gave adherence. Canada has everything possible to gain from reciprocity and it was with great regret that I observed that the United States Congress recently withdrew its offer to Canada. I hope that at some future time when political animosities have subsided somewhat and we regard the welfare of the country from the national point of view, calm and due consideration will be again given to this question and the great benefits which must accrue to Canada from reciprocity will be secured for our country.

I entirely support the measure which has been introduced by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) and which is now before us. I think that there has been some confusion of thought in regard to the interchange of wheat and wheat products with the United States during the last few years. Our wheat is not going into the United States to-day because the United States authorities will not permit it to go into that country. I am quite aware of the Order in Council that has been referred to by the hon. member for Huntingdon (Mr. Robb). After the United States entered the war, they inaugurated in that country a system of food control; or rather, to speak more correctly, they took the means to create a national interest in food conservation. Canada shortly afterwards took similar steps and within a few months after these respective food administrations came into operation they found it necessary to work with each other in the institution of regulations governing export and import not only of foodstuffs, but of various other commodities, as between the two countries; and that led to the passing of the Order in Council on December 4, 1917, to which the hon. member for Huntingdon has referred.

Now, what is the situation in the United States? As the Minister of Trade and Commerce has pointed out, by legislation passed by Congress the price of wheat in the United States has been fixed until July, 1920, at $2.26 a bushel. In other words, if the United States authorities are unable to sell their surplus wheat crop abroad at a price which will net them $2.26 a bushel in Chicago, the United States Treasury will be called upon to put up the difference to the American farmer. Is it to be expected that the United States with an exportable surplus this year of 300,000,000 bushels of wheat, will permit Canadian wheat to go into that counrty and possibly bring about a condition under which they would have to make a call on the public treasury there, in order to make good their guarantee. I desire to put the facts before the House as I see them in order that the House may have the infor-

mation that I have, because I have made some inquiry into the matter.

That is the real reason for the embargo imposed by the United States upon our wheat. I do not like control in commerce. I offer the suggestion to the Government—and I am sure that no one in the Government will appreciate it more fully than the Minister of Trade and Commerce—that it is desirable to get away from these artificial restrictions in trade and commerce just as quickly as we can. What is the position? The United States is this year selling its wheat through a trade corporation incorporated for the purpose and having wider powers than have ever been given to any corporation in the United States. They have the power to prohibit export or import, they regulate the mills and the interchange of wheat in every respect. In Europe also we find that the purchasing of wheat is being done by governmental agencies in every country. Now, where would the Canadian farmer be if he was selling his wheat in open markets and if the Canadian exporter was buying that wheat from the farmer and attempting to sell it to government agencies abroad? We know what Europe has passed through and we can appreciate the attitude taken by the European government agencies when they attempt to buy their wheat as cheaply as they possibly can; no one can find very much fault with them for doing that. But I fancy that if the individual Canadian wheat exporter was left to the tender mercies of a government purchasing agency in Europe, a condition of affairs would result that would bring about keen disappointment and keen dissatisfaction to the Canadian farmer. For that reason, I entirely approve of the action of the Government in appointing this Wheat Board.

I have only one criticism to offer in that respect, and that is that the Wheat Board should have been appointed six weeks or two months earlier than it was.

But it was the right step to take. I know the personnel of the board; I know the gentleman who is chairman of the board, and I know that it was with reluctance and only from a sense of national duty, he accepted the position at the earnest solicitation of the Government. I doubt if the Minister of Trade and Commerce could have made a better choice than he did in selecting Mr. Stewart as chairman to carry on this work.

There is one other point, and that is the criticism that has been directed, very little in this House, but a great deal in the country, against the action of the Government in closing the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. Again I commend the action of the Government in that respect. What happened? The Winnipeg Grain Exchange was, if I recall correctly, opened some time towards the end of July.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The 21st, I think.

Mr. CRERAR: The 21st of July. There was very little trading in wheat upon the exchange, practically none; the trading was within very narrow limits, and yet the price of wheat went up in the short space of eight or ten days from $2.24, if my memory serves me correctly, to $2.42. What induced the market to go up? It was the result of speculative influences operating upon it. Let us bear in mind that our Canadian millers have to regulate the price of their flour upon the price they pay for wheat, and if a Canadian miller were protecting sales of flour by buying wheat on the open market, as was the legitimate custom in the past, at $2.42, he would have to raise the price of his flour correspondingly. But what would have happened, supposing the market had remained open? The price would probably have gone to $3 per bushel; and after the grain started to move, and when our private exporters in Canada found themselves up against the difficulty of selling wheat abroad, what would have happened? The price would have dropped in just as short a period of time from $3 to probably less than $2 per bushel, and you would have had a universal cry in this country, not only from farmers, but from consumers, that permission was given to speculators to come in and rig the market, and a state of disorganization would have resulted that could have been avoided only by the course the Government took.

I was rather curious why the control was asked for the period of eighteen months. and I was gratified to hear the statement from the Minister of Trade and Commerce that it was not the policy of the Government to continue this control. I take it that this period of eighteen months is asked for in order that the board may have ample time to clean up all their transactions for the present year.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That is it. It does not anticipate nor is it meant to provide that they shall carry on active operations of control of the market for eighteen months, but it is to provide that if after the season is over, there are odds and ends which have to be fixed up, they may have that period of time in which to fix them up.

Mr. CRERAR: The explanation of the Minister of Trade and Commerce quite satisfies me in that respect, and it will probably be necessary to have that length of time.

One other word. It is, of course, unknown what surplus the wheat board will have when its business is completed; but as I said a moment ago, I have complete confidence in the integrity and honour of the executive and, indeed, of the whole board. I am satisfied of this, that they will sell the Canadian wheat crop at the very highest price that can be secured in the markets of the world; that there will be careful administration of the business, and that if there is any surplus to distribute after their operations are over, every producer of wheat who holds a participation certificate, will get his share of it. The hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) referred to the fact that participation certificates were to-day being traded in at two cents per bushel, and he cited this as evidence that probably the farmers had not a great deal of confidence as to what share of surplus they would get in the final distribution. I have no doubt that his statement is true, but I think such farmers are following a rather short-sighted course in disposing of their certificates. Of course, if a man is in a position where he requires ready money and he has participation certificates covering several thousand bushels of wheat and he can realize two or three cents a bushel upon those certificates, naturally the temptation is strong to do so; but my view, from what I know of the situation, is that the final distribution will give the Canadian farmer considerably more than two cents per bushel. These matters of control are all difficult and inevitable in a period of war, and they are inevitable for a period after such a war as we have passed through, owing to the disturbance of trade that exists throughout the world. But I hope, and I am sure we all hope that within a period of another year at any rate these restrictions may be removed, and that as time goes on the visible evidences of the aftermath of the war will disappear and we shall get back to normal conditions once more.

Mr. WRIGHT: Was the hon. gentleman in favour of the fixation of the price of wheat in December, 1918 on the same basis as was fixed by the United States, namely, $2.26?

Mr. CRERAR: I have no hesitation in answering that question. I was not in favour of a fixed price for wheat, nor of a fixed price for wheat equal to that of the United States, because I thought there was the possibility that the Canadian treasury might be called upon to make up to the farmers of Canada a very considerable difference, and I did not think the Canadian treasury should be called upon to do that. That is why I was opposed to the fixing of a price equal to that in the United States. But the Canadian Wheat Board, with the information that is before them, knowing the crops that have been produced in the wheat producing countries this year, knowing the quantity of wheat that will be required in Europe, have been able to determine pretty accurately to what degree the available wheat will go around. Consequently, they fixed their advance price at $2.15, because that is all it is in reality, upon a conclusion reached after an examination of all the facts, that afforded to them reasonable satisfaction that the Government would not be called upon to put up anything to implement the $2.15 per bushel price. Therefore, I think they acted with good judgment and in the best interests of the country.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time. The House went into Committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—powers of Canadian Wheat Board continued for eighteen months:

Mr. McKENZIE: The minister was to give us an explanation of this provision.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I will tell the Committee exactly my position in reference to the fifteen cents. I will premise what I have to say by the observation that on the Canadian Wheat Board there are three millers—Mr. W. T. Black, of the Ogilvie eastern mills; Mr. William T. Matheson, of Winnipeg, and Mr. Watts, of the Ontario Millers' Association.

Mr. MAHARG: Mr. Watts is the agent for the Ontario millers.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes, he represents the Ontario millers and particularly the small millers. So that there are three practical, able and experienced millers, and they have made these regulations as being the best under all the circumstances to conserve the object and purpose and to carry out the plans of the Canadian Wheat Board. The millers are looked upon as licensees from the board, and they are required to pay in fifteen cents for every bushel that they buy. That goes to the Wheat Board

and goes into the fund for the participating tickets. These men then give a participation ticket to every person from whom they buy and the person who sells to them and from whom they buy holds that participation ticket. At the end he gets his proportion of the sale. I asked for a memorandum explaining that matter. I do not have it amongst my papers, but I will undertake to say that the Bill will not get its third reading until I have their explanation before me. I had expected to have it by now. If I were a practical miller I might know more about it, but I am not and I have to get my information from others. It is not the purpose of the board to be over particular with the smaller millers, but they do exact this from all of the larger millers. I do not know that the millers of the eastern provinces or of the province of Quebec are being particularly disturbed with regard to the matter.

Mr. McKENZIE: If this tax, and the board itself, are found necessary as a piece of machinery to carry on the grain trade of the West, where grain is such a substantial commodity of commerce, I have no criticism to make. I take it for granted that what was necessary was done, but what I do object to is that in the eastern provinces, such as Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where grain is not a commercial article at all, where it is not sold or bought to any perceptible degree, the system here proposed will apply. Thousands of farmers have a little grain of their own which they bring to the mill to be ground and which they carry back home in the shape of flour. Under this regulation they are met at the mill door with a fifteen cent tax on every bushel they bring in, they have to pay that and it means in money a tax of 75 cents a barrel on their flour. I take it that it never was the intention to apply the tax to men of that kind. The board is not for the purpose of doing anything of that kind. This whole machinery was never intended to apply to the small concerns which I have just mentioned, which are not commercial entities but which are dealing with small farmers who have wheat of their own and which they grind for their own purposes. The thing is so clear in the mind of the minister that I am sure I need not say anything more but I would ask that the necessary remedy be applied so that these farmers will not have to pay this tax. If that is brought about my purpose is accomplished.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I have communicated with the chairman of our board in reference to this particular grievance which my hon. friend has voiced. There has already been a modification. I am assured that the regulation had to be general in order to prevent abuses, but that it is not the intention to make it burdensome in the case of gristing. In that case, however, wherever a farmer is so treated in taking his grist to the mill, the process is that the miller who is the buyer, buys the wheat and returns the grist. The seller, the man who brings the wheat to be ground, gets a participation ticket and will get a refund at the end of the transaction.

Mr. ROBB: That is quite correct but the minister must see that he has introduced through this board conditions that will prove most detrimental to small grist mills throughout Canada, not only in Quebec and in the Maritime Provinces but in Ontario as well. I know that very strong representations have been made to Mr. Watts as representing small millers of Ontario. These regulations are going to throw the business of the country into the hands of large mills. The small miller is going to quit. He will not bother with all these details. He will not take the trouble of going through this process with his customers; he will quit that sort of work. I hope the minister will follow it up and see that a remedy is provided. There is one other point. I noticed in the speech made before the Winnipeg Exchange by Dr. Magill, the secretary of the Exchange, who was sent to England, he states that Mr. Lloyd Harris, chairman of the Canadian Trade Mission, said that it was his duty to sell Canadian wheat to England and neutral countries. Further he said that a cable had been sent by Sir Robert Borden to the Hon. Arthur Sifton telling him among other things to sell 50,000,000 to 75,000,000 bushels of our wheat. I would like to inquire from the minister what quantity of this year's crop has been sold and, I was going to say, at what price? Perhaps it would not be fair to ask the price but there could not be any objection to the minister making a statement as to the quantity of our wheat that had already been sold.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I am glad my hon. friend has mentioned that because I noticed a criticism spread widely and broadly, not in the form of an insinuation even, but in the form of an absolute assertion, that the Government was gambling in wheat, that, gambling in wheat it had

made its sales, that when the Winnipeg Exchange was opened the price went down, that the Government feared that it would be met with these gambler losses and that therefore it shut up the Winnipeg Exchange.

Now, what are called reputable papers have made that statement, and in one there is the broad headlines: "The Crucifixion of the Farmer." The question is therefore opportune because it allows me to nail that criticism.

Mr. ROBB: The minister had the papers under control at that time.

Mr. FOSTER: I do not think so. Those are very late papers. The Government was intensely anxious to get market for this year's crop for the farmer. When Mr. Harris went over there as chairman of the Trade Mission he went with the idea of securing as large an export market as he could for products Canadian, and endeavoured to obtain markets for wheat as well as other products. That was particularly within his line. He was perfectly justified in doing it and was encouraged, and the contract with the Greek Government for the sale to them of about tewlve million bushels of wheat throughout the year was one which was engineered and brought about by the Canadian Trade Mission under Mr. Harris. That is all the wheat that was sold previous to the sales made by the Canadian Wheat Board. When we were over there, and later when Mr. Sifton went over the second time, they were in communication all the time with members of the British Government and with the wheat commission to find out if possible what proportion of our surplus Great Britain and the Allies would take. That was a perfectly legitimate thing to do. Unfortunately, we were not able, for the reasons I mentioned this afternoon, to get any definite offer, either as to the quantity they would take or the price they would be prepared to pay. Then came the decision of the Government, under the circumstances, to put the matter in the hands of the Wheat Board, and since it has been in their hands they have had the sole arrangements and work of trying to find an export market for our wheat. They have co-operated through and with Mr. Harris, but it is the Wheat Board as constituted here that is doing the selling. No member of the Government, and no friends of any member of the Government, so far as I know, ever undertook to gamble in wheat on the basis of the criticism which has been circulated in the West.

[Sir George Foster.]

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Under the provisions of the Order in Council of July 31, 1919, enabling the commission to fix the price and profit on wheat and by-products, have prices been fixed with regard to the by-products known as bran and shorts? If so, what are the prices and what is the spread between the two?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Wheat Board have acted upon that authority and have fixed the price to the miller. They have also fixed the price of the products of the mill. I cannot give the figures but I can obtain them from my hon. friend.

Mr. McKENZIE: Can the minister give me an answer to the question that is put in this telegram I have in my hand? I need not read it. A certain farmer in Saskatchewan wants me to ask the minister what will really be the ultimate price of wheat to the farmer. I do not mean the $2.15. After distribution and so forth what are the prospects as to the ultimate price?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: My hon. friend will see that it is impossible to answer that question. The surplus will be somewhere about one hundred million bushels. Of that surplus fifty per cent is already disposed of. It is not wise that those prices should be made public. Half of it is yet to be sold and that sale may continue for two, three, five or six months, and it is therefore impossible to tell what the ultimate aggregate will be of prices received. Then the matter of expenses is an indefinite thing, although it is being carefully watched by the board. If I were a farmer and were not in a position that compelled me to take two cents now instead of twenty cents later, I would not sell my participation certificate for any two cents.

Mr. MYERS: Was there any difference in the condition of the world's wheat markets when the grain exchange was permitted to resume open trade and when it was closed after about two weeks' operations?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There was, in this respect, that there was both a desire and a prospect that dealing in wheat might be put upon the old basis or something approaching the old basis. But it developed in the latter part of the consideration of the question that with the lack of cash and the necessity for credits, it would be impossible to carry out our business on the open plan. When that information came to the Government it was thoroughly considered, and it was decided that it would

be better to work the Winnipeg Exchange to a close.

Bill reported.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

MANUFACTURE AND IMPORTATION OF OLEOMARGARINE.

Hon. Mr. DOHERTY moved the second reading of Bill No. 28 to permit the temporary importation, manufacture and sale of oleomargarine in Canada.

Mr. CAHILL: Explain.

Mr. DONALD SUTHERLAND (South Oxford): Mr. Speaker, if it is not the intention of the minister to speak on the matter I would like to offer a few remarks rather than permit the resolution to pass without any discussion. When the Bill for this purpose was first introduced and passed about a year and a half ago as a war measure I understood that it would end with the war. Now it is proposed to extend its operation for another year and certain of its provisions until the year 1921. I doubt if the importance of this measure has as yet dawned on some members of the House. The cost of living is certainly a very troublesome question with many people, and anything that would tend to reduce that cost would naturally be welcomed. I doubt, however, whether this Bill tends to accomplish anything in that direction. On the contrary I think it is encouraging a practice in this country that should not be encouraged, something that is not honest and straight and above board. It is an endeavour to injure—I will not say destroy, because it cannot be destroyed—an old-established industry in this country, one that is founded upon a substance that nothing else can take the place of. I am satisfied that in the course of time that fact will dawn upon the people of this Dominion, indeed I believe it has already done so, because a few years ago you could buy the very best dairy or creamery butter for 30 and 35 cents per pound whereas I presume to-day it will command about 55 cents. The increase in the price of butter has not been at all comparable with the increase in the price of other food commodities and other necessaries of life. Oleomargarine has been sold, and I believe is still being sold, for about 34 and 35 cents a pound, or nearly double the price at which it has been sold for in Great Britain. Many people laboured under the impression that with the admission of what is called a substitute for butter—but it is not at all a substitute for butter—the cost would be made so low that it would be purchased in tremendous quantities. When the resolution upon which this Bill is founded was before the House on Tuesday night, I asked for some information regarding the amount of butter that had been used by the manufacturers of oleomargarine in Canada for the purpose of incorporating into oleomargarine and rendering the stuff palatable so that they would be enabled to dispose of it. So far I have not received any information on the subject from the Government—whether they have that information or not I do not know. I am also unable to find out from them the number of manufacturers who are engaged in the manufacture of oleomargarine in Canada, although I think we ought to have this information before proceeding with the present Bill. On that ground I took exception to the measure the other night, before dividing the Committee on it, but I was unable to obtain the desired information. I must say I am a little surprised that the second reading of this Bill should be proceeded with without the information in question being presented to the House.

Mr. CAHILL: It was promised by the Government.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I do not know whether the Government promised to give that information or not, but it is quite apparent there is a strong desire on the part of many members for it. As a matter of fact, somewhere in the neighbourhood of 800,000 pounds of butter was used by one of the manufacturers of oleomargarine in Canada last year, and that is too great a quantity of butter to be wasted in trying to make palatable a commodity which is not at all acceptable to the people without the butter it contains. Where has the agitation for the use of oleomargarine arisen? I believe it originated in this very city. Resolutions on the subject have been passed by some of the women's organizations in Ottawa. Some of the prominent ladies of Ottawa have identified themselves with the movement, and their plea is that the importation and manufacture of oleomargarine in Canada should be permitted in the interest of poor people and so that the children of that class may have this nourishing food. Let me remind the ladies who were instrumental in forcing this matter upon the attention of the Government that the children who have grown up in Canada and have made a world-

wide reputation for themselves during the war, which they did in competition with the men of all the other nations of the world, did not grow up on oleomargarine; they were nurtured on and nourished by the pure unadulterated butter that was consumed in their homes. If hon. gentlemen would take the trouble to follow the investigations of those who have made a study and analysis of oleomargarine, and have thoroughly tested it, as many of the medical experts have, they would find it is not a substitute for butter, and that were it not for the quantity of butter incorporated into it good reason exists for doubt whether the commodity should be allowed to reach young and growing children at all. Doctor E. B. MacCallum, of Johns Hopkins University, has made a thorough investigation into oleomargarine and the results of that inquiry were published in many of the medical and scientific magazines of the country some time ago. Dr. MacCallum, author of a notable contribution to the animal study of America, points out the effect that oleomargarine has on children and on others to whom it has been given.

He also makes a comparison between skim milk and whole milk, and emphasizes the fact that butter fat is the natural food not only for children but for the young of all animals, and that there is no substitute for it. He mentions that in the rural districts near Copenhagen where children had been fed exclusively on a diet of separator skim milk, a certain eye trouble manifested itself, but that it promptly disappeared on the children being given whole milk, the disease being essentially the result of fat starvation. I am not going to discuss that feature, but I wish to call the attention of the House to the opinion given by another Canadian—born in Western Ontario—who has attained a very high position in the United States and who has been closely identified with the dairying industry there since his youth. I refer to Dr. G. L. McKay. He says:

> Milk fat differs from other fats from the fact that it contains certain life-giving substances that are essential for promoting the growth of the young. The all-wise Creator has placed this substance in the milk fat of all animals. The same substance, we are told by prominent physiologists, is found in the leaves of some plants.

He quotes certain prominent medical authorities as follows:

> Dr. Halliburton, the celebrated London writer on foods, has recently completed an important investigation of the numerous butter substitutes on the British market particularly with reference to the fat soluble growth factor. He found by feeding experiments on animals that what he calls the "accessory growth substance," which is present in milk fat in great abundance, is absent from the majority of oils of vegetable origin. Nut-butter and lard substitutes are also destitute of growth substances. Dr. Halliburton states that the results of his investigations show the importance of butter as an essential part of the diet of a nation at war. In his opinion, war imposes different standards of diet on people. In the case of children he thinks that the growth substance of fat must be supplied, and the way to accomplish this is to provide an abundance of fresh milk.

Dr. Harvey Wiley stated in a recent issue of Good Housekeeping:

> As far as I am concerned, I should never give my children nut margarine, oleomargarine, or any other margarine, as a substitute for butter. Butter contains a vital principle necessary to the growth of children which none of its substitutes possess. I should never give children nor grown persons in my family food products containing a preservative such as benzoate of soda.

These are the views of recognized medical authorities throughout the world. Dr. MacKay points to the fact that nations at war demand butter rather than a substitute of this kind. And it is apparent that our soldiers when they demonstrated to the whole world what Canadians could do as fighting men, were giving the greatest possible recommendation to good, pure, wholesome butter,—a fact that should not escape the attention of hon. members to-night when it is proposed to continue a measure which apparently was drafted by those who were anxious to manufacture oleomargarine rather than by those interested in providing a real food substitute.

I may be reminded of the restrictions that have been provided to insure the purity of this compound. But do not let us forget that the men who are engaged in the manufacture of margarine admit that they cannot produce it without the incorporation of from 20 to 35 per cent of butter or milk. We had evidence before a Committee of this House last session from the manager of the Harris Abattoir company, which I believe last year manufactured about 8,000,000 pounds of oleomargarine, regarding the composition of the margarine that is manufactured in Canada. He stated that 55 per cent is oleo oil, 15 per cent is creamery butter, 15 per cent is cotton seed oil, and there is a certain percentage of neutral lard, which percentage he was unable to give. He also stated: :

> This is all mixed in a mixer and reduced to a liquid and mulsified in milk and takes on 15 per cent of the milk.

This is rather a remarkable process. The cotton seed oil and the other fats are

churned in milk to make the product palatable so that it can be disposed of. But in addition to that he said, in answer to a question which I put to him:

> It is necessary to purchase this highly coloured June butter—

As hon. members are aware, the spring grass imparts a high colour to the butter manufactured at that season of the year. The witness added that this butter is purchased in immense quantities in order to give a suitable colour to this grease and so make it saleable. I put to him this question:

> Is it not a fact? You realize that if it was sold without any colouring it would be unsaleable?

He replied:

> It would not be so palatable, it would be like eating lard.

The largest manufacturer of oleomargarine in this country states emphatically that were it not for the deceptive colouring of the oleomargarine, even with the butter in it, to eat it is something like eating lard. This article is being sold at forty and forty-one cents a pound, according to his sworn evidence before the Committee.

This gentleman also gives some evidence with regard to the quantity of butter they were buying to be mixed with this cottonseed oil and the other ingredients. He states:

> March 31st, or on the last Thursday, we always end our charges, the last Thursday in March. They are divided into dairy and creamery: dairy 155,000 pounds; creamery, 3,659,000 pounds. The average cost of dairy was 37.36 and the average cost of creamery was 45 cents per pound.

That is the price that was being paid by these manufacturers of oleomargarine at that time for butter to be manufactured into oleomargarine. Yet you will find people saying: Why is butter such an unreasonable price. He states further:

> But we have to buy a certain quantity in any event. Of course, we want that June butter for the oleomargarine because it is a butter with a little colour and we need it for the oleomargarine. You know we are not allowed to put any colouring matter into the margarine, so we have to use this June butter.

I think it is well that the House should know what is going on in connection with the manufacture of margarine in Canada.

There is a wrong impression abroad with regard to the prices being obtained for milk or milk products. I have here a statement by the secretary-treasurer of one of the oldest cheese factories in Canada, established fifty years ago. I believe that the first cheese factory in Canada was established at this point, a small village called Salford. He says that the highest price producers received for milk for the manufacture of cheese in fifty years was in 1918—$1.90 per hundred pounds. Nearly all the cheese factories in that district have now been closed up, I might say, as a result of the price of cheese having been fixed and kept down lower than other dairy produce. I have pointed out that the butter-making branch of the dairy industry may meet with the same fate unless something is done to encourage rather than hamper and discourage those who have been endeavouring to carry on. In view of the professions that we have heard from hon. members, particularly from this side of the House, with regard to the necessity of a protective tariff in this country, I think it is a most remarkable thing that we should not only eliminate protection in respect of a certain commodity, but that we should encourage the importation into and manufacture in Canada of a deceptive counterfeit in order to destroy an old-established industry. It is little to be wondered at that many of those who are engaged in that business to-day feel that if they are to be singled out in this way; if that is the attitude of the people of Canada with regard to the business they are interested in; if they are not to receive the same treatment or the same consideration as that which is accorded to other manufacturers, then they are prepared to set their good judgment aside so far as tariff arrangements are concerned and take chances with the rest of the world.

I would like to know whether the National Dairy Council has been consulted in regard to this matter or whether they have made any protests against the continuance of this measure. This is a body which represents the dairy interests of Canada, and I believe it has an executive here in Ottawa. I mention this because I believe that the chief pressure that was brought to bear in regard to this legislation originated with certain women's organizations in Ottawa. I have remarked before, and I still believe, that there is no place in Canada where you can so quickly get out of touch with the true sentiment of the people of Canada as you can right here in Ottawa. I am firmly convinced that that is a fact. I believe that the large majority of people who live in this city are not actuated by the same objects or motives in life and have not the same incentive to exercise their own initia-

tive and enterprise and energy as is characteristic of people throughout the rest of the Dominion. I am inclined to fear that members of the Government are very often somewhat misled by the influence which is brought to bear upon them by their coming daily in contact with so many people who have not the same objects in life as those who live outside have.

This is not a new question. I remember receiving a letter asking for my views with regard to this matter as far back as 1916. I crave the indulgence of the House while I read the reply which I sent to that inquiry. It is dated at Ingersoll, December 4, 1916, and addressed to the then Minister of Agriculture, (Mr. Burrell), as follows:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st inst. with reference to the agitation in some quarters for the removal of the restrictions under the Dairy Act on the sale of oleomargarine in Canada. You also suggest that I should give you my views on the question and how far I think they represent public opinion in the rural constituencies of Ontario. In reply I would point out that butter is not the only commodity that has greatly increased in price since the outbreak of the war. As you are aware there has been an enormous amount of labour, skill and capital invested in the dairy industry to standardize the product and obtain for it its present high reputation and still more is yet required to be done before it reaches the position it should occupy.

Dairy stock, buildings and equipment represent a heavy investment on the part of those engaged in the business. Feed for dairy stock is scarcer and dearer than ever before. The present year has been, in Ontario at least, one of the worst experienced in many years. The outlook for dairy help is most discouraging as most of those who worked on the farms have either enlisted or gone to work in munition factories. In view of these conditions it is not surprising that the price of butter should have increased nor yet that the promoters of a counterfeit article that has been doctored and coloured to look like butter with a view to deceiving the consumer should avail themselves of this opportunity to gain access to the Canadian markets. The dairy industry which has taken many years of painstaking labour and energy to build up can be destroyed under present conditions very quickly. The number of farmers in this county who have during the present year and are still disposing of their dairy herds is most regrettable.

The dairy industry has enormously increased the fertility and productivity of dairy farms and should not be jeopardized. It is also well in this connection to consider the problems that will have to be dealt with after the war is over, —the solution of providing employment for the returning soldiers and the immigrants we expect to come here will have to be found largely on the farms of Canada; and stock farming being the basis of successful agriculture what more inviting field is there than the dairy business? I am rather inclined to think that the National Council of Women and the City Council of Ottawa to whom you referred in your letter viewed this question only from the standpoint of the consumer with the hope of reducing the price of butter under the present abnormal conditions I have referred to.

I feel sure that I have but very mildly expressed the views held by those engaged in dairying in Ontario if not Canada. Their silence on the matter is doubtless due to their confidence that the Government will not be misled into committing so shortsighted an act as to allow a deceptive counterfeit to find place on the markets of Canada and be consumed under butter's trade mark.

Yours sincerely,

Donald Sutherland.

I am even more convinced to-day than I was at that time that my views as then expressed were correct. We have had the returned soldier problem to meet. We have endeavoured to persuade many of those men to go on to the land, we have advanced them money, we have encouraged them to take up farming; and yet we purpose to-day putting through a measure that is going to handicap many of them to such an extent that there is great danger that they will come to regret the day that they accepted the loan from the Government and agreed to go on to the land. The movement from the country to the cities is going on to-day just as much as at any time during the past twenty-five years. I myself was brought up on a farm, and have lived on a farm nearly all my life. I have often been inclined to feel proud of it; but in view of the criticisms that have been and are levelled at the farmers of this country today, I begin to feel that I would hesitate to encourage a son of mine to engage in agriculture in this country if this condition is going to prevail, and if those who are engaged in farming are to be met with taunts and sneers and to be subjected to competition of this kind—not fair, honest competition at all, but competition on the part of a product that the Government are endeavouring to permit by legislative enactment to come into and be manufactured in this country under butter trademark in order to enter into competition with a legitimate article of food, the production of which is surrounded with the strictest regulations that it is possible to imagine. We hear and read much about making conditions on the farm more attractive for the farmers than they have been in the past. These are the little things that count and that sink into the minds of the people who are engaged in that industry. If those who are engaged in agriculture are to be treated with contemptuous indifference by Parliament and the people of this country, you may rest assured that they will welcome the first opportunity that presents itself to get away from what is one of the

most laborious professions in Canada under present conditions. People may speak about an eight-hour day and advocate a six-hour day, but there is no possibility of carrying on dairying in this country under those conditions unless you have a relay of workmen. It means at the very least calculation 12 hours, and, in most instances, 14 hours a day to carry on dairying successfully in Canada to-day. This will be admitted by any one who has knowledge of the dairy business; and that being the case, in view of the fact that this agitation is being carried on throughout the country to-day to get down to an eight-hour day basis, and to fix a minimum wage, where are you going to land? Some of these days this old world will be right up against starvation, and when you have to pull in your belt three or four notches you will begin to show some consideration for the farmer. There is no use closing your eyes to the fact that there is only one thing that will satisfy a hungry person, and that is food; and if you take from food production a majority of the people who are now engaged in it, what are you going to be up against? You are going to eliminate competition in all other walks of life, and you have set the example right here in this House. We have in the Civil Service of this country an example that all the other trades in the country are endeavouring to follow, namely, working from five and a half to six and a half hours a day under conditions where there is no competition and where there is no possibility of anyone bringing out the sweat on their brows in carrying on their duties. It is not a pleasure to me to have to speak in this way, and it is only the fact that I find that there are in this House so few who will get up and express what is in their innermost thoughts that forces me to do so.

This is another resolution adopted in April, 1919, at a representative meeting of the women of Ottawa:

It was moved by Mrs. Adam Shortt and seconded by Lady Pope,

"That whereas fat is an essential food for human beings, and that children deprived of it suffer not only from malnutrition in the present, but are permanently injured in physique; and whereas, there is not enough butter in the country to supply everybody"—

But there will be plenty to supply the rich, you may rest assured of that.

"—if margarine were banished; and whereas butter is so high a price that thousands cannot have butter because of the cost; and whereas, margarine is a butter substitute of equal caloric value with butter; and whereas, margarine has been allowed in the country under the War Measures Act, which comes to an end with the signing of peace:

"Therefore, be it resolved that we women of Ottawa do now appeal to this Federal Government now considering child welfare, to permanently legalize margarine in Canada, in order that children may thrive and not decline and that consumers be not deprived of their legitimate right, as in other countries, to have margarine for domestic use."

And so on. It would appear that the Government are ready to meet the views of these Ottawa ladies. I believe I have somewhere a resolution passed by the Dairy Council dealing with this matter. At any rate, the Western and Eastern Ontario Dairymen's Associations have placed themselves on record as being opposed to the continuation of this regulation after the end of the war, and the National Dairy Council here in Ottawa also passed a similar resolution.

This is not the first or only instance in which the dairymen have had to submit to hampering restrictions. It may not be known to hon. members that many men, even on rented farms, have had to put in expensive machinery in order to carry on their dairying operations—I refer to milking machines and engines, some of them costing in the neighbourhood of $1,000—because the dairy farmers were not able to get labour during the war by reason of the fact that practically all the available farm labour had gone overseas.

There were restrictions placed on the exportation of dairy products. You remember that butter was commandeered by the Food Board in order to supply the soldiers of the British army. It is rather significant that although there were millions of pounds of butter in cold storage at that time it was the butter that was being manufactured that was commandeered while the other was left alone. At the same time an embargo was placed on the exportation of milk and cream as a result of which these people suffered a further injustice. At that time I took occasion to write to the then Acting Prime Minister as follows:

Ingersoll, Jan. 17, 1919.

Sir Thomas White,
Acting Prime Minister,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir Thomas,—Some time ago the Canada Food Board passed a regulation, which became law, restricting or prohibiting the exportation of milk, cream, butter, etc., to the United States. This was done at the time butter was commandeered by the Food Board for export to Great Britain.

This regulation is, I understand, still in effect, resulting daily in great financial loss to the milk producers, as prices in the United States for all dairy products are higher than in Canada. As a result of the regulation referred to there is general dissatisfaction among the milk producers in being singled out to contribute a tax in this way for the benefit of

all others not so engaged. The fixing of the price of cheese closed up many cheese factories in Ontario. The oleomargarine legislation of the last session of Parliament, the Daylight Saving Bill, the fixing of an eight-hour day for labour over which the Government has control, have all seriously affected dairymen. Dairy help is not to be had in the face of a general day's labour of from 12 to 14 hours. Such acts are hardly consistent with the policy advocated of greater production and must inevitably result in lessening the dairy output. It is not surprising that the Canadian farmer is beginning to advocate Free Trade when the actual producers of wealth in Canada are singled out and restrictions placed on them in this way. If this is to continue I can foresee very interesting times ahead for some people. While the war was on, the privileged classes were not called upon to deny themselves ice cream, however great the need was at the front for dairy products. I do not think there is another productive and necessary industry in Canada which has been quite so difficult to carry on during the past four years as that of dairy farming. There are few indeed where the returns have been less, considering the labour involved where the same hours constitute a day as a basis of comparison. It may be said that such regulations were necessary in order to secure butter for export to Great Britain for the soldiers. This result could have been arrived at just as easily by fixing a price on a par with that prevailing elsewhere and would have been an incentive to greater production. Such general handicaps on an essential industry may well cause one to ask one's self if the very thing our soldiers are fighting abroad to destroy is not in evidence at home.

It is with deep regret that I feel called upon to pen these lines and only a keen sense, to me at least, of the doubtful wisdom of this tampering influence, causes me to do so.

Yours sincerely,

D. Sutherland.

I can foresee what the result of all these restrictions is going to be. It is going to lessen the output of what ought to be one of the most profitable, substantial and beneficial industries of this country. We had before the House this afternoon a measure in regard to disposing of the Canadian wheat crop. You can produce wheat and dispose of it in that manner but a time will arrive when your land will fail to produce and you will have to turn in some other direction. There is no other branch of the agricultural industry that will enable you to carry on and maintain the fertility of your soil so well as stock farming of which dairying is one of the most important branches. It is true that you may obtain cheap lands that are rich and fertile, and you may for a time, exploit the richness that has been stored up there for centuries, but the time will quickly arrive when you will have to adopt different methods.

The effect of allowing oleomargarine to come into this country, or to be manufactured, is to discourage, discredit and destroy this industry. I remarked the other night that I would take no exception whatever to the importation and manufacture of oleomargarine provided it is confined to the ingredients which are supposed to be put into it and they do not use the dairy products of this country in their manufacture of this material. Do not—as was done by the Order in Council which was first passed on the recommmendation of the Food Board—permit them to incorporate butter in it, nor to incorporate milk to the extent of 15 per cent of their output in order to make it palatable, it is well known that there has been much oleomargarine that has become unfit for food and had to be destroyed as it will not keep in cold storage or elsewhere by reason of the fact that it contains matter introduced with a view to deceiving the consumer which does not mature.

I would like to call attention to the regulations which were passed and which will doubtless be referred to. Precautions have been taken to make it appear that only wholesome food was contained in oleomargarine, and clause after clause was adopted with that object in view. Subsection 10 of the regulations provides:

> Oleomargarine shall not be manufactured in Canada in any premises of or connected with a butter factory.

Why should it not be permitted to be manufactured on any premises connected with a butter factory? If you permit the manufacturers of oleomargarine to mix butter and incorporate it with oleomargarine, surely it is just as fair to show the same consideration to the one as the other? It provides further that no preservative except salt shall be used for oleomargarine without the written permission of the Canada Food Board, and no person other than a manufacturer of oleomargarine shall mix oleomargarine and butter. We are granting exclusive rights to a close corporation to acquire butter by millions of pounds or in as large quantities as they like and mix it with another substance in order to produce an article of food which they can palm off on the public yet deny this privilege to the dairymen. Reference was made by the Solicitor General (Mr. Guthrie) the other night to the regulation providing that in restaurants where this butter substitute is used this fact shall be declared on a card prominently displayed and in letters of not less than an inch and a half in length. Well, some day when hon. members have a little time at their disposal they can go into some of these restaurants, and occasionally they will find a card stuck up in a place where it would fail to attract very much

attention unless one were looking for it, because letters of an inch and a half in length are not apt to strike the eye very readily in a large restaurant or dining room, and one card is all that it is necessary to display.

Now, this is not the only country that has to contend with this question. In France they prohibit the artificial coloration of oleomargarine and do not permit its sale in stores that sell butter. Yet we permit it to be put up in packages of exactly the same size as those containing the best dairy butter. Its wrappers are precisely the same, with the exception that the word "oleomargarine" is printed on the wrappers. The boxes in which this product is put up are identical in size with those used for butter, and you will find further that oleomargarine is being quoted in the newspapers in the same column in which the prices of butter appear. I do not think that this should be permitted. Oleomargarine should not be considered as a dairy product at all. If it has any merit then it should be sold on its merits and should not be disposed of in the way I have described. In Germany the mixing of butter with oleomargarine is not allowed, and the sellers are not permitted to put it up in butter shapes. It is apparent that an endeavour has been made, not only in this country but elsewhere, to get it on the market under the guise of butter and with a similar trademark. I think the Government would be well advised to revise the regulations so as to prevent the incorporating of butter into margarine. The manufacturers of this substance should not be permitted to churn it in milk and should not be in a position to deceive the people by putting it on the market in the manner contemplated in this legislation. The present law in Canada gives them too much latitude. If the Government see fit to amend the regulations so as to prohibit the incorporation of butter and milk into this commodity I will have nothing further to say on the subject, nor do I think that the dairymen of the country will raise any objections in connection with it. But so long as this legislation remains in its present form, you may rest assured, Mr. Speaker, that there will be strong objection and efforts will be put forth to obtain some redress for what at the present time can only be considered as a rank injustice to people who are deserving of better treatment and who are engaged in a legitimate business.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR (Antigonish and Guysborough): I sympathize with the views of my hon. friend from South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland). Few men in this House are better qualified to express an opinion on agricultural questions than is that hon. gentleman. I have had the honour of sitting as his colleague in this House for a good many years and have always listened with a great deal of interest to his discussion of agricultural matters. Indeed, when the portfolio of Agriculture became vacant some time ago many people thought that my hon. friend would be selected for the position by reason of his long experience in the House and the assiduous attention which he has always paid to agricultural questions, and I find it difficult to conceive of any one else better qualified to be Minister of Agriculture. The Government, it appears, have taken a different view, and I trust that my hon. friend's independence and courage in speaking out touching a Government measure will not interfere with his promotion in future.

The main argument in favour of this Bill, as I understand it, is the abnormal price of butter in the market at present. If butter were selling at an ordinary price there would be no occasion for this legislation and, I presume, it would not be introduced by the Government. But I am not sure that that can be advanced as a good reason. We have a Board of Commerce in Canada, an elaborate court for fixing the prices of commodities; and it would be much better for us to face this question squarely and courageously and deal with it through our Board of Commerce, than to deal with it in an indirect way as we are attempting to do. Prices of other articles are also high. For example, the price of sugar is abnormally high in Canada, but we maintain a certain standard and quality of sugar, and no one would suggest that we ought to put an inferior grade of sugar on the market as a means of depressing the price of the genuine article. Now, Mr. Speaker, I should like to give to the House the form of petition that has been circulated in my constituency and sent to the Minister of Agriculture. These petitions have come from all over Canada. I understand that scores of them have reached the office of the Minister of Agriculture, but I suppose they have been pigeon-holed. I dare say that the minister in charge of this Bill has never read them, but I think it is my duty to quote one of them so that if he has not heretofore looked at these petitions he will be under the necessity of listening to at least one of them containing the views of the farmers on this question. This is the petition:

The petition of the undersigned humbly sheweth:

That due to conditions existing by the war, and the desire for the furnishing to the Allied peoples of larger quantities of Canadian butter than was formerly exported, there was admitted freely into the Dominion of Canada, as a war measure only, a substitute for butter commonly known as Oleomargarine:

And whereas we, the undersigned, believe that Oleomargarine is an inferior product to butter, and is a poor imitation thereof, and is deficient in growth producing substances (particularly in the case of the young), and is not as nourishing to the human body as butter:

Whereas we believe that the continued use of the same would be injurious to the health of the people of this country;

And whereas it is highly essential for the welfare of Canada that a large dairy industry should be made possible in the Dominion;

And whereas we believe that the substitution of oleomargarine for butter will seriously interfere with the development of the dairy industry;

And whereas tremendous difficulties have arisen in attempting to enforce the pure food laws in the regulation of the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine in countries where this is now permitted, and great expense is being continually incurred in connection with it;

And whereas the dairy industry, properly safeguarded, will be a valuable factor in the reabsorption in civil life of a large number of returned soldiers,

We, your humble petitioners, being residents of the federal district of Antigonish and Guysborough hereby petition that a strong representation should be made by you at the next session of the Dominion Parliament to the Government to pass legislative measures prohibiting the further importation, sale and manufacture of oleomargarine in or into the Dominion of Canada.

This petition is signed by about fifty inhabitants of that constituency, and other similar petitions have been presented to the Government. If the statements contained in this petition are true, and I do not think they will be contradicted, this Bill should not obtain the assent of the House. We have Boards of Health in Canada, and the question has been raised by my hon. friend (Mr. Sutherland) as to whether this is a wholesome food to be given to our people or not, but so far as we are informed in this discussion, no attention has been given to this matter by our Boards of Health. We also have a Department of Public Health and a staff of officers attached thereto. They should have dealt with this question, and some report should have been made to Parliament as to their attitude on that important phase of it. Investigations have taken place in the United States and I understand they have resulted in the views that have been presented to the committee to-night by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland). The question of the health of the youth of the country is one of very great importance; it is far more important in my view than the financial side of the matter. The raising of a vigorous race of young Canadians is more important to us than the money we should have to pay to the industry that is producing butter. Some one has said: "You canot maintain an A-1 empire on a C-3 population." If the use of oleomargarine among the young of the country is going to produce a poorer race of men and women, it is important that the Government should prohibit its consumption. I am not much acquainted with the article myself; I believe it has the appearance of butter of course but is not butter. There was an ingenious Connecticut Yankee once who made a lot of money by manufacturing wooden nutmegs. He thought that if he could produce an article that looked like a nutmeg and sell it cheaply the people would buy it and he would make money. He did succeed for a while in his purpose, but the people soon discovered the fraud. Now the sale of oleomargarine is not altogether as bad as that, but in my opinion it is in the same class. We are endeavouring to produce something that looks like but is not butter—it is an article inferior to it—and we are doing so for the purpose of depressing the price of the real commodity in the market. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland) during the discussion the other night referred to the fact that the use of colouring is prohibited under regulation of the Government—that the manufacturers of oleomargarine are not allowed to use colouring so as to make the article resemble butter. He also pointed out, however, that the Government have permitted the manufacturers of oleomargarine to purchase highly-coloured butter and to use it in the manufacture of their product; it served the same purpose for them and helped to produce an article which is a good imitation of butter and which can be fraudulently placed on the market and sold to the consumer for butter.

Now, Sir, I submit, the dairy industry of Canada is a very important one, and that we should not tamper with it in any particular. There should be a thorough investigation before any step like this is attempted to make the use of oleomargarine permanent in the country. The people accepted the Act as a war measure, but the war has now been over for nearly a year, and the fact that the privilege granted during wartime is now being renewed conveys the impression that the Government intend to make oleomargarine an article of permanent manufacture and sale in this country.

I object especially to the indirect method of dealing with this question. I say that if the price of butter is too high we ought to deal with the matter fairly and that we should ask our Board of Commerce to investigate the price and regulate it and not endeavour to depress that price by placing upon the market an article that is acknowledged to be inferior. This measure is put forward as being in the interests of the working man. My hon. friend who introduced the Bill told us that there were people in Canada who could not afford to pay for butter at the present price and that those people were to be allowed to purchase oleomargarine. That may be true, but at the same time it may not be a good policy to adopt. It may be a better policy to raise the wages of the working man so that he and his family could have the benefit of proper food instead of providing that this cheap article should be placed on their table.

I have a suspicion, Mr. Speaker, that some of the big interests are behind this question, that Swift and Company, and some of the large meat packers, who are engaged in the production of tallow and other articles that enter into the manufacture of oleomargarine, have something to do with this question, and that they more than the Canadian consumer, are pressing it. I therefore wish to place on record my opposition to this measure and my support of the views of the hon. member for South Oxford.

Mr. J. W. EDWARDS (Frontenac): It is very seldom that I have an opportunity to agree with anything said by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat. I have followed his remarks very closely and I thought for some time that I was going to be able to agree with him entirely. But before he concluded he had to get in his little dig about the big interests, rather a favourite line of argument with the hon. gentleman, something which I do not think is at all necessary to introduce into this discussion. The matter can be discussed on its merits, and while I believe there are two sides to the question—entirely apart from the interest of those who are engaged in the manufacture of oleomargarine—I believe the Government will deal fairly with the subject in the light in which they see proper to deal with it. From my point of view I must express my concurrence with the remarks so earnestly uttered by the honourable member for South Oxford.

I think, Sir, that the time should not be extended for permitting the manufacture and importation of margarine. I believe margarine was first made immediately following the Franco-Prussian war. There was then practically no butter to be had to meet the needs of the people of France, and this product was devised to supply the deficiency. In England, where hundreds of millions of pounds of this article have been used for many years, as also in France, the manufacture and use of margarine is hedged round by very drastic restrictions. In England, I believe, there is an absolute prohibition against the use of butter in the manufacture of oleomargarine without changing the name; if butter is incorporated the product is known as butterine. The United States Government have endeavoured to place restrictions about this article, but according to reports from that country they have failed. I placed on Hansard a session or two ago some figures—I regret to say I have not them at hand now—which were taken from the records of the United States, tending to show that out of hundreds of millions of pounds of margarine used in the United States over 90 per cent was sold to the public as butter. In England and in France the Governments have also gone to great trouble in order to prevent, as far as it was possible, the same thing occurring there. The action taken by those three governments, and also by the governments of other countries where margarine is used, is to my judgment a clear indication that they consider the article inferior to butter and something which should not be supplied to the consuming pupblic under any false pretences. The natural colour of margarine is white, and unless some artificial means is used to change the colour, of course it can always be distinguished from butter. In the United States the storekeepers will supply you with so many capsules of colouring matter according to the amount of margarine you have purchased, so that if you wish you may make it look like butter. That puts the purchaser in this position, that if he does not want his guests to know they are eating margarine, he goes out into the kitchen, puts some colouring matter into the margarine until it resembles butter, and then his guests may not know that they are not eating butter.

I do not believe that this article is as good a food as butter. But the principal reasons why I object to the further use of it in Canada are these: Our dairymen have gone to enormous expense in order to build up their dairy herds, and as a result Canadian cheese and butter have acquired a

reputation second to none in the markets of the world. I think, Sir, it is poor encouragement to those men, encouraged by the Dominion and Provincial Governments, to make that expenditure in order to procure the very best breeds of cattle and to improve their dairy herds in every respect, to force them to compete with this article called margarine. Moreover, in view of the fact that we have a tariff duty of four cents a pound on butter coming into this country, I think it is a breach of faith with our farmers and dairymen that this article should be allowed to enter free of duty and compete with their product. It is not fair play at all.

In regard to the statement made about the high price of butter, I firmly believe there is no article of food to-day that goes on any man's table, whether he is a rich or a poor man, which gives as much in food value for the money paid for it as does butter, and that the price paid by the consuming public to-day is not a high price when you consider its food value. I also believe that the price at which butter is sold is not an excessive price if the farmer or dairyman is to be encouraged to remain in business.

My hon. friend from South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) has said that certain restrictions have been placed upon the farmer in regard to what he produces and sells, which restrictions, to say the least, are not very encouraging to him to continue his farming or dairying operations. The action some time ago of " that man O'Connor " in fixing the price of milk—in undertaking to give a verdict before he had heard any evidence—was one knock at the farmer. This, it seems to me, is another knock. There is nothing that tends so much to keep up the fertility of the soil as dairying, and there is a large amount of money invested in the industry. We evidently have butter to spare, because we are exporting butter, and one of the reasons why we are forced to look overseas for a market is because of the introduction into this country of a substitute for that butter in the shape of margarine.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when this measure was first introduced it was regarded by the farmers as a war measure. Our farmers realized at the time that the introduction of margarine was not in their interest, but they accepted the situation loyally because they regarded the measure as one of the necessities imposed by war conditions. Now the war is over, at all events hostilities have ceased, and we are endeavouring to get back to normal.

[Mr. Edwards.]

There would be more justification for taking action with a view to reducing the price of many other articles which the people of this country have to buy than there is for permitting the continued manufacture in and importation of oleomargarine into this country, thereby lessening the profits of farmers and dairymen who are producing butter. Oleomargarine has been in use for many years in the United States and in other countries of the world. Of course, these countries are more densely populated than Canada and have a smaller rural or agricultural population than we have. But I believe that Canadian Governments were influenced by two considerations in the past in prohibiting up to a short time ago the manufacture or importation of oleomargarine. First, they evidently thought that margarine was not as wholesome a food as butter; second, they believed that it was incumbent upon the government of the country to give proper encouragement to the dairy interests with a view to their keeping more cattle and producing more milk. The importation and manufacture of margarine was permitted and accepted because the war was on. But the war is now over and in the interests of one of our greatest industries—an industry which has made wonderful progress in Canada, and an industry we are all proud of, the dairy industry—I do think that the time has arrived for prohibiting the further importation of this article, or its manufacture, in Canada.

Mr. JACOBS: Suppose the price of butter became prohibitive to some people, would the hon. member then argue that oleomargarine should not be manufactured or imported into this country?

Mr. EDWARDS: I do not know just what the hon. gentleman means by the price of butter becoming prohibitive. I suppose that meat at one cent a pound is prohibitive to a man who has not a cent, and the same may be said of butter at fifty or sixty cents a pound. An article of food or any other article becomes prohibitive only when the consumer has not the money with which to buy the article. I think there is no likelihood of butter becoming so scarce in Canada as not to meet the needs of the public at reasonable prices. Believing that the dairy industry should be encouraged and that dairymen should receive a price for their product which will encourage them to keep more cattle, I am opposed to the sale of oleomargarine in this country.

Mr. M. CLARK (Red Deer): Mr. Speaker, before I left for Ottawa to attend the session at the beginning of this year a number of farmers in my riding arranged an interview with me, which, of course, I was glad to give. They were engaged in dairy farming—I have done a little at it myself for eighteen years; sometimes a good deal; we milked twenty-six cows on our ranch one summer—and naturally, in a protectionist country, they thought, I suppose, that I would be friendly to what were, in a measure, my own interests. They laid their case before me, and I said: "Gentlemen, you have brought your pigs to the wrong market; I am a free trader." That is the fundamental reason for my giving a very hearty support to the measure which the Government has most sensibly introduced. There is only one thing wrong with the Bill, and that is the use of the word "temporary" in the title. I would make the importation, the manufacture and the sale of this product part of the expanding commerce of a great country, and I would make it go on just as long as anybody wanted to import it who is a Canadian and as long as anybody wanted to buy it and to eat it who is a Canadian. That is the fundamental ground upon which I support the measure.

Why, Mr. Speaker, if oleomargarine is brought into Canada, who brings it? A Canadian importer. And to whom does that importer sell it? To Canadian consumers. And yet we have hon. gentlemen in this House who would contend that this is a free country suggesting that we should prevent importers from importing and consumers from consuming. Personally, Sir, I have no sympathy with that point of view. Of course, I judge that hon. members knew that before I rose to speak. The fact of the matter is, you cannot have any real freedom under a protective tariff. We beguile ourselves into thinking that we are free men; we are nothing of the sort. When one person, or ten persons, say to another person: "You must not spend your hardly-earned money to buy something which you want to buy," they unwarrantably interfere with the liberty of the subject. That is my fundamental objection to all protective tariffs. No one who lives in a protective country, flatter himself and his country as he may, has yet come down to the fundamentals of freedom.

Mr. Speaker, a certain amount of fat is absolutely necessary for the proper sustenance of a healthy human being, and the nearer you get to the North Pole the more fat you need. I remember reading in an authentic book of travel an account of the arrival of a whaler amongst the Eskimo. A little boy, as is the custom of youngsters when whalers go there, came to the side of the vessel. In these regions they not only use large quantities of fat, but they take enormous quantities at one time when they have the chance, and they store it. Nature teaches them, of course, that they need the fat and that they can store it; and they eat it in proportions that would hurt the stomach even of the average Canadian—although the average Canadian has a pretty good, healthy appetite about three times a day. Well, this little fellow came to the whaler; the men on board knew what he wanted, and they tried him out with some huge chunks of fat meat. With extraordinary rapidity the little fellow consumed the whole thing and looked the happier for having done it—and then looked for more. They they tried him out with a few tallow candles that they did not need particularly, and the candles followed the chunks of fat meat. Finally they gave him a piece of soap; the soap went the same road, and the little fellow looked happiest after he had consumed the soap. Now, I recall that incident of travel—which is very well authenticated; it is told by Herbert Spencer in one of his books—to enforce my statement that a certain amount of fat is needed by the human being, and the more the farther north we are.

My second reason for supporting this Bill, in addition to the fundamental one with which I started out, is that although we are not so far north as the Eskimo, this is a pretty cold climate, and I should be very slow to put any obstacle in the way of our people getting a good, healthy appetite for fat, even if it is not always of the best variety. There has been some talk of consumption of oleomargarine reducing the quality of our population. I do not think it would reduce it to anything like the extent that doing without the fat altogether would.

When I listened to the hon. member for Oxford South (Mr. Sutherland) dilating on the terrible compositions that are sold as oleomargarine, I could not help having a little dread that if the consumption of material of such a nature became so great as he seemed to fear, we might produce youngsters of the kind that the Eskimo boy was. But after thinking the matter out, I consider that that is highly unlikely, although if there were anything in my hon. friend's further contention that the consumption of oleomargarine, horrible com-

pound as it is, is going to drive dairymen out of dairying and put down the whole butter and dairy industry in this country—and he went almost as far as that—then I must say that the natural conclusion is that the appetite of our people is already very considerably degraded in this matter. The stuff tastes like lard; yet my hon. friend says that Canadians are going to take to it so heartily that they are going to drive the dairy people out of business.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I am sure the hon. gentleman would not like to do me an injustice. I think I made it quite clear that what I objected to was the incorporation, along with these other things that go to make up oleomargarine, of 30 per cent of milk and butter.

Mr. M. CLARK: I have no wish to misrepresent my hon. friend, but there is the fact that he gave a somewhat horrifying account of these compositions, and I jokingly expressed a fear as to the effect they might have on our people. I, of course, believe in a certain amount of oversight, not too much of it, by medical boards or any other boards, over the food people use. Under ordinary freedom, however, people will protect themselves fairly well in civilized countries against adulteration. As a matter of fact, the oleomargarine that is sold in the old country has, I know, nothing approaching the qualities that have been represented by my hon. friend. I have a friend who was in the old country towards the end of the war for some weeks, and who was one of the better-to-do Canadians and staying with people of his own class in the old country. After he had been there about ten days, he said: "Before I leave you, I want to congratulate you on the excellent quality of butter you are getting at this advanced period of the war." The lady of the house said: "We have not tasted butter in this house for eighteen months. What you are eating is oleomargarine." That could not have tasted like lard; I think the quality of the stuff could not have been so very bad. We all know that for weeks together the soldiers never saw butter in the trenches. The scarcity was so great that sometimes they ate large quantities of oleomargarine, and they did not seem to take any hurt; on the contrary, they came back a pretty healthy looking set of fellows.

The fact of the matter is that we are too selfish in this country; we look at everything from the point of view of classes, and we fail to take into consideration the case of the other fellow. I want to put in a word for the town fellow, and I do it the more readily because I come from the country and can get all the butter I want. What is more, although I took up the business late in life, with the people I have, we make such good butter that we do not fear competition from oleomargarine. We have such a demand that we could sell ten times the quantity any day in the week and any week in the year. That is the kind of Canadian we need, the man who produces such stuff that he does not fear competition. But what are the facts? The fact is that butter is very scarce in Canada, and there is a reason for that. It is not the fanciful reason that oleomargarine is driving people out of the dairy business. I know why dairying is becoming less in my part of the country. As soon as a man gets big enough in the farming and stock-raising business to keep enough cattle to live off his steers, he cannot get his boys or his hired help to sit down and milk cows. That is the fact of the matter about Western Canada. If a man gets big enough in the business to keep cattle so as to live off selling the beef, the boys, whether they are his own boys or hired help, rebel to such an extent that they go out of that line of business into another which is probably better for the country and better for themselves. They produce in a bigger way quantities of material which sell for larger prices. They make more money and probably do more good to the industry of the country. But I repeat that butter is a scarce commodity in Canada, and the reason for that is what I have stated. We have a large country of very great resources; we have the greatest possible facilities for young people, if they have the go in them, to get into bigger lines of business, and dairying, especially the milking, is a very irksome game. I know, because I have done more or less of it for eighteen years, and it is not a pleasant experience, with the thermometer at 90 degrees in the shade, to have a cow take her tail, not in the most cleanly condition, and wipe it through both your eyes. As long as I can deal in steers, I am not going to do any more of that than I can help. I sympathize with the young fellows, and that is why so far as I am concerned—and my experience is that of scores of hundreds of men, my neighbours, all through the great cattle province of Alberta—we get out of dairying as soon as we can and produce cattle. Not only is butter scarce in this country, but as it is scarce, the price naturally is high, high at any rate compared with the price of oleomargarine. Butter being

hard to get and fat being needed in human food, and the price of oleomargarine being so much lower, I say that we men in Canada want to be just a little bigger, be prepared to stand on our own feet and let our butter fight its way by its quality, but give the town dweller a little reasonable freedom to get cheaper material if he wants to buy it as it has been introduced by Canadians for the purpose of sale.

Something was said about the big interests as the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) pointed out. Well, there are big interests in the farming and dairying business. There was a candidate on the opposite side to myself in Alberta at the last election who posed, by the way, as a great free trader for many years and who was generally a free trader; but in the first week of the active campaign of 1917 he talked exactly as the hon. member for Oxford South (Mr. Sutherland) and his supporters have done tonight, against the introduction of oleomargarine, until his opponent, whom I shall not name in this House, found out that this farmer and free trader had, fortunately for himself, made a large amount of money in real estate in Edmonton and had about $17,000, I think, invested in a dairy company in Edmonton. That little incident only shows how readily, even a farmer and a free trader will fight where his own interests are concerned. The successful candidate in that election naturally used this fact, and the moment he used it, it was so effective with the audiences that the farmer and free trader returned to his old faith so far as oleomargarine was concerned, because he stopped talking against oleomargarine there and then. There are interests and interests; there are interests behind the opposition to this Bill as well as possibly interests in favour of the other side of the argument. I want to close as I began by saying that we want to have a little reasonable consideration for other people; we want to have a little reasonable regard to the other fellow's point of view. There was a time when there were 70 or 80 per cent of the people of Canada engaged in agriculture. Now there are only about 48 per cent so engaged. The majority of the people are town or urban dwellers, and I must say that so far from seeing anything to object to in the argument of those ladies —Lady Pope among the others—who were quoted by my hon. friend, I very much admire their point of view. Theirs is not a political point of view; it is not a party point of view; it is the sympathetic attitude of women, moving in a plane of society where they can get butter, towards the poor who have to pinch and reckon about their weekly budget in the districts of our cities where they have a hard time to make ends meet and just manage to keep out of debt at the end of the year. It is a shame that we should have such conditions in this country. With the multitude of our resources and less than two people to the square mile, everybody should be well off in Canada. Everybody should be well off and I trust that one of these days we shall have conditions under which they will be well off. That will not be by restricting your commerce; it will not be by putting embargoes on all kinds of endeavour; it will not be by restricting importations, manufactures and sales. Importations always mean exportations, manufactures and sales, and these are what we want to clear off our war debt and make us all wealthy. I am glad to have this opportunity of supporting a really good Government measure and saying a word for the town dweller and a humble word for the substitute for butter which I understand is generally a very good one.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): Mr. Speaker, I have very much pleasure in agreeing for once at least with the hon. member (Mr. M. Clark), who has just taken his seat. The hon. member for Red Deer is always interesting, logical and consistent. Whether we agree with him in his doctrine altogether we must agree with him on this question. I agree with him very heartily when he says that we should keep our hands off the poor man's living. We have just closed a very trying war and we are entering upon a period, in the fall of the year, when we expect a lot of unemployment and a great deal of hardship. I think that at this time it would be a great mistake if we did not extend to the poor man the privilege of buying a substitute for butter when he cannot afford the real article. I cannot conceive of any man buying a pound of the oleomargarine that is made in this country if he could afford to buy butter. I would like to have seen the Government go farther; I would like to have seen them importing into this country, if they could, the brand sold in England and which is far superior to the article sold in Canada. I myself went through a similar experience to the one referred to by the last speaker. I ate oleomargarine over there for four months before I knew the difference; I had looked upon it as one of the very choicest

brands of fresh butter. If we could get an article like that in this country for the poor man, who has to raise four or five of a family on about $2.50 or $3 a day with the present cost of living, we would do him a great service indeed.

In regard to the other branch of this argument which has been adduced by my hon. friend from South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), I would like to call the attention of the House to the fact which was admitted by him, that since the introduction of oleomargarine into this country butter has not decreased, but increased, in price. As long as that condition of affairs exists I do not see any danger to the great dairying industry of this country, and I think that until the danger does appear on the horizon we should at least give the poor man a chance.

I must differ from my hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) as to the nourishment that butter contains. I do not look upon butter as of any great value at all with reference to nourishment. Its principal use is in making bread palatable. The average person probably does not use more than an ounce of butter per day. That amount of fat could be very easily and quickly substituted if we were simply looking at the nutritive values or the heat producing properties of fat. But, as I said, I do not look upon butter as such. It is simply used upon bread to make that great staple article of our diet a little more palatable and possibly a little more digestible. I for one am very glad that the Government had the courage to extend this legislation and to give to people who are not able to buy the pure article of butter as a diet a chance to get a substitute. I would like to see a better substitute provided. I can see no reason personally why butter should not be incorporated with oleomargarine. There is a very serious and substantial objection to the reverse taking place. I do not think that butter should be adulterated by the addition of anything to it, but if you have a cheaper, more inferior article which is less in demand and if you can make it more palatable and nourishing and give it a certain amount of heat producing value for the poor man who cannot afford to get butter, I do not see why it should not be done.

Mr. GEORGE BOYCE (Carleton): Mr. Speaker, as one who is interested in the dairying industry I listened with great delight and pleasure to the address delivered by my hon. friend from South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland). He seemed to understand his subject very well and he gave us a good explanation in regard to the whole business. I was also pleased to hear the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards), a doctor by profession, yet understanding the interests and welfare of the dairymen. I was again pleased to hear that eloquent orator from Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark) giving his views. Some of them were fairly good. We have heard a good deal in this House about that hon. gentleman being nearly always on the wrong side. But he was not altogether on the wrong side to-night except when he was telling you about milking twenty cows out in the cold and frost and the like of that. If he did that he must have kept a very poor dairy. In our part, the place where we milk the cows is just as warm as where you are now, and if it is not you need not attempt to keep a dairy.

I was very pleased, indeed, to hear the eloquent doctor from Muskoka (Mr. McGibbon) giving expression to his views in regard to oleomargarine at the front.

I was surprised to learn that he was given oleomargarine at the front, because our best butter was commandeered and sent overseas in order that our men in the trenches should be supplied with a good, fresh article. What necessity, therefore, existed for oleomargarine? The hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) told us of an incident in some part of the country where some one was given soap to eat. Well, I would sooner eat good, clean soap any day in preference to oleomargarine. Now, the question that is of greatest importance is this: Why should the dairymen and farmers of this country be placed at a disadvantage? What do we find in connection with any of our exhibitions? Take as an example the exhibition held in the city of Ottawa a month ago. There was a great pure food show in connection with that exhibition. But was oleomargarine to be found among any of the exhibits? Not at all. It would not be allowed inside the door, for the good reason that it is unfit for human food. I do not think that it is in the interests of any section of the country to discriminate against the farmers, and if you put hampering restrictions on the dairy industry you will certainly hurt the country to a great extent. Millions of dollars have been invested in pure bred stock, and millions in buildings erected for the housing of that stock—buildings that are a distinct credit to the country; and a very large amount of money has been expended in getting men to inspect our butter and milk in order to keep these products up to a high standard.

If we permit this spurious article to oust the genuine product we shall make a grave mistake and shall put a serious handicap upon the farmers of the country. Seventy per cent of the population formerly engaged in agriculture, whereas to-day, I believe, only thirty per cent are farmers; and it is of the utmost importance that this latter percentage shall not further decrease. We should give the farmers every possible encouragement, for as we are all aware, agriculture is the backbone of the country, and where there is not progressive agriculture you do not find success along other lines. If you want to ascertain the potentialities of a country, look at its industries. We have an important industry in agriculture and we should do everything within our power to develop it. I regret having spoken so long on this subject, but some curious things have been said and wrong views advanced in favour of this spurious article which has been largely exploited in the United States. I do not think we should spend our money on something that is undoubtedly deleterious. Would any man or woman think for a moment of giving a child this harmful product? I do not think so. The proper care of children demands the purest food, and this oleomargarine or any artificial food of a similar nature will not tend to robust health. Let our children have absolutely unadulterated butter. I hear hon. gentlemen on the other side talking about a reasonable rate in connection with butter, and I desire to say that butter is one of the most reasonably-priced articles on the market at the present time. In conclusion, I would ask hon. members this question: Would it not be better, if people cannot afford butter for a while, to do without it rather than to spend their money on something that will surely hurt them?

Mr. GUSTAVE BOYER (Vaudreuil) (translation): Mr. Speaker, two years ago, it was my privilege to lay on the Table a petition signed by 29,000 farmers of the province of Quebec, protesting against the importation, sale and manufacture of oleomargarine in this country. At the time, it was represented in this House that the importation of oleomargarine would be allowed only temporarily, to carry through the hard times of the war. Several agricultural associations in Ontario and Quebec agreed to withdraw their opposition, in views of the circumstances and the promise that was made at the time: That measure was to be in force for one year only. The time has now expired and the Government, instead of redeeming their pledge, are now trying to further extend the delay.

I do not concur in the views expressed by the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) when he insinuated, a few minutes ago that the farming community was actuated by selfish motives.

Why, for the last few years has the Dominion government, as well as the provincial, asked the farmers to speed up production, to put more land under cultivation, to raise more stock and to increase their output in every way? To help the people of Europe. The farmers responded to that appeal from their leaders and the result was that all over the country of late years production increased by leaps and bounds. The position taken by the farmers to-day is altogether justified. They say: "You urged us to promote the dairying industry, to enlarge our dairy herds, to turn out more butter and more cheese. We complied with that request, and now that we have made the necessary preparations, you are allowing the sale on our maket of a counterfeit article, which is being sold in competition with that same product in the manufacture of which we have invested an enormous amount of labour, skill and capital".

Mr. Speaker, considerable capital is invested in the dairying industry of this country. Our dairy herds represent many millions of dollars. To feed that stock, extensive pastures are required in summer, and enormous quantities of feed and hay in winter. The value of that pasturage and of those feeding stuffs is also very large. The production of butter and cheese represents a heavy investment on the part of those engaged in the business. The statement is sometimes made that butter is too high, that cheese is too dear. Butter is not selling too high; its price is in keeping with that of all other staple commodities. If the price of agricultural products is higher to-day, it is because the farmers are paying three times more for everything they have to buy.

We are called upon to fix the price of butter, the price of cheese, the price of all agricultural products, and yet no one suggests that the prices of manufactured articles should be fixed. Why such discrimination? Why do you confine yourself to addressing the farmers and telling them: "You shall produce this and that commodity, but you shall not exact for it more than such and such price." We want you to increase your production, but we propose fixing the price at which you shall have to sell your goods."

Oleomargarine, strickly speaking is not unwholesome, and I am not prepared to deny its value as a food; I am free to admit that its consumption may be found beneficial in the household.

But the consumer should understand that when he buys a pound of butter, he is really buying a pound of butter, but when he buys a pound of margarine, oleomargarine or butterine or any other similar products, he never can tell what he is buying. To make a pound of butter, money and time are required, but in the manufacture of oleomargarine, which is mixed with various ingredients, adulteration enters to a large degree. Butter is selling now at the price it is worth, but oleomargarine is selling for more than it is worth, so that the consuming public is cheated to that extent.

Farmers are appealed to and asked to increase their dairy output. I know whereof I speak, having devoted my attention to the dairy industries for several years past and I know what it costs to manufacture good butter and good cheese. We have had to conduct many a campaign, we have carried on a considerable propaganda, through the press, by means of lectures, meetings, conventions and in every possible way, in order to impress upon the minds of our farmers the benefit accruing to them from keeping on their farms more cattle and improving their dairy herds, because it has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that without good stock, farming would be a failure. It took us four or five years to educate the farmer; we have impressed on his mind the importance of keeping the best breeds of cattle, keeping only select animals, from a well known breed and the best milk producers. In short, we have encouraged the farmer, we have induced him to tread that path, and now you are barring his progress, by putting hampering restrictions on the dairy industry, you are thwarting his hopes, his projects, in allowing those butter substitutes to be palmed off on the public. I cannot coincide in the opinion of the Government in introducing this measure. If you want to handicap the farmer, instead of giving him all the latitude required, you should make a clean breast of it.

The farmer has to pay abnormal prices for the feedstuffs which he has to buy for his stock, and for his fertilizers; the food bill of his family is growing, on account of the war having pushed up food prices, and now you come and tell farmers "We are going to allow that butter substitute which is styled oleomargarine to enter into an unfair competition with your products."

[Mr. Boyer.]

Not only have you allowed oleomargarine to be imported into the country, but the people who manufacture and sell this product have taken advantage of this in adulterating it by the addition of several ingredients, the result of which is that the consumer is being cheated. It has been ascertained that a mixture of butter and oleomargarine in equal proportion had been palmed off on the public as butter, so that the consumer was under the impression that he was buying butter at 60 cents or 55 cents a pound, when as a matter of fact he was only getting oleomargarine which could easily have been obtained retail on the market at from 25 to 30 cents a pound.

Margarine which is now selling on the market is waging an unjust war on butter in the matter of prices, because it is fetching just as high prices as butter, so that the consuming public who most should benefit from it are the least benefited, and here again the public is being cheated.

The Government, when they introduced this measure, two years ago, I believe, had undertaken to keep it under a strict control, and among several other regulations, it had been provided that no body could sell oleomargarine without obtaining a certificate from the Minister of Agriculture. Had those regulations been enforced, I might perhaps say that it would not have proved so injurious to the country; but when I bear in mind that, in the city of Montreal, scarcely two weeks ago, several thousand pounds of oleomargarine were seized which were being sold in the guise of butter, I wonder whether, under such circumstances, it would not be better for the consumer to pay a higher price for good butter than a little less for margarine or adulterated butter..

These are the grounds on which I oppose this measure and I intend to fight it. I will combat it on behalf of my electors, on behalf of the eight hundred agricultural societies and the 29,000 farmers of the province of Quebec who have protested, by way of petitions, against this measure being introduced. The Government then asked us to be forbearing. We have exercised forbearance. Now, the war is over, the world is making a fresh start in the various branches of industry; activity is renascent, and it is high time that the interests of the farmers should be taken into consideration and that they should not be the only class whose activities this House aims at controlling.

Mr. S. F. GLASS (Middlesex East): To be consistent, I feel it incumbent upon me to take the position I took a couple of

nights ago when this matter was last before the House. We have had a very interesting statement from the hon. member for Red Deer as to the capacity of an Eskimo boy to consume certain impure fats, and he wound up by telling us that the final dose was a piece of soap. When the hon. gentleman was telling that story I was wishing he had followed it a little further and told us what effect the soap had on the boy. The hon. gentleman has proclaimed the principle of free trade, and because he is a free trader he thinks that is a reason why, even in the matter of foods of this character, we should consent to allow our market to be flooded with deleterious products in order that the principle he espouses may be maintained. Sir, I do not think the members of this House will altogether agree with him. When legislation on this subject was first introduced very strong expressions in opposition to it came from all parts of the country where dairying was carried on to any extent, and even amongst the consuming classes the call for it was not general. But, if I remember correctly, the outstanding reason given for the introduction of the measure at the time was the dire need of our soldiers at the front, and of Great Britain, for all the butter we could spare. As a result of that situation rationing went into force under the direction of the Food Board, and we were restricted in the amount of butter we could consume. As a matter of fact a large quantity of butter, held in cold storage at that time, was withdrawn from the home market in order that the need of the men at the front might be supplied. I do not presume that at this stage, and at this hour of the night, I shall be able to add any new arguments to the very able presentation which has been made by my hon. friend from South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) and others who have spoken on this subject. The hon. gentleman said, and I think rightly, that one of the very strong objections to permitting the use of oleomargarine in the country is the fact that we allow, without any restriction, a large quantity of pure butter to be mixed with it in order to make the camouflage as perfect as possible and to convince people that they are buying a really proper substitute for butter.

This is wrong because it draws into its manufacture a very large quantity of a pure food to be mingled with a spurious article in order that a lower price may be obtained from the consumer. He said that if regulations would prevent the use of butter to produce this spurious article his objections to some extent would be overcome. One very great objection he urged, and which I believe has considerable merit, is the fact that the Act permits this oleomargarine to be put up in prints and wrapped in paper and put on the market to all appearances in the same form as butter. That I think is wrong. It seems to me that oleomargarine should be so stamped and wrapped that it cannot in any way pass for an imitation of butter.

When we were discussing this matter a few nights ago the Solicitor General (Mr. Guthrie) in response to a query of mine, drew attention to the method of advertising in hotels and restaurants where margarine was used. A sign may be displayed in a prominent place in a hotel, in the vestibule, for instance, and yet it would not be prominent to the guests at the time they were at their meals. I would require hotel and restaurant keepers to advertise on their bill of fare: "We serve margarine" or "We serve butter or margarine," if they serve butter as well. I think if their patrons had their choice they would almost invariably order butter. We have very stringent laws in order to maintain the purity of our foods, laws that are in the interests of our people, and it seems to me it ought to be made impossible to serve oleomargarine as a substitute for butter.

But the outstanding objection from my point of view, and it has been already expressed by other hon. gentlemen, is the disturbing effect of attempted price control on the agricultural and dairy industry of this country. I submit that if we spent as much energy in endeavouring to reduce the price that the farmer has to pay for his stock-feed as we have in trying to procure cheap food for the consuming public, we would be serving a more useful purpose and one of more economic advantage to this country. An hon. gentleman has said that the price of butter, notwithstanding the use of margarine, has advanced to some extent. I submit, Sir, that the price of butter has not advanced in proportion to its increased cost of production. Both butter and cheese productions are declining, and our dairying industry is at the present time in a state that should cause anxiety to this Government. I do not know how it is to be prevented, but as a matter of fact, as I pointed out the other night, not only has the cost of production of milk increased by reason of the increased cost of feedstuffs, but to-day owing to the price that evaporating milk factories can afford to pay for milk being so much higher

than the cheesemaker or the butter man can afford to pay in order to compete at present prices, the milk is finding its way to those factories, and the production of both cheese and butter is materially decreasing.

I can only say, Sir, that from all parts of my own district, which, like my hon. friend's constituency—we are from neighbouring counties—is very largely engaged in the dairying industry, I have received strong opposition to the continuance of this measure. The hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) is of the opinion that the Government might have gone further and made this a permanent arrangement; and I do think it was unfortunate that the Government has found it necessary to bring the subject so repeatedly before the House. It creates a disturbance in the dairying industry, and if it could be dealt with definitely so that farmers and dairymen would know where they were at, it might relieve some of the anxiety that is felt amongst them.

One hon. member referred to the small quantity of butter consumed by an individual each day. While butter is a very rich article of food, I submit that the amount that any individual or any family uses in a year is not such as to be a serious burden.

Mr. JACOBS: At 80 cents a pound?

Mr. GLASS: Even at 80 cents a pound, wages are high enough to justify the price for the proportion people use. This, Sir, seems to me very much like daylight saving. We are divided in this House to some extent into those who represent the consumers and the labouring class in the cities and those who represent the agricultural class and the producers in the country. We may talk as much as we like and have all the regulations that commissions may impose on the agricultural interests of this country, but, Sir, there is only one way by which the cost of food can become lower, and that is by increased production. That statement has been enunciated in this House time and again, and it has been publicly admitted by prominent statesmen of Great Britain. But, I submit that so far as butter is concerned, the tendency of the legislation now in question will be to restrict production rather than increase it. It is all very well to say that the price of butter has been well maintained, no doubt it has been; but notwithstanding that I say that the price of butter has not advanced in proportion to the cost of the feed which the dairymen has to buy for his stock. I do not think this legislation is in the interests of the country generally. I do not think any large demand has come from the consuming public for its continuance, and I am going to move, seconded by the hon. member for South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), this amendment:

That this Bill be not now read the second time, but this day six months.

Mr. F. H. KEEFER (Port Arthur and Kenora): Mr. Speaker, I should like to say a few words in reply to the member for East Middlesex (Mr. Glass). The hon. member finds fault with the Government for bringing this subject up more than once. But this is the first time that the subject has been brought up in any way by the Government. What my hon. friend is thinking about, no doubt, is the debate which took place in 1918 when a motion was made by a private member respecting the matter, based upon the action of the Food Board in recommending the passing of an Order in Council permitting the importation and manufacture of oleomargarine. The object of that Order was not to send more butter to the troops overseas. The price of butter had risen to fifty cents or more a pound at that time and the people with smaller incomes were complaining that they were unable to purchase necessary substances containing fat. An Order was therefore passed permitting the manufacture and sale in Canada of oleomargarine, as well as its importation free of duty. If my hon. friend had seen some of the letters that came to the Food Board from people with large families and small incomes expressing their appreciation of the action of the board, I rather think that he would not, even with the price of butter as it is, endeavour to keep margarine out of this country. According to the Toronto Globe of to-day's date, the price of butter is 55 cents and of margarine 35 cents. I represent a constituency largely composed of working men and I consider it a hardship that the dairy interests should, by any such process as this, endeavour to prevent these poorer families from being able to buy what is not so much a substitute as it is a competitor of butter

The amount of margarine that has been manufactured since this Order was passed is considerable. In my judgment the manufacture should not stop. Why is it that Canada, prior to the war and to the passing of that Order in Council, was the only country in the world, the only dairy country particularly, which prohibited the manufacture and importation of margarine? Denmark permits it; Holland, New Zealand, Australia, England, Germany, France and the United States permit it The navy uses

it, but hon. gentlemen say: "No, it shall not be manufactured or sold in this country." Why do they say that? I think that the dairy interests have been carefully watching this matter with a view to keeping its competitor out. The dairy interests would be perfectly justified in doing that, but I fail to see why the farmer should object to the manufacture within the country of margarine. The farmer sells the beef fats and the lard from the hog which are refined and used in the manufacture of margarine. If he cannot sell these products to that market he necessarily will have to sell them at a lower price. We have heard complaints about the farmer not being able to sell his hides outside the country; are the farmers going to ask in the same breath that they be not allowed to sell within the country the other products of the animal? It seems to be utterly illogical. I could understand that the dairy interests might not want to have margarine manufactured and sold in competition with their products, but I cannot understand why the farmer should oppose the manufacture of margarine; if he does so he interferes with his own pocket.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that the farmer is not a dairyman?

Mr. KEEFER: Certainly the farmer is a dairyman—that is, he sells his milk to the cheese and butter factories. If the producers do not require his milk for butter, he sells it for cheese, for condensed milk, to the co-operative factories, or anywhere else. But the demand for butter will never be interfered with by the importation, manufacture and sale of margarine except to the extent to which it is used by the poorer people who cannot afford to pay for butter. Are we going to compel these people to buy a more expensive article simply for the purpose of protecting the dairy interests? I do not think the House should be asked to do that. As I say, I fail to understand why, prior to the war, we were the only country in the world that prohibited the manufacture of this article. There must be some ulterior reason for it.

Hon. T. A. CRERAR (Marquette): The hon. gentleman who has moved the amendment (Mr. Glass), which, if passed, will destroy the Bill before the House, and those who support him have at least the merit of consistency in the position they are taking. I have gathered from the remarks of the hon. gentleman in this Chamber and elsewhere that he believes in the principle of protection; that he believes in imposing customs tariffs on the implements and equipment that farmers, and particularly the dairy farmers, require in their industry. Consequently, in taking the position that the dairy farmer should be protected in the sale of his butter, my hon. friend is consistent. For the same reason I am consistent in opposing the resolution that my hon. friend has moved. I believe in freedom. I believe that the farmers of this country, the dairy farmers and others, should be permitted to purchase the equipment they require for the carrying on of their industry in the cheapest possible market and that no restrictions should be thrown around the consumers in the purchase of the food they require to keep body and soul together.

I do not share the apprehension which hon. members who are opposed to the Bill seem to entertain that this measure will work a serious hardship to the dairy industry. Our dairy industry has developed very well during the last ten or fifteen years, when we consider the development of the country; and it is only during that period that much attention has been given to it. Our cheese occupies a pre-eminent position in the markets of the world to-day, and I am convinced that our butter can occupy the same position. Denmark is perhaps the banner country of the world in the production of high quality butter. The Danish farmers have risen to that position and have maintained it in the face of all competition and notwithstanding the fact that oleomargarine is manufactured in and imported into Denmark. If the Danish farmer can do that, do my hon. friends contend that the Canadian farmer has less initiative, less ability or less skill in meeting similar competition? I venture to say that they will not.

If my hon. friends hope to build up an export business in butter from this country, our farmers will be compelled to build up that export business in the face of the competition of oleomargarine consumption in almost every country of the world. If they have to face this competition in Great Britain, France, United States and everywhere else where we sell our Canadian butter, surely they can stand the competition in our own home market.

I have this suggestion to offer in connection with this Bill, that it is highly important that proper provisions should be made and proper regulations framed to ensure that oleomargarine is sold

as oleomargarine and not as anything else. That is due to the public. I understand that in the regulations now governing the sale of this commodity every pound print of oleomargarine, when sold, has to be clearly and unmistakably labelled "oleomargarine." One thing further. It is well known that oleomargarine, or whatever it may be called, is composed of several different elements. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the inspectors of the Government to see that only wholesome elements enter into the production of it; but when that is done, when the public are protected in this way, I am for the importation of oleomargarine into this country and the sale of it to the people of this country who want to use it. Let me say in conclusion, that I take that position in order to be consistent, in order that the people of this country, many of whom we know have a hard enough struggle with the present high cost of foodstuffs and the high cost of living generally, may be able to get a food that is admittedly wholesome at a cheaper price than they would probably have to pay were they restricted to the use of butter.

Amendment (Mr. Glass) negatived on division.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty, the House adjourned at 10.50 p.m.

Friday, October 10. 1919.

The House met at Three o'clock.

ADJOURNMENT OVER THANKSGIVING DAY.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (acting Prime Minister) moved:

That when this House adjourns on Friday the 10th instant it stands adjourned until Tuesday the 14th instant.

Motion agreed to.

CIVIL SERVICE ACT, 1918— AMENDMENT.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO WHICH BILL WAS REFERRED.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN moved:

That the recommendations contained in the second report of the special committee appointed to consider Bill No. 18, an Act to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918, be now concurred in.

Motion agreed to.

[Mr. Crerar.]

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO CANADA'S REPRESENTATION, SIGNATURE AND RATIFICATION OF TREATY.

On the Order for Motions:

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Privy Council): Mr. Speaker, several requests have been received by the Department of External Affairs for copies of the correspondence which passed between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Prime Minister of Great Britain in reference to Canadian representation at the Peace Conference and also in reference to the signature of the Treaty on behalf of Canada and its approval by the Canadian Parliament. In order to meet these requests, as the correspondence covers important matters relating to Canada's constitutional development, with the consent of the House, I beg to move:

That 2,000 copies of the correspondence and documents relative to the representation of Canada at the Peace Conference and to the ratification of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, this day laid upon the table of the House, be printed forthwith, and that the provisions of Rule 74 be waived.

Copies have been laid on the table of the House on different occasions and in order to have the return complete I am placing a complete copy of the correspondence on the Table. A suitable number will be printed in French.

Mr. McKENZIE: I would like to ask the hon. gentleman if this is merely the correspondence that has already been brought down in reply to the request of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding) or is there anything added to what was brought down on any previous occasion?

Mr. ROWELL: I think there is only one additional document. The correspondence was brought down on two occasions. In addition there is a document setting out the basis upon which the Conference was organized and the representation of the different nations at the Conference. It was thought wise to include this as it shows the result of the representations made.

Mr. JACOBS: What is the object of incurring this additional expense? Any person who wants a copy of this correspondence can always get it at the department, I suppose.

Mr. ROWELL: There are no copies in print, and as the correspondence relates to a very important phase of the constitu-

tional development of Canada those desiring to secure copies, members of the press, men in our universities, public libraries and other public or educational institutions, should be able to secure them. That is the object of having a limited number printed.

Mr. JACOBS: It is not for election propaganda, I hope.

Motion agreed to.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by asterisks.)

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAY.

*Mr. ARCHAMBAULT:

1. Is it true that at the end of August last or at the beginning of September, all trains from Bancroft to Toronto, on the Canadian National Railways, were cancelled for one day because all the cars belonging to these trains were required and used for transporting crowds to Marmora, where a political picnic was organized by E. Gus Porter, M.P., Hastings, West Riding, in honour of Sir William Hearst and the Honourable T. W. McGarry?

2. Is the Government aware that owing to this fact, Mr. R. H. Thompson, of Hybla, Ontario, was not able to reach a certain hospital in Toronto with his young daughter, who was ill and who died because she arrived at that hospital twenty-four hours too late?

3. If so, does the Government intend to hold an immediate inquiry in this matter?

Hon. Mr. REID: 1. No trains were cancelled for the purpose mentioned, but on account of shortage of equipment and motive power due to troop movement and harvest excursions and to accommodate extra traffic on the branch the time of train No. 60 was changed, due notice of which was given to the public affected thereby.

2. No.

3. No.

WINNIPEG GRAIN MARKET.

*Mr. JACOBS:

1. Were any representations made by the Canadian Bankers' Association or by any of the Canadian banks with regard to the closing of the grain market at Winnipeg, or with regard to making any arrangements for the sale of the wheat crop of Canada for the present year?

2. If so, what banks and what representations or requests were made, and when?

3. Were any representations made by the railway companies with regard to the closing of the grain market at Winnipeg, or with regard to making any arrangements for the sale of the wheat crop of Canada for the present year?

4. If so, what railways and what representations or requests were made and when?

5. Were any representations made by the flour mills with regard to the closing of the grain market at Winnipeg, or with regard to making any arrangements for the sale of the wheat crop of Canada for the present year?

6. If so, what flour mills and what representations or requests were made, and when?

7. Were any representations made by the Canadian Council of Agriculture with regard to the closing of the grain market at Winnipeg or with regard to making any arrangements for the sale of the wheat crop of Canada for the present year?

8. If so, what representations or requests were made, and when?

9. Were any representations made by the Labour unions with regard to the closing of the grain market at Winnipeg, or with regard to making any arrangements for the sale of the wheat crop of Canada for the present year?

10. If so, what representations or requests were made, and when?

11. Did the Honourable Arthur Meighen, Minister of the Interior, in a public speech at Portage la Prairie, during the month of August, 1919, make any statement with regard to the matters referred to above? If so, to what effect?

Hon. Mr. MEIGHEN:

1. Representations were made in the latter half of July, 1919, on behalf of the Canadian banks generally, that without some effective governmental action, by way of price guarantee or otherwise, the wheat crop movement of 1919 could not be financed, by reason of abnormal world conditions. Representations were made on behalf of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company that unless effective arrangements were made for financing the crop, the necessary early movement of such crop would not be secured.

2. Answered by No. 1.

3. Representations were of the nature of those described in the answer to question No. 1.

4. Answered by Nos. 1 and 3.

5. No.

6. No.

7. A document, a copy of which is placed on the Table, was placed in the hands of the Government on 30th July, 1919, representing the views of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, on the subject in question, and as urging the adoption of a course on the part of the Government, substantially the same as that which actually was adopted.

8. Answered by No. 7.

9. No.

10. No.

11. Yes, the statement made by Mr. Meighen was to the effect set out above in the answers to questions Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8.

CHAIRMAN CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD.

Mr. CANNON:

1. Is Mr. James Stewart, who is the chairman of the Canadian Wheat Board, acting in

any capacity now and since his appointment as chairman of the Wheat Board for the British Government or for the Royal Commission on Cereals? If so, in what capacity is he acting?

2. Is Mr. Stewart now the agent for the British Government or for the Royal Commission on Cereals in the matter of buying Canadian flour for them and for the Allied Governments, and is Mr. Stewart acting for the Canadian Government as chairman of the Wheat Board in selling both Canadian wheat and Canadian flour to the British authorities and to the Allied Governments?

3. Is Mr. Stewart a shareholder or an executive officer of any grain company, or elevator company, or companies, in Canada? If so, what are these companies?

4. Are the companies in which Mr. Stewart is interested the same companies that were employed by the British authorities during the war, and were these companies paid by the Imperial authorities?

5. Is British capital invested in any or all of these companies?

6. Had Mr. Stewart any experience whatever in exporting Canadian grain prior to the war other than that of a clerk?

7. Were there no Canadian firms owned and operated and financed by Canadians and experienced in the exporting of Canadian grain, that could have been employed by the Dominion Government to do this work?

8. How many offices have been opened by the Wheat Board and how many employees have been engaged?

Right Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER:

1. The Chairman of the Canadian Wheat Board is not acting, nor has he acted, for the British Government, or for the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies, since his appointment as Chairman of the Canadian Wheat Board.

2. Answered by No. 1.

3. The chairman is a shareholder and director of several elevator companies in Canada, such as the Federal Grain Company, State Elevator Company, Western Elevator Company, Union Grain Company, Stewart Grain Company, and so on, but for the past three years has taken no active part in the management of same.

4. The chairman was, until the 1st of August, 1919, managing director of K. B. Stoddart & Company, which firm was employed by the British authorities to a certain extent during the war, but on his appointment to the chairmanship of the Canadian Wheat Board sold his interests in K. B. Stoddart & Company, and, furthermore, resigned from the presidency of the Wheat Export Company. Messrs. K. B. Stoddart & Company never accepted any remuneration or compensation from the Imperial authorities for their services, nor did the chairman personally receive any compensation whatsoever, his services having been given gratis during the period the Allied Governments used the services of K. B. Stoddart & Company; nor during his presidency of the Wheat Export Company. The companies in which the chairman is at present interested are not employed in any way by any government authorities.

5. No inquiry has been made.

6. Prior to the Allied Governments utilizing the services of K. B. Stoddart & Company this firm, of which the chairman was then the managing director, was one of the, if not the, largest grain firms in the Dominion.

7. Under the circumstances the Government made choice of Mr. Stewart for this work.

8. Offices have been opened at Winnipeg, Fort William, Montreal, Toronto and New York.

ALCOHOLIC CONTENT OF TANLAC.

Mr. GAUVREAU:

1. Is the Government aware of the fact that the tonic called Tanlac, a kind of universal panacea, is, from an analysis, composed of the following ingredients: Wine; glycerine, 1 drachm; gentian, traces; liquorice, traces; cascara; alcohol, 16.4 per cent?

2. If so, does the Government intend to prohibit the sale of this patent medicine?

3. If not, does the Department of Public Health or other departments intend to analyze it, in order to verify the above facts?

Hon. Mr. GUTHRIE:

1. No information.

2 and 3. Answered by No. 1.

Mr. GAUVREAU: My second question is not answered. I asked whether the Government is going to take action and I am told the question is answered by the reply to No. 1.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Then read the answer to No. 1.

Mr. GAUVREAU: Read No. 1! Why it merely says "No information."

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

COLONEL F. H. DEACON OF TORONTO.

Mr. DUFF:

1. Was Colonel F. H. Deacon, of Toronto, given any office of honour or emolument by, or through the medium of the President of the Privy Council after the latter entered the Government?

2. If so, what was the office and what honour or emolument was attached to it?

3. How much money has Colonel Deacon, or his firm, received from the Government since the President of the Privy Council took office?

Hon. Mr. ROWELL:

1. No.

2. Answered by No. 1.

3. Stand as an order for return.

RAILWAY TIES AND FENCE POSTS.

Mr. MICHAUD:

1. Were tenders called during the last year or so for the purchase of railway ties and fence posts to be used on the eastern division of the Canadian National Railway?
2. If so, how many tenders were received, and what was the amount of each tender?
3. From whom were such tenders received?
4. To whom was the contract awarded?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. Yes.
2. Inasmuch as the Railway Company has not yet contracted for its total requirements for this and next year, it would not be in the public interest to disclose the prices of the various tenders.
3. Answered by No. 2.
4. Answered by No. 2.

SIR HENRY DRAYTON AND THE KINGSTON CANDIDATURE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. FRANK S. CAHILL (Pontiac): I wish to ask the Government a question based on an item in the morning Citizen headed "Kingston will acclaim Sir Henry Drayton." The item is dated "Kingston, October 9," and goes on to say:

"There will be no contest in Kingston on October 27th to fill the vacancy in the Commons. Sir Henry Drayton will be W. F. Nickle's successor by acclamation. Ex-Mayor Hughes, Unionist, has decided to retire after hearing of benefits to Kingston through Sir Henry Drayton being the member.

I wish to ask if it is the intention to spend three and a half million dollars on the docks at Kingston, or if Mr. Hughes is to get a senatorship, or what is the benefit to accrue to Kingston by Sir Henry Drayton's election by acclamation.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: With reference to the question generally, as the authority cited seems to be the newspaper which has inserted the item; I would recommend my hon. friend to apply to that newspaper for the grounds for making such a statement. As to the other two questions, it is altogether too large an order for the Government at the present time.

Mr. CAHILL: I do not want to take up too much time, but the item goes on to say:

Hon. Dr. Reid was here on Tuesday and the announcement was made that Sir Henry had accepted the invitation of the citizens of Kingston to be the candidate, and so on.

Therefore I presumed the Government knew of this.

PRIVILEGE—STATEMENT BY MR. M. CLARK (RED DEER).

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK (Red Deer): With very great reluctance I have to detain the House one moment with regard to a matter of privilege. I was informed last evening that when I happened not to be in the House my accuracy had been impugned by the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau). I have in my hand a copy of Hansard containing the speech in which that accuracy was impugned, and I propose to read to the House the passage in question.

The hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) quoted the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier as having said: "Well, no great mistake could be made if the Grits should undertake to fight the enemy with the devil's fire."

The hon. gentleman followed the quotation by saying:

That cannot be found in the speech delivered on the Address in reply to the speech from the Throne in 1906 by the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

As a matter of fact it can and is to be found there. I cast no doubt upon my hon. friend's honesty in his excursions into Hansard, but those excursions were not extensive enough. There were two debates on the Address in the year 1906, and it is in the second debate in that year that those words are to be found just as I quoted them. They will be found on page 38 of the Hansard for 1906-7, but under the date of November 23, 1906. That was when the words were uttered. I apprehend that the month of November, 1906, was in the year 1906, so that my hon. friend was, as I say, a little impatient in his excursion into the records of Hansard and he was only one hundred per cent wrong. The hon. gentleman went on to say:

My leader asked the hon. member for Red Deer this question:

Mr. McKenzie: Would the hon. gentleman mind giving me the page of Hansard and the subject in connection with which Sir Wilfrid Laurier said he was no purist?

The hon. member for Red Deer replied:

It was in the debate on the Address in the year 1906. I have not the page, unfortunately.

Whether it is the fault of the accoustics of the Chamber or that advancing years are affecting my hearing, in perfect good faith—and I am sure the leader of the Opposition will accept my statement—I understood his query to relate to the only quotation to which I really referred in that portion of my remarks. I did not gather that he asked for another statement which I had referred

to and had not quoted. I quoted the one very carefully, having copied it from Hansard; the other came to me as a matter of common knowledge to members of Parliament who have sat in this House for many years. I ask my hon. friend (Mr. McKenzie) to accept in perfect good faith my statement that I understood him to be asking as to the previous quotation.

WAGES EARNED BY ENEMY ALIENS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. S. W. JACOBS (George Etienne Cartier): I desire to ascertain if the Government has arrived at any decision with regard to the payment of wages earned by enemy aliens interned during the war and numbering about ten thousand. During the last session I was informed by the Government that these men were to receive twenty-five cents per day for their work, but it had not then been decided as to whether this sum would be set off against the cost of their upkeep or for other purposes. Inasmuch as many of these men are now being daily deported, it is important to know whether the money due will be paid.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. gentleman has put his question.

Mr. JACOBS: If you will permit me, Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask a further question before I resume my seat, and that is as to whether the Government intends to set off the amount due to these people for upkeep —for board and lodging—or whether it is the intention to use it to pay the indebtedness due to Canadian nationals by enemy nationals.

Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): With regard to the question of what course has been taken as to the payment of the allowances that were made for work done, I am not in a position to answer the question at this moment, but I will make a note of it and furnish the hon. gentleman with the information later. As to the intention of paying the debts due by enemy nationals to Canadian nationals, there are provisions in the Treaty dealing with the manner in which such debts are to be arranged. Just how they would be dealt with depends upon the determination whether this country should adopt what is called the Enemy Debts Scheme, or should decline to avail itself of it. In any event I think whether by one method or another it is open to us to realize any indebtedness that may be owing by German nationals to our nationals; and it is likewise open to us to utilize money so collected, including the result of the liquidation of the assets of German nationals in this country in payment of claims by our own nationals against those nationals. The particular method of doing that, as I have said, will depend on whether it be determined to adopt the Enemy Debts Scheme as contained in the Treaty, or to proceed without adopting it.

Mr. JACOBS: Do I understand that these men are being deported, and that their money is being held back pending decision by the Government?

Mr. DOHERTY: As regards details of the payment of wages, as I have already told the hon. gentleman, I am not in a position to give definite information, but I will make inquiries and advise him.

GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILWAY SCHEME.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): Mr. Speaker, I wish to remind the leader of the Government (Sir George Foster) that on the 7th of this month when he was moving the second reading of Bill No. 23 I asked for certain information in connection with the Grand Trunk Pacific, which he thought he would have for me when the third reading took place. When we came to the third reading he still did not have the information, but promised me that if the Bill was allowed to go through the information would be furnished. The information I ask for will be found in the first column of page 923 of Hansard. I hope the Minister of Railways can now give me that information.

Hon. J. D. REID (Minister of Railways): Mr. Speaker, the hon. leader of the House brought this matter to my attention. The deputy minister prepared a memorandum and sent it to me yesterday to hand to the hon. leader of the Opposition, but I did not think the information was as full as it might be, and I therefore returned the memorandum to the deputy minister to see if he could add anything further to it. I intended bringing the amended memorandum with me this afternoon, but I overlooked it. I will either send it to my hon. friend this evening, or hand it to him at the next meeting of the House.

Mr. McKENZIE: If it is agreeable to the minister, I would prefer that he himself put the information on Hansard.

Mr. J. D. REID: The only reason I suggested sending the memorandum this even-

ing was in order that the leader of the Opposition might have the information at an early date. Of course, I cannot put it on Hansard until Tuesday.

Mr. McKENZIE: In that case I would like to have a copy of the memorandum, with the understanding that the minister will put the information on Hansard next Tuesday.

Mr. J. D. REID: Yes.

CANADIAN FISH IN ENGLAND.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. WILLIAM DUFF (Lunenburg): Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask a question, based on a short item in the Manchester Guardian (England), and with your permission I will read the extract before asking the question. It is headed, Free Fish from Canada, and is as follows:

> While Mr. McCurdy is making great efforts particularly to reduce the price of fish, competition of a remarkable kind is being offered to the fish dealers in the east end. To-day a happy queue of women and children lined up outside of the East End Church awaiting their turn to receive free of charge as much fish as they could comfortably bear away. It was a curious scene—women with large aprons—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I must ask the hon. member to put his question on the Order Paper in the ordinary course. There is no element of urgency in the subject matter to justify the hon. member bringing the question up on the Orders of the Day.

Mr. DUFF: I have received several telegrams from Nova Scotia requesting me to bring the matter to the notice of the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member can bring the matter up by putting a question on the Order Paper in the ordinary course.

Mr. DUFF: Then I shall not be able to get an answer this session.

CIVIL SERVICE ACT, 1918 AMENDMENT.

On motion of Hon. A. K. MACLEAN, the House went into committee to consider the following proposed resolution:

> That it is expedient to provide in the proposed Act to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918 (Bill 18), now before the House, that the chairman of the commission shall be paid a salary of seven thousand dollars, and each of the other commissioners six thousand dollars; such salaries to be paid out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

Mr. JACOBS: Explain.

Mr. MACLEAN: Bill No. 18, being the Bill amending the Civil Service Act, was, as hon. gentlemen will remember, referred to the Special Committee, and one of the recommendations of that committee is to the effect that in respect of salary the members of the Civil Service Commission be placed in the position of deputy ministers, that is, that they receive $6,000 per year, with an extra allowance to the chairman. The amendment could not be pressed in the House without this resolution being first passed.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: What is the present salary?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: $5,000 to the commissioners and $6,000 to the chairman. This amendment would make the salaries $6,000 and $1,000 additional to the chairman.

Mr. CAHILL: We have already made provision for increasing the number of Civil Service Commissioners; now we are increasing their salaries. The first notice on the Order Paper when we came here for this session was with respect to increasing the salaries of these commissioners. Would we lose these men if we did not increase their salaries? If not, what is the real object of this increase?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I did not say that we would lose the services of the commissioners if we did not increase their salaries. As these commissioners, under the statute, have the same rank and status as deputy ministers, it was thought that as a matter of justice their salaries should correspond with those of the deputy ministers. Further, in view of the importance of the very extensive work which they have to do, it was thought by the Committee that it was only fair to give them the salaries mentioned in the resolution.

Mr. PEDLOW: How are these salaries determined? I raised the same question when the salary of the chairman of the Board of Commerce was being determined by the House. We have a Commissioner of Taxation? What salary does he receive? If he is not paid as high a salary as that which is mentioned here, why not? His services are of a very important and very exacting nature. Is there any standard that governs the compensation for services rendered by commissioners and deputy ministers, or is each case determined on its own basis?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: My hon. friend's question is a very wide one; I could hardly undertake to answer it at this stage. It would more properly come up when we are

considering the Bill and the amendments thereto. The duties of the members of the Civil Service Commission are very important. They are obliged to do a good deal of work—work that is, to some extent at least, of a disagreeable nature. I think it is very desirable that the members of the commission should be placed in an absolutely independent position, and that Parliament should now by statute fix the salaries at the amounts proposed.

Mr. PEDLOW: In my judgment, the Commissioner of Taxation performs very important duties—the most important performed by any one in the employ of the Government. I understand that he is in receipt of a salary which is not anything like the amount named here in respect of the Civil Service Commissioners. I do not see why the Government should not deal with him as they are proposing to deal with these commissioners.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think that the hon. member's remarks are in order. The resolution under consideration provides increased salaries for the Civil Service Commissioners. The rule is quite clear that the discussion should be strictly relevant to the item or resolution under discussion. The hon. member would be in order in making a comparison, but he is not justified in asking at this stage for an increase in salary for any other employee in the public service.

Mr. M. CLARK: Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be understood as deprecating in any way the services of these commissioners; as a matter of fact, I have no doubt that they are doing a meritorious work and doing it to the best of their ability. But I think we should have a very full statement of the grounds on which Parliament is being asked to increase these salaries. An increase of salaries is the most common parliamentary experience that we have had this year—I think I am well within the bounds of accuracy when I make that statement—and a reason frequently given has been the rise in the cost of living. But that reason does not carry me very far as a member of Parliament. It is notorious, for instance, that members of Parliament are paid much too small an indemnity, but there is no question of increasing the indemnity of members of Parliament because of the cost of living. Well, I do not object. I am not asking for that increase; I assume there is good reason for not proposing it, because the cost of living is bound to come down some time. In fact, the Government are taking very elaborate steps to bring down the cost of living. They have appointed a Board of Commerce—incidentally spending $26,000 a year in salaries for that Board—to bring down the cost of living with a bludgeon. But while they appoint a Board of Commerce to bring down the cost of living with a bludgeon, they at the same time come before Parliament and ask for an increase in the salaries of these gentlemen referred to in the resolution. I repeat that we should have a full statement of the grounds on which these increases are asked for. There has got to be an end to this sort of thing. Everybody who feels any responsibility in connection with the financial welfare of our country is preaching economy. A couple of days ago the ex-Minister of Finance (Sir Thomas White) told a committee which is sitting upstairs that the financial condition of Canada, while not critical, is serious. Well, Mr. Chairman, if I were a sick man and I was told that my condition was not critical, but serious, I should not feel that I would be much worse if it was critical. My mind would be just as serious as the adjective; "serious" would be serious enough for me. We all know that the financial position of the country is very serious, and in the face of that the Government ought to give the fullest reasons for doing so when they come forward with proposals to increase salaries, not only on this occasion, but day after day. I assure the Government that the returned soldier will be watching what is happening in matters of this kind. The committee which is dealing with the re-establishment of the soldier will report and Parliament will have to take some action. We are acting as though we had oceans of money to spend and no need to exercise any care about it whatsoever; we talk economy, but we practice extravagance. I want to appeal to my hon. friend (Mr. A. K. Maclean) in this matter. I have the utmost regard for him—I think he knows it—and I want to appeal to him especially, because, when we both sat on the Opposition benches a few years ago, I cannot remember one of the excellent speeches he made as Opposition financial critic in which he did not put this need for economy at the very forefront of his remarks. I should like to have the assurance from him that that need is still in the forefront of his mind and of the mind of the Government of which he is so able and distinguished a member. I would like to have the assurance that they are really giving this matter very serious consideration, because it is by far the most important

matter that ought to occupy the mind of the people of Canada to-day.

Mr. P. McGIBBON (Muskoka): I do not rise to object to this proposed increase; I do not think the salaries named are excessive in any way. But I desire to point out that a few months ago we passed a Pension Bill, under which three commissioners were appointed, and that the salaries of these men, at least two of whom had seen honourable service at the front, were fixed at $5,000. I think that we should be consistent. I do not believe that the Civil Service Commissioners have any more important work to do or duties to fulfil than have the pension commissioners.

We should have some information as to that. Comparisons, it is said are odious; but still people will make them, and if we are going to give the members of the Civil Service Commission increases in salaries and not do the same with regard to the members of the Pensions Board, which has to deal with the pensions of the five hundred thousand boys who went overseas, we are inviting criticism which we shall undoubtedly get.

Mr. BEST: The minister told us that he wanted to place these men in an independent position. Would he tell us if they are not already in an independent position? I can readily see that, while we might feel like placing every civil servant in Canada to-day in an independent position, yet that would cost a very great sum of money, and I do not think the country is in a position to expend such a sum. Last year we threw away from $100,000 to $150,000, which we were asked to shove through this House in the dying hours of the session and which was thrown into the waste basket, and now we have another appropriation which we are asked to put through, and I do not know whether it will go into the waste basket or not. We should be a little more careful of the people's money which we are handling here. If anybody should receive an increase in salary, it is those who are drawing low salaries and not those who are receiving high salaries. There are in the Dominion of Canada to-day, many men who are quite capable of taking these positions and who would be willing to take them at $5,000 or $6,000. I am not saying that I am in favour of this increase in salary, because I am not. We are in many cases at the present time paying salaries for positions that we could well do without. What are we going to tell the people of this country when we put the soldiers in positions inferior to those in which the salary is high?

Mr. H. A. MACKIE: Whilst dealing with the general principles enunciated by the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) and the hon. member for Dufferin (Mr. Best), I may say that it is a notorious fact that the Dominion of Canada is underpaying its principal men, just as it is a public shame that the judges of the Dominion of Canada should be in receipt of the small salaries that are being paid to them. The Civil Service Commissioners are filling one of the most important positions in the Dominion to-day. They are replacing the hon. member for Red Deer; they are replacing the hon. member for Dufferin. In that they are the dictators as to who should hold positions and who should not, they decide what we were individually deciding in the past, and the work that is incumbent upon them is greater in proportion than that of any other department or of the deputy head of any department in the public service. There is a difference between them and the deputy head to-day in that the deputy head is receiving $6,000 or more, whereas these gentlemen who have to deal with the deputy heads are being paid less. Whilst we are indeed to practice economy, and whilst members of Parliament are willing to bear the difficulties of representing their constituencies for $2,500, it is not the duty of Parliament to see that the public service shall be underpaid. It is not economy, in my opinion, that you should seek to have men perform onerous duties at a less salary than that which they are able to earn, and I heartily support the motion as being one that is reasonable and just.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: There will be no disposition on my part, and, I am sure, none on the part of any hon. gentleman to refuse acquiescence to the statement of the hon. member for Red Deer. I think it will be conceded by everybody that the Government must practice economy in every possible way and must avoid, if possible, all unnecessary additions to our public expenditure. There can be no room for argument in respect of that matter. The whole purpose of the classification of the Civil Service is twofold. First, it puts into the hands of the Civil Service Commission the matter of employment of the Government employees, numbering 60,000. By the statute, the Civil Service Commission has become the employment agency of the Government; it has to do with promotion of the employees in the public service; the members of the Civil

Service Commission are, by the Bill which will be before us shortly, given power to classify the service, to amend the classifications which they may make, and, in fact, to establish schedules of compensation which shall be received by members of the public service. This, of course, is subject to approval by the Governor in Council. When you place upon a body of men responsibilities and duties (not at all pleasant) of this character, they should at least be placed in the same position as a deputy minister.

The position of a member of the Civil Service Commission is certainly one of the most disagreeable positions in the public service to-day. They must, of necessity, come into conflict even with the Government and members of Government; they are constantly in conflict with members of Parliament, and they are more or less the subject of criticism, a great deal of which is unfair, from the public generally. Under the statute, they have the rank of deputy minister. At the last session of Parliament, I think, deputy ministers were given a salary of $6,000, instead of $5,000. The proposal is to put the members of the Civil Service Commission in that position, and I think it is better that we do that now rather than that representations should come to the Government through members of Parliament or otherwise in respect of this matter, and personally, I should like to see it closed, and, I hope, once and for all. While I admit the necessity for the strictest economy, much stricter than we have perhaps shown in the recent past, being displayed in the future, still I think the proposal is not unreasonable.

Mr. JACOBS: Are these officials subject to the income tax?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I think so. I have no information to the contrary.

Mr. H. A. MACKIE: Yes.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: The minister says that under the regulations these gentlemen have the rank of a deputy minister. Who decides as to the rank?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I do not know that I could give any other meaning than quoting the words the hon. member used, namely, that the statute says that they had the rank of a deputy minister.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: How can a common man get into that rank?

Mr. McKENZIE: Perhaps when the classification is before us it would be a more suitable occasion to ask about the work of the commissioners, but I suppose when we are raising the salary of an officer of the Government, that is a proper time to ascertain what service that person is giving to the country. I fully realize what the minister says, namely that a great responsibility devolves upon these men and that they have a great deal of work to do, but last session we had in this House very interesting discussions along the line of extra charges and the bringing in of other commissioners to do their work. I would expect the commissioners to make appointments themselves. When the Government or any department of Government wants an officer, I would expect the duty of the Civil Service Commission would be to select and appoint that officer and pass him over to the department. If they do that, they are doing their work, as I understand it; they are earning their money. But there was placed before the House last session abundant evidence that, instead of doing this work themselves, they involved an expenditure running into thousands of dollars in bringing in other people to decide for them who the men should be that should be appointed.

I do not think that is business-like. I think the commission should decide these things for themselves; otherwise, there is an entire misunderstanding of their duties. If a man is to be appointed to the Customs Department why should not the Civil Service Commission appoint him? Instead of that, we have special commissioners from the East and the West sitting down in solemn conclave, taking evidence, examining documents and credentials, and then reporting to the commission. The last touch, I think, is given to the appointment by the commission. That is the kind of evidence that was given to us last year, and frankly I do not understand that kind of business. When a judge of the Supreme Court hears the evidence he has to decide and file his decision. Whether that decision is right or wrong he has to take the responsibility; he cannot shift it to somebody else, ask them to take the evidence, and then subscribe his name to their decision. That would not be tolerated for one moment. I do not understand why the practice should continue, if it did exist in the past, of the commissioners switching the responsibility of making appointments to somebody else. It would not be proper at this stage to go into the question of the advisability of putting this power in the hands of the commission in the first place. I suppose it is a step in advance; it is said to be, but a great deal was said in the

House the other day against the step with very much of which I agreed. I think it is an absolute impossibility for the commission to make satisfactory appointments to the Civil Service all over the country. But that is apart from this matter. I should like to know upon what principle the commission shifts the responsibility of making a selection among applicants to outside agencies.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: If the facts were actually as stated by the leader of the Opposition, his objection would have some foundation, but as a matter of fact, except in a few instances, the Civil Service Commission makes all the appointments. The commission does not call in any outside help in the case of an appointment to the Customs or Post Office Departments, but a board is sometimes appointed to advise the commission in the selection of an applicant for a technical position requiring technical knowledge. This practice exists in Great Britain and in the United States, and I do not see how it can intelligently be avoided.

Suppose there are a hundred applicants for a position in the Geological Survey, all of whom have been trained in geology, I think it would be too much to expect the commission to have such a wide range of knowledge as would enable them to determine the most competent man among all those applicants. I am sure the leader of the Opposition must have been misinformed if he imagines for one moment that the Civil Service Commission delegates to other people the authority given them by the statute to make appointments. It is only in a few rare cases such as I have indicated that outside help is called in. I trust with this explanation my hon. friend will not press that point further.

Mr. McKENZIE: I would remind the minister of the discussion that took place in this House last session, led off by the hon. member for Frontenac and backed up by the hon. member for West Toronto, in which certain cases were specifically referred to and names given, I believe. The appointment was mentioned, for instance, of a man to do Government advertising in newspapers and periodicals. Surely a capable commission, with all the testimonials before them, could select a man for that purpose. If not, it is hopeless to trust them to do anything. In that case, however, they called to their assistance two newspaper men, whose names were given to the House, the editor of the Ottawa Journal, and the then editor of The Toronto Times—two respectable men, but what special knowledge would they have of a stranger's special qualifications for this work? Other similar cases were mentioned. Certainly no highly technical scientific knowledge was required for that position. Although it might be said that a man who was going around the country picking out the best newspapers, the best Tory newspapers, of course, in which to advertise some business of the Government was scientific work from the party viewpoint, I doubt whether it could be considered scientific even from that point of view. I can understand the commission calling in outside help where the position requires real scientific knowledge, but the minister has not satisfied me that the position in question was of a scientific character. I insist that it was a selection that should have been made by the commission themselves.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: The minister has said that the commission take the responsibility of appointing postmasters. That is not the experience I have. I got a return the other day which sets forth the way in which rural postmasters are appointed, and in that return there is correspondence to the effect that the Postmaster General has the last say in the appointment of rural postmasters. I would think the Post Office Inspector would be the best man to make the appointment. It is impossible for the Civil Service Commission sitting at Ottawa to know who is the best man; they must take advice from somebody, and they do take advice from some outside source. It would be impossible for the commission to do anything else. They do not know the different applicants, but it has been the experience of most of us on this side of the House that it is friends of the Government who are appointed to these rural postmasterships. Why is it that they do not even occasionally happen to choose a Liberal for these positions? We are all satisfied that somebody gives advice, and in the nature of things that must be so. If the Post Office Inspector of the division was given the responsibility of appointing the rural postmasters, I think he would be the best man, if the Government or the commission would throw the responsibility on him and back him up in his appointments. The inspector knows the district better than anybody else, and can locate the post office in the proper place, but he does not make the appointment. He is appealed to and gives

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some advice, but he has not the final say, and as long as that is the practice, outside influence will enter into the appointment. When the minister said that the Civil Service Commission alone were responsible for the appointment of officials to the Post Office Department, he evidently had not appreciated what was laid before the House a few days ago.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Does my hon. friend mean to say that the Postmaster General in this particular case recommended that certain appointments be made?

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I moved for the correspondence between the post office inspectors, the Government and the Civil Service Commission relating to the appointment of rural postmasters. There was general correspondence and instructions given to the post office inspectors throughout the Dominion, coming chiefly from the department—some from the Civil Service Commission, but largely from the department—and that correspondence plainly said that the last word was with the Postmaster General.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I think I can very safely assure my hon. friend that no matter what is in the return that is not correct. The Postmaster General is never consulted about these matters and should not be consulted. I am sure the Civil Service Commission will not permit that. It is a fact that the Civil Service Commission does consult the post office inspectors with respect to appointments in the different provinces. The Civil Service Commission must obtain knowledge from some source or other because it is quite obvious that they could not make appointments to rural post offices without some information gathered from somewhere. Accordingly they are driven to what seems the soundest course, namely, getting the advice and assistance of the post office inspector. I know that advice is frequently given by the inspector of the province from which my hon. friend comes, because the matter has on several occasions been brought to my attention by reason of individual cases having been mentioned in the House. Otherwise I would have no knowledge of it. I have always failed to appreciate the soundness of the objection which the leader of the Opposition makes to the commission availing itself of expert assistance when positions relate to some complicated duties. For instance, it has happened that legal men have had to be appointed to the Civil Service. In such cases, when the appointment relates to the service in Ottawa, a member of the Exchequer Court, a member of the county court and some practising barrister are usually called in. That would seem to be a sound and businesslike procedure. I do not understand how it can be questioned. The Civil Service Commission are not bound to accept the opinion which is expressed by this board, because it must, of course, in the end accept the responsibility for the appointment. All it does is to ask that the applicants, or a certain number of them who seem to be better qualified than the others, should present themselves to this board for a test. When that is completed the Board simply advises the Commission as to which of the applicants in its judgment is the best qualified for the position. I do not think there can possibly be any objection to that course of procedure. I think it would be unfair to prevent the Civil Service Commission from doing this. The services are always rendered gratuitously to the Commission. Nobody has been paid for services of this kind. The leader of the Opposition refers to a case which was discussed at the last session of Parliament involving the question of the employment of a publicity agent. He was not required for an advertising position, which is altogether different from publicity work. Advertising is a business by itself. Persons spending a great deal of money in advertising secure the services of experts because they have found that if they allowed everybody to write their advertisements they would be wasting money.

Mr. GAUVREAU: I have at the present time a case in point in my own riding and I think I can commend the action of the Civil Service Commission. There is a postmaster to be appointed in my riding. There are many applicants. I am told that the post office inspector at Quebec will go down there and see those who are making application for the position. The best man will be chosen. I think that is a proper way to do it and I can only say that it should be recommended for the future.

Mr. PEDLOW: I would ask the minister to correct me if I have not understood his position correctly. I understood him to state that it is the duty of the Civil Service Commission to establish the schedules of pay. I think he is not quite correct in that. That has been their duty heretofore but my understanding of their duties in the future is that they will have more to do with applying the schedules already provided by the classification experts after these schedules have been endorsed by the

House. In that case their duties should not be so exacting or onerous in the future as they have been in the past.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The classification of the Civil Service is not a thing that can ever end. New positions are being created and the duties and responsibilities of such new positions must be standardized. New duties may be added to the present duties involving the fresh classification of duties and responsibilities which also affects the range of salaries. Generally speaking, my hon. friend (Mr. Pedlow) is right that when the classification in the main has been adopted that part of the work should be very much less onerous upon the commission.

Mr. McKENZIE: I wish to emphasize what I said before, that if we are going to have efficiency, development and experience in the commission, they must do things themselves. If they are going to waive aside anything that presents a difficulty to them and call in another commission under them to decide the point for them, they will lose great opportunities of development and of acquiring experience for themselves. We know that all of us possibly prefer to call in a doctor of ten or twelve years' experience in preference to a young man who has just gone through some university and who has only had a few months' experience. Both doctors may have gone through the same course at college, but one has had a practical experience that the other has not had. Our commissioners are never going to get practical experience if they are going to switch the responsibility to some board. What we want is a commission which will get the experience and knowledge that come from doing things themselves. They may make a mistake, and they naturally will make mistakes. Human nature is disposed to get away from difficulties and switch them to somebody else. We want them to take the responsibility of doing disagreeable things. When we take positions we must learn that we must deal with these things, face them and try to do our duty even if they are disagreeable and irksome. I would say one word particularly in view of the fact that the chairman of the commission is here to-day. I wish him to have my views at first hand. I must say that I have always had the highest regard for him both in this House and outside of it.

I wish to say in his hearing that it is always a most marvellous thing to me that whenever they make any appointment in the part of the country I come from they invariably strike a Tory. Once in a while it might be an accident but when accidents occur they usually happen on both sides of the political fence, and right and left. If this is an accident it is a continuous accident in only one direction. I would have a great deal more regard for the commission and their friends if I found that sometimes they made a mistake and appointed a Liberal to a position. While they continue persistently selecting Tories I can only come to the conclusion that we have the same old Tory machine and the same old system of patronage, and that the commission is merely an instrument in the hands of the other patronage machines.

Resolution read the first and second time, concurred in, and referred to Committee of the Whole to be considered in connection with Bill No. 18.

CIVIL SERVICE ACT (1918) AMENDMENT.

On the motion of Hon. A. K. Maclean, the House went Committee on Bill No. 18 to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918, as reported by the Special Committee, with amendments, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 3—appointment of commissioners; salaries to be paid.

Hon. Mr. MACLEAN: I wish to move that 2 (a) be added as a new paragraph:

2 (a) Subsection 3 of section 3 of the said Act is amended by substituting the word "seven" for the word "six" in line three thereof, and the word "six' for the word "five" in line four thereof.

This is the principle involved in the resolution we were just discussing and which has passed Committee of the Whole.

Section as amended agreed to.

On section 8—examinations and appointments.

The CHAIRMAN: Clause 8 has been further amended by adding as a new paragraph (38 a) the following:

"The provisions of this Act shall not apply to positions in connection with the Government railways or any railway owned and controlled by His Majesty, or to any position or any ship of His Majesty until the Governor in Council otherwise directs; and the Governor in Council shall have power to make this Act apply in whole or in part to any of the said positions; and in any case where the commission decides it is not practicable to apply this Act to any position or positions, the commission, with the approval of the Governor in Council, may make such regulations as are deemed advisable, prescribing how such position or positions are to be dealt with."

Hon. Mr. MACLEAN: That is not really a new clause at all. Clause 38 of the Act

was repealed only in part. The proviso was not repealed but it was thought better to put it back in the amendment. There is no change whatever in the clause.

Mr. CAHILL: Is it the intention of the Government to put railway employees under the Civil Service Act?

Mr. MACLEAN: Not at present. We discussed that on many occasions in the House, and I do not see how it would be possible to do it at the present time.

If we ever decide to place the railway employees under the Civil Service Commission, I fancy that it can only take place gradually, as it will require very elaborate machinery, there being many complications in the way. But at any rate I hope there will be no ground for complaint that the manning of the government railway service is affected by political influence. Certainly so far as the Government is concerned, there is no desire to allow political influence to be a factor.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, there will be more political influence exercised through the commission than there would be if you allowed the managers of the road to make the necessary appointments. I have great faith in the man who has men under him being made responsible for their appointment and conduct. If we undertake to put the railway employees, fifty or sixty thousand of them, under the Civil Service Commission, we will be making a great mistake. I am firmly convinced that the proper policy is to give the district superintendent instructions that the department will stand by him when he makes appointments, and that no one will be allowed to interfere. That is the way in which commercial enterprises are conducted, and that is the only way to run our railways. I am sorry to hear the minister suggest that the business might be brought to Ottawa and dealt with here.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: No, I did not intend to suggest the possibility of such ever being the case as far as my view is concerned. I think it is an absolute impossibility. I merely endeavoured to say, in answer to my hon. friend's question, that if that condition ever came about, it could only be after a considerable time and the establishment of very elaborate machinery to carry it out. Personally, I do not see how it could be carried out. In fact, having said that, there is nothing further to add.

[Mr. A. K. Maclean.]

Mr. McKENZIE: I suppose the appointment of men on the railways has very little to do with what is under consideration now, but incidental reference is made to it here. The Minister of Railways (Mr. Reid) is not in his seat, but I trust the leader of the Government (Sir George Foster) or the minister who has charge of this Bill, may tell us why on that important section of the Intercolonial railways east of the Straits of Canso the old patronage system is still in force. I received a letter from the Minister of Railways some time ago saying that that system was not in force, and I sent a copy of his letter to every section foreman in my district. But I received a reply from them that they had never received any instructions to the contrary, and they paid no attention to the minister's letter to me. Their answer to any Liberal who says that this should not be the case because the Government has no patronage now is this: "We have had our instructions long ago to employ supporters of the Government, and supporters of the Government only, and we care not what is in the air, those are our instructions, and until we receive instructions to the contrary, we are going to stand by them." We have repeatedly brought this condition of things to the notice of the minister, but, so far as I know, he has never instructed those under him to tell those foremen that any man who was willing to do an honest day's work was entitled to do that work on the Government railway regardless of his politics. When a man is willing to take a pick and shovel and work hard on the railway, his politics should not count. But sad to say that is the condition in that part of the country—an applicant for a job must be a supporter of the Government or he will be turned away. I respectfully wish to bring this condition of affairs to the notice of the Minister of Railways so that he may take whatever steps may be deemed advisable to remedy it, and let the foremen have a free hand to employ anyobdy they think capable regardless of what his politics may be.

The CHAIRMAN: I did not interrupt the hon. member, but this discussion is absolutely out of order in connection with the present clause. The rule is very clear, that the subject introduced must be absolutely relevant to the clause under discussion, and I do not see how the appointment of employees on the Intercolonial has anything to do with the Bill now before the Committee.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I shall be glad to convey to the Minister of Railways the remarks of the leader of the Opposition. If the facts are as he states them to be, his criticism is perhaps well founded. However, I did hope that such conditions did not prevail in the province of Nova Scotia; in fact, I have heard complimentary remarks from supporters of my hon. friend regarding the present method of securing railway employees in that province.

On section 9—classification confirmed.—Establishment of new classes and changes.

Mr. A. THOMPSON: I have a matter that I would like to bring to the attention of the minister under section 42. It is with regard to a particular case that I brought to the attention of the committee the other day of which my hon. friend was chairman. In order that this committe may have a clear understanding of what I have in mind, I will cite the name of the civil servant to whom I desire to refer. Edward Ernest Prince, Commissioner of Fisheries, was appointed on October 1, 1892, and his appointment was made permanent on July 1, 1895. I am quoting from the Civil Service list of 1918. Professor Prince is well known to members of this House as a scientist of note who has on many occasions represented Canada abroad. He attended an international conference held in Italy a few years ago and has many times represented Canada as Commissioner of Fisheries, which title the Civil Service List gives him. He has represented Canada in that capacity in connection with the settlement of fisheries disputes with the United States. A few years ago he was loaned by our Government to the Government of New Zealand to go to New Zealand and classify the fish of that country, a duty which he fulfilled with credit to himself and satisfaction to the New Zealanders. So far as I can discover, this gentleman's office has been eliminated in the Classification of the Civil Service which I hold in my hand. The only position mentioned here which would be at all analogous or nearly analogous to the position Professor Prince now occupies is that of "Fisheries Specialist." The Definition of Class reads:

To make scientific investigations and carry on research work relating to fish culture and marine biology.

Professor Prince is a biologist of great ability and of world-wide repute, so I take it that "Fisheries Specialist" provided for in this classification constitutes the definition of class under which Professor Prince will come if this classification is adopted. As I have said, I have appeared before the special committee and brought this case before it. It is unfair, to say the least, to this gentleman, who has occupied for so long the prominent position of Commissioner of Fisheries, that the title of that position should be abolished during his incumbency of the office. I can quite understand that if he should resign the title "Fisheries Specialist" might be adopted, but to delete from the present classification the title "Commissioner of Fisheries" which he has held so long and so creditably is, I submit, unjust. I am glad to note from the amendment submitted by the minister that the Civil Service Commission is to be given power to rectify such oversights as this; for I take it that it is an oversight. My request to the minister, and through him to the Civil Service Commission, is simply that the position of Commissioner of Fisheries be retained in this classification. I am not now asking, nor did I ask before the committee, that Professor Prince be given any higher salary now or in the future. I am asking—and I am in the judgment of the Committee when I ask it—that the present designation of the status of Professor Prince be retained.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I am disposed to agree with my hon. friend that the title attaching to the position held by Professor Prince, namely, Commissioner of Fisheries, should not be changed, or that if it is changed he should not be called "Fisheries Specialist" when reference is made to him or to his position in departmental matters. I do not think that there is really any intention of so doing. In any case, I am impressed by the remarks made by my hon. friend and I shall be very glad to communicate my views on the subject to the department.

I move that in section 42 the words "rank or ranks" be substituted for the words "grade" or "grades" wherever they appear. That is the term used in the classification.

Mr. McQUARRIE: May I ask the minister to leave in the word "grades" as well as the word "ranks"? There is a particular reason why that should be done. In the classification certain grades are referred to in certain classes; I am thinking particularly of postmasters.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: That is, certain ranks.

Mr. McQUARRIE: Well, there are grades too—Grade 1 to Grade 8. It is proposed, I understand—in fact, it was agreed in the

Committee—that Grade 3 should be divided into two grades.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Mr. Chairman, this matter was not put before me in time to enable me to give it consideration, and I therefore desire to withdraw the amendment. I do not want to confuse the Committee in the matter.

Amendment withdrawn.

Mr. DEVLIN: I have received a number of communications with regard to this classification; I have no doubt that every member of the House has received similar communications. I want to place them before the minister in some way, but it will take some time to read them.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I am likely to have copies of them, anyway; so we can take them as read.

Mr. DEVLIN: All right; I will see the minister personally.

Mr. DUFF: Section 43 says that "appointments to the Civil Service shall be upon competitive examination." I have received through the mail during the last few days a list nearly as long as my arm of fishery officers required—thirty-seven fishery officers for the Fisheries Branch, Department of the Naval Service, for the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. While it may be possible for the members of the Civil Service Commission, their secretary and the other officials of the department, to make some appointments by competitive examination, I seriously contend that it is impossible to appoint proper fishery officers by this method. Let us see what the qualifications are, and I trust, Sir, I shall be within the rules of the House in reading what I am going to read, and you will not have to call me to order. This is what it says:

Thirty-seven fishery overseers for the Fisheries Branch of the Department of the Naval Service at a minimum salary of $1,020 per annum. Candidates must have primary school education, preferably with high school training; general knowledge of fisheries; experience in and detailed knowledge of fish canning methods; ability to prepare clear and concise reports; supervisory ability; tact and good judgment. Applicants for these positions should not be more than thirty-five years of age.

These are the subjects and the marks which they must obtain on the examination:

Examinations will be held on the 24th October, subjects and weights as follows. (1) Writing, 50; (2) Spelling, 50; (3) Arithmetic, 100; (4) Report, writing, 100; (5) Knowledge of Fisheries, 200; (6) Fish Canning Methods, 200; (7) Experience, 200.

While it may be possible in one case out of a thousand to get a good fishery officer who would be able to pass these examinations, my candid opinion is that the man who would make the best fishery overseer for any one of these places—and none of them is in my constituency—is the man with the least education and the most practical experience in the fisheries. It is absolutely impossible for the gentlemen comprising the Civil Service Commission to make these appointments at Ottawa by competitive examinations, and some other method should be adopted.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: In justice to the commission I should say that the qualifications are established by the department and not by the commission. The commission carries out the examinations after the departments have established the qualifications. I should not like to go so far as my hon. friend and say that the best fishery officer is the man without education, but I can quite conceive it to be true that possibly the best fishery officer might be one who had very little educational qualifications but who had the experience. I am sure that is what my hon. friend meant. There is a great deal in his observation upon the point, and I wish he would communicate it to the Department of Marine and Fisheries.

Mr. DUFF: I am afraid it would not do much good to communicate it to the Department of Marine and Fisheries. If the commission is not responsible for the necessary qualifications, of course, I shall apologize to the commission. But you are not going to get the best class of fishery overseers if they have to pass this examination, and the Department of Naval Affairs, or the Department of Fisheries, or the commission, should take some steps to eliminate these examinations if they expect to get the best fishery overseers for the Maritime Provinces or any other province, and I think I know what I am speaking about when I make that statement.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I must confess that I think these qualifications might, in some cases, be abandoned altogether.

Mr. McKENZIE: I wish to make a few observations in regard to the question of classification and more particularly in reference to post office inspectors. In order to make the matter more direct, let me take up the question of the post office inspector in

Nova Scotia and the railway mail superintendent. I understand that, before this classification was made, the post office inspector was a superior officer to or of a higher rank than the railway mail superintendent, and possibly under this classification the post office inspector takes second position to or a lower position than the railway mail superintendent. That is not, I am sure, acceptable to the post office inspector in Nova Scotia, who is an official of a very high order and a very capable man, and who will not take kindly to being disrated if that be the intention of this classification. I understand, further, that this classification would give the post office inspector a smaller salary than the salaries of some postmasters in Nova Scotia.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I do not think that could be so, at least, not in Nova Scotia. It might be smaller than the salaries of the postmasters at Montreal and Toronto.

Mr. McKENZIE: I wish to be very specific with the minister, because I am speaking of Nova Scotia matters which the minister understands very well. The postmaster in the city of Halifax gets a salary of $4,000 a year, while the post office inspector for the whole province gets only the meagre salary of $3,500. There was a day when $3,500 was looked upon as a very respectable salary, but for a man occupying the position of post office inspector for the whole province, and particularly in view of the new duties that are thrown upon him under the Civil Service Act, a salary of $3,500 is far from being sufficient. I need not tell the minister that the post office inspector for Nova Scotia is a man splendidly educated and very capable in every respect. That some of the postmasters who are under him should be receiving a larger salary than he, looks out of proportion and not as it ought to be. I trust the minister and the commission will see to it that the proper proportion and ratio and rank are held within his own sphere, so that the post office inspector will continue to hold the first position as he did heretofore in connection with postal matters in the province. I certainly think that the salary should be increased. Every hon. gentleman in this House will understand at once that under present conditions an official occupying the responsible and onerous position which this gentleman occupies is not sufficiently paid at $3,500 a year.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I wish to associate myself with the statement made by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. McKenzie) in regard to the post office inspector for Nova Scotia. I have had something to do with public affairs in Nova Scotia for a quarter of a century, and I have known this gentleman through all his official career. He is a painstaking and capable official, and the very best that could be done for him would not be too much for the department to do. I was surprised to learn that the postmaster in the city of Halifax gets a higher salary than the post office inspector for Nova Scotia, if that be the case. Those of us who live in Nova Scotia know that the postmaster in the city of Halifax has had no training at all in his profession; that he knew nothing about the business of postmaster until he was put in that position a few years ago, and it is not necessary for him to give it very much personal attention. In some respects it is a very easy position to fill, whereas the post office inspector has a greater responsibility and his position is much more difficult to fill than that of postmaster in any post office in the province. I trust the minister will see that this is rectified and that the post office inspector for Nova Scotia will have not only first rank in postal matters in that province, but the highest salary.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The fixing of salaries of officers in the public departments is difficult to determine with scientific accuracy. In fact, that is not possible, particularly when you endeavour to have them bear the same relation to other work that might correspond to that of the particular class in mind. Under the classification as it now stands, the maximum compensation for a post office inspector in Nova Scotia is $4,020, and for the postmaster in the city of Halifax $3,300, so the inspector is given the higher salary, which perhaps is as it should be.

Mr. McKENZIE: Do not the commissions in the post office bring the postmaster's salary up higher?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: It may be that the present postmaster at Halifax is in receipt of a salary of $4,000. Under the Act, that cannot be taken away from him. The lower rate will apply only to his successor in office. In the original classification there was a higher range for the post office inspectors, and that was very satisfactory to all the post office inspectors throughout the Dominion, but a reduction has been made in the amended classification in order to bring about the proper relationship between the salaries of

the different officials in the postal service, railway mail superintendents, post office inspectors, and so on. It is not an easy matter to measure correctly the relative degree of responsibility of the different positions and the compensations that should be attached to each. However, the matter has not been fully determined, but will be before the Civil Service Commissioners during the next few months. I am sure that this and all other matters will have their careful attention and the very best possible consideration.

Mr. DEVLIN: I was glad to hear the minister say that the salaries of the post office inspectors had not yet been definitely settled, because it was not intended by section 9 of Bill 53, to which I had occasion to refer at another time, that the salaries of any officers should be reduced, but that they should continue to draw the salaries to which they are at present entitled. Speaking generally, I think we are somewhat blest in this country by having a good class of post office inspectors. I need not go as far as the province of Nova Scotia, although I have no doubt the post office inspectors there are of the same high class. Judging by the debate, both sides of the House seem to agree that any appointment in Nova Scotia is all right, and I have no doubt that no Scotchman could be appointed who would not fill the bill. Respecting other provinces, with which I am more familiar, it seems to me, and I commend this to the minister's attention and through him to the commission, that it would not be fair to interfere with the salary of the post office inspectors unless it be to give them the increase to which they are entitled in order that we may have the most effective service possible.

Mr. MOWAT: The condition mentioned by my hon. friends from Nova Scotia is one that obtains throughout the Dominion. There is a good deal of heartburning over the disparity between the remuneration of the different officers at the present time. However, I do not see how that can always be avoided. For instance, there is a case in the Civil Service where a deputy minister gets considerably more than the minister himself, and yet I think the minister would be the last person to make an objection.

As the minister in charge of the Bill has pointed out, while the postmaster at Halifax is now in receipt of $4,000 a year, if he were to vacate his office his successor could not expect to get more than $3,300, whereas an inspector, if this classification is adopted and adhered to, would receive in four years $4,020, so the disparity there would be done away with. But the whole question of classification and compensation has yet to be determined by the commission, and I imagine that the different classes of persons who think they are discriminated against either from lack of information by the experts and the commission, or by lack of appreciation of their real work, will be heard by the commission, and any seeming injustice that we may find in the classification before us be remedied.

With regard to post office inspectors, the compensation of assistant post office inspectors under the classification is not what I should like to see it, in view of what I know and what I think is common knowledge, that it is the assistant inspector with whom we come most in contact, and who has the really difficult and rough work of the office to do. Not only is he a sort of secret service man, but he must also be an auditor, because he has to audit the accounts of the postmasters. He has to be ready at all times to travel into remote corners of his district in the most rigorous weather to inspect post offices in respect of which complaints may have been made, while his senior, although quite as competent, no doubt remains comfortably in his office in the city. Under the classification the assistant post office inspector, who it seems to me should get at least $4,000, is only down for $2,700, but I have no doubt the assistant post inspectors will be able to force these views upon the commission between now and the 31st of March next, when the question of compensation will be determined. All these things have their remedy under section 42, under which the commission will have full powers to inquire into these matters.

There is another matter in connection with the Post Office Department, which seems to be the most interesting to hon. members, no doubt because they have most to do with it, and that is that the commission cannot well appoint rural or city postmasters without consultation and conference with the assistant post office inspectors and the post office inspector, and it seems to me that these officials could best work out the provisions of this Act, so far as that department is concerned, to make it acceptable to the people, and if not popular, at least to be received with some respect. They should, when a postmaster is to be appointed, consult with the prominent business men of the community, not with the men of one political side only, but with

all the prominent business men, so as to ensure that a postmaster would be appointed with a reputation for honesty, and who has the respect of the community generally. The making of these inquiries would entail considerably more work on the post office inspectors. All these things I have no doubt, will be considered by the commission in the interval.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: This section provides for the keeping of a list of eligibles, and that those members of the service who have been laid off shall head the list. I have some doubt as to the wisdom of making a list of eligibles until the case arises to make the appointment. It will be time enough then to find the best man. A man who formerly held a position in the Civil Service may not be the best man to appoint to-day. This subsection 2 is very broad. It makes no exception to the rule: An eligible who has formerly been in the Civil Service may be 70, 80, 90 or 100 years old; yet if he is at the head of the list we are bound to appoint him, as far as I understand it. The section provides that:

> Whenever a vacancy in any position in the Civil Service is to be filled, the deputy head shall request the Commission to make an appointment. The Commission shall thereupon appoint the person whose name stands highest upon the eligible list.

The only qualification is that the person shall formerly have been employed in the service. The fact that an employee is out of the service now is pretty good evidence that he is not eligible for a new appointment. Why should we legislate that all those people who have been in the service and who have been allowed to separate themselves from the service for some reason or other should take first rank in making new appointments? You are binding the Civil Service Commission down very solidly in that and it is inconsistent with the idea that we should get the best man for the job.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: That subsection 2 which places at the head of the eligible list those who have previously held permanent positions simply refers to those civil servants who, by reason of shortage of work in their departments or something of that nature, were laid aside. The Act provides that he must still be kept on the eligible list, but that does not always mean that he gets an appointment.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Their names are first on the list.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The idea is that if in any given department a certain number of men who are competent and who are permanent employees of the department were laid aside simply by reason of diminished work in the department, or for some other cause not attributable to the employees themselves, they should get the first chance of getting back provided of course their qualification still remains. There is another clause in the Act which would preclude the employment of an octogenarian or anything like that. I think it would be unfair to refuse to consider the claims of a permanent employee who was temporarily laid aside.

On section 45—promotions:

Mr. McQUARRIE: Just before you pass section 45 will it not be necessary to make a change there to cover the word "grades" which you inserted in section 42?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I think I know what is in my hon. friend's mind but I do not really think there is much in his objection. I would like to have an opportunity of considering it, however. I will confer with my hon. friend and if there is any reason for the amendment which he suggests I will confer with the minister in charge of the Bill in the Senate.

Mr. McQUARRIE: If you look at page 550 of the classification, you will see what I mean. There are different grades. To be consistent the word "grades" should be put in here as well as "classes" but I am quite prepared to accept the minister's promise.

Mr. DEVLIN: How will the commission determine as to merit in reference in promotions in a department? Will they refer to the deputy head or the head of the department and get his certificate?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: There will be a practical examination on the duties of the office.

Mr. COPP: In the Outside or Inside Service?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: There is no distinction between the Inside and the Outside Service. The Bill refers to what we have always known as the Inside Service but it will be applicable in a large degree to the Outside Service.

Mr. COPP: In the event of an official in the Outside Service resigning, will his assistant be promoted to his position?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Seniority and competency will both be considered. An official must be competent in all cases before

a promotion can be made. A person holding a position, before he can be promoted, must be considered competent and his competency can only be determined by examination. In some cases it is very obvious that he is competent. If an official has seniority along with competency he will get the promotion.

Mr. COPP: I understand that if an official is competent and has the seniority, having been in an office for a longer number of years than other officers, he will get the appointment on examination?

Mr. BLAKE: The provision that promotion shall be made on the recommendation of the deputy head seems to conflict with the provision made for promotion by section 45.

Mr. FRIPP: Under the clause now before the committee, I would like to ask the minister what provision has been made by way of promotion for the large body of men who were employed in the Civil Service during the period of the war. When the war broke out a great many young civil servants were taken into the army either by the draft or by voluntary enlistment. The result was that a large number of persons ranging all the way from 300 to 1,000, who were qualified for office work were employed in the several departments. These men were only temporary employees, but it does seem to me that there should be some provision under this Act whereby the services of these men might be retained. Surely a man who has occupied an office and done his work well for a period of three or four years is better qualified to continue in that office than some stranger. Provision, I submit, should be made whereby the Civil Service Commission may appoint, on examination in the duties of the office, those men who gave four or five years of service at a time when the Government needed expert office men.

Now I cannot find any clause in this Bill which continues the appointments which these men hold, and I think the Government ought to make some explanation in regard to their cases. Surely it is not intended to lay off a large body of men such as I have mentioned and fill their places by younger men who have had no office experience whatever. I would like to urge upon the minister having charge of this Bill that clause 45 should be amended so that these men who are now in the service may be promoted and made permanent by passing an examination on office duties. My experience with the Civil Service is that the examination should be entirely of that nature. I cannot find any interpretation clause as to the meaning of the word "examination". That apparently is left to the discretion of the Civil Service Commission. I do not think it ought to be so left. I think the examination and the form of examination should be determined by this Committee. The old idea that a man had to pass an academic examination in order to get a position in the Civil Service is obsolete, and has not been found to work satisfactorily in the public interest—that is my experience. I submit there ought to be some clause added to the Bill stating just what the nature of the examination is to be, especially, say, in the case of these employees who have been in the service for a number of years. First, the kind of examination and the nature of the required fitness should be determined, particularly in the case of the men who are referred to. Secondly I would urge that the large body of clerks now employed, especially in the Militia Department, and who have been so employed for three, four, or five years, should be provided for and not turned out now simply because their special work in the department may be drawing to a close. A man who has been a clerk in any department is qualified to be a clerk in another department, generally speaking. Of course a number of technical men are needed sometimes; but take a man who has done office work in the Assigned Pay or Records Branch of the Militia Department, he is an excellent clerk for the Customs Department or the Post Office Department; and it seems to me that a gross injustice will be done to the class of men I speak of, in the city of Ottawa, numbering nearly eight hundred, who have been doing this work during the period of the war, if they are laid off without giving them an opportunity to quaify or to show their fitness for other positions in the public service. They are entitled to special consideration, in my judgment. A great many of them are over the age limit for permanent employment, which as I understand it, is still thirty-five years. I am not in favour of that age limit. I think there are many men well qualified to hold positions in the Civil Service who are over the age of thirty-five years and they ought to be given an opportunity to fill such positions. The large bulk of the class of men that I have been speaking of, namely, those who are temporarily employed in the Militia Department, are over that age, and I would like very much to see some provision made for their

continuance in the public service. I am strongly of the view that advertising for new men, as is done by the Civil Service Commission when a position falls vacant, when there are hundreds of qualified clerks already in the service, is not a good system We are continually publishing advertisements for new clerks. I venture to say, Sir, that if you go into the public service here you will find many temporary clerks who are well able to fill such positions. Why should they be turned off and new men taken in? I never could understand that. It is not in the interests of the public service. Those interests would be best served by appointing the men who are already in the service and understand the nature of the work. I have had many heads of departments come to me and voice that opinion. They say: "Why should we have to train John Brown to do this work when we have had William Smith for three years? We are supposed to inform the Civil Service Commission that we need a new appointment when a vacancy occurs. Why should William Smith have to go when he is a temporary clerk, and has been doing the work for some time and is best qualified to do it"? It seems to me the Civil Service Commission should ascertain the qualification of the temporary clerks at the present time, and before they advertise for any new clerkships to be filled they should first see if they have not enough qualified men in the temporary ranks to fill these positions. If upon an examination of the duties of office these men should prove to be qualified, they should be permanently appointed. Otherwise, you have an organization that is always being changed. No business can be run upon principles of that kind. If a man has been a junior clerk in business and can qualify for a senior clerkship he gets the position; he is not asked to retire and somebody else brought in to go over the same ground again. It seems to me that this Bill is very crude in many of its details. I do not know whether it has been prepared by the Civil Service Commission or by the committee, or by both, but I do know from practical experience that a most efficient Civil Service can be gained in this city by keeping in the service men who already are there and who show their qualifications by their knowledge of their duties. I am strongly of the view that men who are temporarily employed should be ipso facto made permanent employees by being tried out in an examination in the duties of the office that they have filled without any further examination. I repeat that I would like to see clause 45 amended in such a way that those temporary clerks who are now in the service may be promoted and made permanent upon qualifying in the duties of the office in which they are engaged.

Mr. McQUARRIE: While under normal conditions I would be inclined to agree with a great deal of what the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fripp) has said, I think, under the conditions prevailing at the present time such an arrangement as he suggests might work a hardship upon the men who have returned lately from the front. As far as I see it the soldiers who stayed overseas until the very last, and who perhaps were over there for from four to five years, have got no chance at all to get positions at the present time—they are all filled. It is the duty of this country to see if something cannot be done to assist particularly men who have stayed at the front until the finish; but if the proposition of the hon. gentleman were followed these men could not possibly get any appointment.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I know of no better way of destroying the Civil Service and the public service, and inflicting a great wrong on the national interests, than by legislating temporary employees into the Civil Service. That matter was before the committee and they unanimously decided that we must adhere to the principle of appointment by examination. Under sub-section 2, section 10, of the Bill, power is given to the commission, with the approval of the Governor in Council, to make some temporaries permanent.

If we attempted to-day to legislate, as suggested, the temporary employees into the public service at Ottawa permanently, we would have to pay them accordingly whether their services were required or not.

Mr. FRIPP: Why should they not be if they are qualified?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: A great number of temporary employees have been already relieved of service since the Armistice, and there will be many yet to go. Many became temporary employees while those whose places they filled were overseas, and if we adopted the hon. member's suggestion it would close the door to our returned soldiers.

Mr. FRIPP: Are you not now advertising for new men?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Only for special positions.

Mr. FRIPP: No, for more than special positions.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The suggestion of my hon. friend would be destructive of the morale of the whole public service, and it would be distinctly against the national interest to go as far as he suggests.

Mr. FRIPP: I do not agree with my hon. friend when he says that my suggestion would close the door to the returned soldier.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: To a certain extent.

Mr. FRIPP: I submit it would have the very opposite effect, and that the returned soldier is being done a very great injustice under the present system. What is the use of appointing a returned soldier temporarily, and then at the end of a few months, after he has got settled, suddenly dispensing with his services? That practice does not build up a good service. I submit that the proper way to do so is to take a man in temporarily, and then, if he qualifies, make him a permanent employee. That is the only way to make him a good public servant. If he knows he is to remain a temporary employee his work is perfunctory, and he does not pay attention to his duties other than to earn his salary. You cannot get the best service out of a temporary employee. You can only get the best service out of a man who knows that, by proving his worth for a probationary period, his merit will be recognized and he will be made a permanent employee.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I fail to see the logic of the reasoning of the hon. member for Ottawa (Mr. Fripp). I have always understood that there are times when it is necessary to make appointments that can only be considered as temporary. Now that the outside service has been taken over by the Civil Service Commission, I do not see how it would be possible to carry it on in any other way than that which is proposed. For instance, at this time of the year a great many fruit inspectors are appointed, I think, for about three months.

Mr. FRIPP: This only applies to the Inside Service.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Well, if it applies only to the inside service, of course that makes some difference. But I would like to know something about the methods adopted by the commission in making these temporary and other appointments of a similar nature in the Outside Service. I think the minister intimated that it is obviously necessary for the commission to appoint some one to go out and get information as to the qualifications of certain parties to be appointed. It appears that the only one who is barred from being consulted is the gentleman who is elected by the people as their representative, and who might possibly know something as to the fitness of applicants, particularly for temporary appointments in the outside service. I would like to know what has been spent by the commission to secure this information in regard to appointments not only to the inside service, but also to the outside service.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I shall endeavour to get the information for my hon. friend and let him know at a later date the amount of money that has been spent by the Civil Service Commission in getting information respecting the fitness of applicants for the Civil Service. I am advised by the commission that they have incurred no expense at all, but to make sure that I am perfectly accurate I shall make inquiries and let my hon. friend know the result.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I have a distinct recollection that when the Bill went through Committee last year it contained a provision which would bar any hon. member from daring to suggest to the commission that certain parties might be qualified.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I think that referred to ministers only. The clause was struck out.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: My impression was that it applied to members as well as to ministers. I remember discussion took place along that line, and the clause was struck out. I would hope, for the reputation of hon. members, that the Commission will not be debarred from consulting the local member in regard to some appointments of a temporary nature that might be necessary in his constituency. I fail to see any good reason why he should not be consulted in the matter.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: While dealing with this question of expenditure, will the minister tell the Committee how much the classification cost? If the minister has the figures at hand I wish he would give them to the Committee.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I have no figures before me at the moment, but I know the classification has not cost nearly so much as has been indicated by some portions of the press. I will let my hon. friend know on Tuesday. Some little time ago the expenditure was between $50,000 and $60,000,

but the whole of that was not incurred in connection with strictly classification work; it was partly incurred in the investigation of the Printing Bureau and for work done by some employees in connection with the bonus granted to the Civil Service.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I am referring to the work done in connection with this printed book called the "Classification."

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: It seems to me that that is not expert work. The book looks like a dictionary—

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Well, it is a dictionary.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: —which an ordinarily intelligent man could make. The first item is "Able seamen," and it tells us that an able seaman is a man who will clean down the decks, keep the brass polished, sweep the dust away and obey the officers of the ship, and then it proceeds to state that his wages will be so many dollars a month. That description of an able seaman is not very accurate, and if a man confined himself to the duties mentioned there he would not be a very acceptable seaman. And the wages are not according to the mercantile scale, so that if the Government, which is now operating its own mercantile marine, intend to apply that first section to its own business, it will find it altogether inapplicable.

In the first place, you have to discharge your seamen, under the law, when you arrive at port, and must pay them off in the presenec of a consul or other officer; then when you start your next voyage you have to employ them over again or employ a new crew. It is impossible to communicate with the Civil Service Commission in order to do that; under the law, the captain is the only person who can do it. It appears to me that the man who made this particular classification did not understand what he was doing if he intended that it should apply to persons engaged in the public service. Will the minister point out what expert work has been done in connection with this classification? Any intelligent member of Parliament knows what duties a deputy minister has to perform or what work is required of an inspector of post offices or a clerk in any Government office. All that is found in this book is simply a description of what the employee is expected to do; and I submit that in many cases the description is defective. On what principle can we justify the expenditure of $50,000 for the purpose of turning out a dictionary like this, which is nothing more or less than a list of employees?

Mr. P. McGIBBON (Muskoka): We have had the rather amazing admission that practically no expense has been incurred in the gathering of information with respect to appointments to positions in the outside service in a country three thousand miles long. As members of Parliament were not consulted and are not going to be consulted in such matters, may I ask the minister how such information is procured? Are the appointments made without the obtaining of any information at all? On the other hand, is the service being made less efficient by the utilization—as I am informed by some deputy ministers—of the staffs of the departments to gather information for the Civil Service Commission? It seems to me that this commission is the supreme and crowning act of—I was going to say incompetence of this Government.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Say it.

Mr. McGIBBON: In a country covering a territory three thousand miles in extent you exclude from consultation in respect of appointments the member of Parliament, the only man who knows who is best qualified to fill positions in the Outside Service. Then the minister comes to this House and says that the necessary information is acquired without the expenditure of one cent. On what grounds of efficiency are we to suppose that these appointments are made? I think that an explanation is due to the Committee.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The particular matter to which my hon. friend refers has been discussed so often that I had hoped it would not arise again. I did not mean to say—at least if I did say it I suppose I should not have done so—that no expense whatever was incurred in securing information in respect of appointments to certain positions in the public service. In regard to appointments to post offices—I mean in the Outside Service—The Civil Service Commission utilize the post office inspectors in the various provinces who have means of securing this information quite readily and without incurring any great expense. Possibly some of the officers of the Inspection Department happen to be travelling in a district where there is a vacancy, and while engaged in that work they can secure the best local information possible. Appointments are made largely after advertisement. The applicant

sends in his application to the department, giving references and stating his qualifications, and the commission adopt whatever means seem best to them to test the accuracy of the statements made in the application; in fact, they do anything they wish to do to make the best appointment from among the applicants. The very fact that the Civil Service Commission have been making appointments for the last year and without any great amount of dissatisfaction, is, I think, proof of the fact that the work can be done in this way.

The member for Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) thinks that this classification is a very simple work and not worthy of the cost entailed. I think my hon. friend's view is largely due to the fact that he has not given any very close attention to the matter. I do not doubt that his other duties prevented him from going into the matter in detail; indeed, if he did have the time to do it, I would advise him not to engage in that occupation. It is a very easy matter to say that this work of classification is of no value and is a waste of public money. I pretend to know a little about it—perhaps not very much—and I do say that it is a splendid piece of work; any one who knows anything about it will say so. The members of the Committee heard the experts employed by the commission, who did the major part of this work; and the Committee were unanimously of the opinion at the close of the proceedings that these experts were exceedingly competent men and that they had done a splendid piece of work. I believe that one member of the Committee moved a resolution of thanks to the employees of the Civil Service Commission for the great care and intelligence with which they carried out this work.

Now, the duties of an able seaman are defined here; they were never defined before—or if they had any definition it would probably be found in the committee room of some political party. Even if the definition is defective as set forth in this book, it is better than it was before. The compensations stated here are a valuable feature of the classification, because the incumbent of an office knows the range of his salary; he knows how he can attain the maximum; he knows that it will be of no use to write to members of Parliament or approach ministers and ask for special treatment in the annual Estimates submitted to Parliament. There will be that great advantage; it will do away with anomalies and discriminations in favour of certain persons

[Mr. A. K. Maclean.]

in the service who were treated differently from others because by one means or another they could get their names in the Estimates and thus secure an increase, whereas great numbers of others could not. The able seaman, to whom my hon. friend refers, will get the same rate of wage whether the Government steamship that he is in is on the Atlantic or on the Pacific. The rate will be uniform, and before he goes into the service he knows what it will be. I quite apprehend that it would be difficult to fix the rate of wage in respect of those ships recently built by the Government which will be engaged in foreign service, because there you would frequently have to discharge your seamen at various ports and subsequently have to ship new men. In that case, of course, the commission should not make the appointments; I do not think the Act should apply to cases of that kind. I may add that men in the seaman service have been employed by the Public Works Department, the Railway Department, the Marine Department and the Naval Department, and there are instances where men who were performing exactly the same duties receive four different ranges of salary. This classification rids us of such anomalies and discriminations.

Mr. HOCKEN: I do not think that the answer given to the member for Guysborough (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) is definite or satisfactory. The amount of money that this classification has cost has not been stated. By what authority have the Civil Service Commission spent this money. Was there a vote for it? Was there an Order in Council, or how did they proceed?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The expenditure was incurred by the Civil Service Commission. I do not know that the commission ever conferred with the Government. They may have done so, but personally I am not sure. The Civil Service Act of 1918 directed that this work be done. The commission had the authority of Parliament to embark upon this work of classification and, therefore, for the expenditure the work entailed.

Mr. HOCKEN: Is that the way in which we always spend public money? If a definite piece of work is ordered to be done by this Parliament, is it not always the practice to set out an appropriation for that? Is this commission to be at liberty under clause 10 to employ these so-called experts at any time it likes? The clause reads:

The commission shall, after consultation with the several deputy heads, determine the places

of the positions now in the Civil Service in the classification established and confirmed—

And so on. If the commissioners were at liberty to spend $50,000 or $60,000 in doing what they did, they might go on spending another $10,000 or $20,000 on this work.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I am informed by the chairman of the commission that the commission did have the authority of the Government to proceed with this work.

Mr. HOCKEN: By Order in Council?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes.

Mr. HOCKEN: Can the minister produce that Order in Council?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I cannot produce it at the present. If there is such an Order in Council, I can produce it later.

Mr. HOCKEN: That is the point.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The chairman also informs me that authority for the expenditure was given by the Government and subsequently incorporated in the Estimates at the last session of Parliament, when a lump sum was voted for this work.

Mr. HOCKEN: That is to say, a sum was put in for the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: No, to pay for this.

Mr. HOCKEN: Specifically to pay for the classification.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes.

Mr. HOCKEN: Was that in the Estimates of last session?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I think it was.

Mr. HOCKEN: I could not find it. I will look it up.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I do not wish to worry the minister too much about this able seaman, but—

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I was using that only as an illustration. I would be quite satisfied if the hon. member would drop the able seaman and take up something else.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: The minister informed the committee that this was the first time in the history of the country that the duties of an able seaman had been defined and he inferred that a great thing had been done because those duties had been defined. I want to tell the minister that this is absolute nonsense; that he might as well attempt to define the duties of a farm labourer, and if he did he would have a very difficult task to perform. If an able seaman is asked to take a scuttle of coal out of the hold in order to warm up the captain's cabin he will turn up the book and tell you that that is not in the book and consequently that is not his job. That is the result of an attempt to define the duties of a seaman.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Those duties are not exhaustive; they are only an outline.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: The work I am putting the seaman at now is not mentioned in the book, and that is only an example of scores of other things that an able seaman has to do every day. So when a man attempts to define the duties of a seaman he is attempting a task which he should not attempt at all. I presume my hon. friend will attempt to run his ships under the mercantile laws of the country. The ships will have to be run under the rules of the merchant marine, and in those rules the able seaman is employed for one voyage. He may be employed for the return trip, but when he arrives at the port, when his voyage is completed, it will be the duty of the captain to discharge him, to take him before an officer of the Board of Trade, or the shipmaster, or the British Consul and give him his discharge in the presence of that officer. Then as a rule he employs a new crew for his next voyage; he does not necessarily have to have the same crew, and he employs them at the rate of wages that is current in that port.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I do not think that is the practice.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: If you went into the port of New York to-day, you would not get a single sailor at the highest rate of pay mentioned in the list, which I think is $60.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: We have them now.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: You cannot. You have not them at that rate.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes, we have.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: I do not think so. I do not think anybody else has, because very much larger wages than that are being paid at the present time, and the rate goes up and down from week to week. An attempt to set down a permanent rate would be nonsense, and it would not work at all in connection with the business. These things are not done by rules of that kind. The captain will be under the necessity of conducting his business like any other mer-

cantile business, and there is no use in trying to tie him up to conditions which he cannot fulfil.

Mr. DUFF: There is a more serious side than that which the hon. member for Antigonish (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) has spoken about. The definition of an able seaman is not the definition of an able seaman at all; it is the definition of an ordinary seaman, and the gentleman who completed that classification in regard to able seaman did not know what he was writing when he put that in the book. As regards wages of crews, I understood the minister to say that every ship owned by the Government outside of foreign-going ships would have to pay that rate of wages to the men whether they were ships on the Atlantic coast, the Pacific coast or the Great Lakes. Let me give the minister a concrete case. When the S.S. Stanley, which is one of the Marine Department boats plying on the Nova Scotia coast looking after buoys and lighthouses, arrives at Halifax, the captain pays off his crew, and it is necessary for him to engage a new crew for the next voyage. Supposing an S.O.S. call should come from some ship in distress off the Magdalen islands or off Sable islands, that captain is compelled under the classification to apply to the Civil Service Commission at Ottawa for a crew. That is the most ridiculous thing I ever heard of in my life.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The Act provides for temporary employees, and the captain under those circumstances could engage a crew.

Mr. DUFF: These are not temporary employees. These are very important employees and probably permanent.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I think if S.O.S. calls were being answered, the employees would be temporary.

Mr. DUFF: Not so far as the captain was concerned. Supposing the captain gets sick. Is the captain not a permanent employee? You would not class him as a temorary employee, and the minister would not put aboard that ship as captain a man who was not qualified. Supposing when the S.S. Stanley arrives at Halifax, the captain falls sick and has to go to the hospital, it is necessary for the Civil Service Commission at Ottawa to appoint a captain, and although they are gentlemen who are well qualified in certain respects, they know no more about appointing a captain to a ship than I know about running an aeroplane.

[Mr. J. H. Sinclair.]

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Very little is going to be achieved by a discussion of the details of this classification. It is not a perfect one, I admit. I do not concede that the remarks of my hon. friend (Mr. Duff) are correct, but I am not in a position to contradict him. He is a little more of a seaman than I am although I do not think he is very well informed as such. Perhaps he knows something more than I do about the matter, and I shall not venture into a contest with him. I do not purpose undertaking the task of advising this House as to the details of the classification, and I consider it is a great waste of public time, if hon. gentlemen will permit me to say so, to be pointing out possible defects in the classification.

Mr. DUFF: Then, how are you going to rectify it?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: This Parliament never undertook to go into the rates of compensation of 50,000 people in the employ of the Government to see whether their duties were or were not properly defined. We are taking power under the Bill for the Civil Service Commission to amend the classification from time to time, and their recommendations will become effective when approved by the Governor in Council. If the duties of this able seaman, this new personality which my hon. friend (Mr. J. H. Sinclair) has introduced into the discussion, are limited by the definition and ought to be extended, that can be corrected at any time. The definition of duties is only illustrative in every case. I say frankly I do not propose to stand on the floor of the House and attempt to give information that would be at all reliable as to all these details. I do know this: I have heard features of the classification criticised in Parliament and outside of it and in the press, and upon looking into these individual cases I have reached the conclusion that I would take the judgment of the commission and its experts in respect of the qualifications generally before I would the judgment of the people outside, because there are many features in connection with the public service which the general public do not know and cannot possibly know without some investigation into the actual facts. I think the public interests are amply protected by giving the Civil Service Commission power to amend the classification from time to time, and I think we should let it go at that.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: The minister solved the difficulty a few minutes ago by telling

us that the men could be appointed temporarily. Under the law, who makes these temporary appointments, in the case, for example, of a vacancy in the Government's shipping industry.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The departmental representative in the district. For instance, if a ship in the marine service to-day at the port of Halifax required a new captain and had no opportunity of getting a permanent officer for the ship, the man in charge of the marine department at Halifax would be instructed to get the very best man he could.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: Can a captain make temporary appointments?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes, the Act permits that.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR: What part of the Act?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: It is in the old Act, and on page 2 of this Bill.

On the motion of the Hon. Mr. MacLean the Committee rose, reported progress, and was granted leave to sit again this day.

THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Acting Prime Minister): When we reassemble at eight o'clock a statement will be made on behalf of the Government and papers will be laid before the House with reference to the proposed legislation regarding the Grand Trunk railway. This will be done in order that the information may appear in Hansard and be available to hon. members between this and the time of reassembling on Tuesday. The leader of the Opposition has been consulted by me and thoroughly agrees, and I am sure the whole Committee will be favourable to this being done.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE: Would the minister also be in a position to put on Hansard a copy of the Bill, if drafted ?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I think that can be done.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY SYSTEM.

STATEMENT BY HON. MR. MEIGHEN AS TO ACQUISITION OF THE SYSTEM BY GOVERNMENT—THE PROPOSED BILL.

Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN (Minister of the Interior): Mr. Speaker, the House was promised at six o'clock a statement, to be made at the present hour, embodying in brief the result of the negotiations with the Grand Trunk Railway company, as to the acquirement of their system of railways by the Government. The reason for this statement being made now is that otherwise the notice of the resolution which must precede the Bill which is intended to enable the Government to conclude the arrangement cannot appear, owing to the intervening holidays, until next Tuesday. It was felt that in the meantime, as newspaper notice has been given and as the House was informed that a Bill was intended, it were well that the House should be fully informed as to the fundamental provisions of the arrangement. What I shall say shall of course be in no sense argumentative but wholly explanatory.

The negotiations that have now been brought to fruition are by no means of recent origin. They date back to the month of February, 1918, when by reason of certain requests made of the Government on behalf of the Grand Trunk Railway company and by reason of other considerations, communication was commenced by cable; at all events, requests were made by cable as to the proposals or intentions of the Grand Trunk in regard to this matter. I need not read the cables themselves for the reason that if my memory is correct they have already been produced and are embalmed in Hansard; but further for the reason that they are embodied in the letter dated 11th July, 1918, addressed by myself to Sir Alfred Smithers, president of the Grand Trunk Railway company. This letter was written after thorough consideration and review on the part of the ministers then overseas, and after full conference with members of the Government at home. That the record may be properly based, I shall read that letter which is as follows:

11th July, 1918.

Dear Mr. Smithers,—Some time ago the Government of Canada was informed on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Grand Trunk Railway Company that this Company would not be able, without Government assistance, to meet certain maturities falling due on the 1st and 15th of the present month.

It was thought of advantage that representatives of the Government should, on the occasion of their visit to England to attend the Imperial War Conference, take the opportunity of conferring with yourself and your directorate on the general subject of Grand Trunk obligations and finance. Accordingly, the Hon. Mr. Calder and myself have had four conferences with you, at two of which you were accompanied by certain associates on the Board.

At the last conference you suggested that I should lay before you in writing the position

taken by the Government and, in as definite a form as possible, its concrete proposals.

It may be assumed that the difficulties in which the Company now finds itself arise from two main causes: (1) the obligations into which the Company entered in 1903 and 1904 with respect to the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company; (2) War conditions as to operation and finance.

As to the latter cause it is not unfair to say that its incidence has fallen chiefly, if not wholly, in the years 1917 and 1918. On the contrary, the difficulties of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, which are the direct outcome of its Grand Trunk Pacific obligations, are of much longer date. This latter company is in every sense subsidiary to, and its stock is wholly owned by, the Grand Trunk Company. To this subsidiary company the Government of Canada came, by way of assistance, as far back as 1909, with a loan of $10,000,000. Another loan of $15,000,000 was made in 1913. A further loan of $6,000,000 was made in 1914 on a pledge of Bonds. Its securities were further guaranteed by legislation of that year to the extent of $16,000,000. In 1916 a loan of $8,000,000 was made. In 1917 a loan of $7,500,000 was authorized and advanced, and in the spring of this year a further loan of $7,500,000 was authorized by Parliament. Meantime, the ever-increasing interest obligations binding on the Grand Trunk Railway Company toward its subsidiary company were not paid by the Grand Trunk Railway, but were taken care of out of the proceeds of loans thus made by the Government of Canada. These obligations at the present time amount to very considerably over $5,000,000 per annum, and in January 1923 increase to over $7,000,000 per annum. In the same conjunction it must be remembered that the Grand Trunk Pacific Company has not assumed or attempted to discharge its rental obligations to the Government of Canada with respect to the National Transcontinental Railway, which obligations, while not formally assumed by the Government, have in practice been shouldered by the Dominion. This extra burden is a matter of very considerable magnitude.

I refer to the outstanding facts related in the preceding paragraph for the purpose of indicating what has through recent years been the attitude of the Canadian Government and people toward Grand Trunk enterprises.

It is at this point that the Canadian Government is invited to enter upon a still wider field of assistance by assuming liabilities in respect of Grand Trunk securities themselves. Through the course of the various steps recalled above, public opinion in our country has become more and more opposed to a continuance of the practice of assisting financially railways that were in private hands. Consequently, at the opening of our negotiations we stated to you that we did not believe that continued further assistance under present conditions could be justified.

In order, however, that there might be reasonable opportunity for negotiation, we recommended to the Minister of Finance that funds be provided to enable the company to meet maturities falling due in July. This has been and is being arranged.

Throughout the negotiations, and indeed prior thereto, it has been made clear to your company that the obligations of the Grand Trunk Company to the Grand Trunk Pacific Company could not be ignored, and that the Government could not undertake to assume the indebtedness of and to operate the Grand Trunk Pacific and branch lines thereof, and to relieve the Grand Trunk of responsibility therefor, while the Grand Trunk Railway itself, as a subsidiary of which and indeed as an extension of which the Grand Trunk Pacific was built, remained in independent hands. Accordingly, in the month of February last, after careful consideration, and in pursuance of the recommendation of what is commonly known as the Drayton-Acworth Report, there were made to your company the following proposals:—

(1) The Government to take over the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and branch lines and the Grand Trunk Railway Company; to acquire all assets, and to assume all obligations of both companies.

(2) The Government to make annual payment of $2,500,000 for the first three years, $3,000,000 for the succeeding five years, and $3,600,000 annually thereafter; such sums to be distributed by the Grand Trunk management, as they might determine, among holders of 4 per cent Guaranteed and other stocks.

It was intended that the taking over should be by rental over a long period of years, as might be agreed, with a provision for purchase.

Should such terms not be accepted, it was suggested that the amounts in question might be submitted to arbitration. These proposals met with no acceptance.

Our present conferences, extending over the past month, have resulted in little progress—the only practical step being, indeed, the assistance referred to above as advanced by the Government. As intimated above, such assistance cannot under present conditions be continued.

We are now prepared to abide by the proposals submitted to you in February last as to acquisition, or we are prepared on behalf of the Government to submit the entire question of remuneration to a Board of Arbitration on the following general terms:—

(1) The Board to consist of three persons: one to be appointed by the Grand Trunk Company, one by the Government of Canada, and the two so appointed to select a third, or, if they fail to agree, the third to be selected by a majority of the following: the Judge of the Exchequer Court of Canada, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, the Chief Justice of the Province of Ontario.

(2) The Board to have full power as to the procuring and acceptance of evidence.

(3) The award to be by way of annual rental for a term of 999 years; the Board to have power to vary the rental for two or more periods of years. The Government to have the option of purchase on the basis of and during the term of the final rental at the end of any year and on one year's notice at twenty-five times the annual final rental.

(4) Conditions arising or that have arisen out of the war not to be taken into account in determining the rental value.

Should the Company desire, the Guaranteed Stock may be treated as an obligation in the same way as the Company's Bonds.

I would be glad to be advised whether the above specific proposal is acceptable, or if not, whether the general terms of arbitration out-

lined above are satisfactory. Should either alternative be favourably received we may then enter upon discussion and negotiation as to further necessary details.

Yours very truly,
(Sgd) Arthur Meighen.

Alfred W .Smithers, Esq.,
Chairman of the Board of Directors,
Grand Trunk Railway Company,
9 New Broad Street, E.C.

That letter was followed by two communications merely intended to elucidate the letter itself, and then by a rather extended reply made by Sir Alfred Smithers, in which reply exception was taken to the ground stated by me as the initiation of the proposals in certain respects, and in which reply neither offer theretofore submitted was accepted. Further proposals were made, but inasmuch as this correspondence that I am referring to now, including, indeed, the letter that I have read, has been already (I speak from memory) placed upon Hansard by the Minister of Finance of that day some time last session, and inasmuch further as it is by no means necessary to an understanding of the result of the negotiations now, I think I would meet the convenience of the House better if I omitted to read the intervening correspondence. The negotiations, with intermissions sometimes long, were continued and were renewed more definitely and with specific object within the last two months on the arrival in this country of Sir Alfred Smithers, president of the Grand Trunk Railway. These led to a final understanding, as between Sir Alfred Smithers, representing the Grand Trunk directorate, and the Government of Canada. This understanding rests for the time being on the part of the company with Sir Alfred Smithers himself, his power being a recommendatory power only, and the part of the country with the Government itself, the Government, of course, having to submit the proposals to Parliament for ratification. That is the footing upon which the understanding at present rests, but it is embodied specifically in a letter addressed to Sir Alfred Smithers yesterday by myself, which letter I shall now read:

Ottawa, October 9, 1919.

Sir Alfred W. Smithers,
Chateau Laurier,
Ottawa.

Dear Sir Alfred Smithers—

Referring to previous correspondence and to the various interviews between yourself and myself and other members of the Government respecting the acquisition by the Government of the Grand Trunk Railway system, I now record the understanding arrived at and I would be glad to receive your confirmation thereof in order that an enabling Bill may be introduced by the Government and fully considered by Parliament at this session.

We have hitherto referred generally to the "Grand Trunk System" but to prevent any misunderstanding as to the meaning of that term there will be inserted in the agreement of arbitration below referred to the necessary definition of the term and a statement of how the various companies and their undertakings are controlled by the parent company—whether by stock ownership and to what extent, leases, agreements or otherwise, distinguishing in these respects the direct ownership and control by the parent company and its indirect ownership or control through companies included in the system.

The issued capital stocks (not including the 4 per cent guaranteed stock) of the Grand Trunk Railway Company (hereinafter called the "Grand Trunk"), are as I am advised, as follows:

First Preference Stock 5 per cent..	£ 3,420,000
Second Preference Stock 5 per cent	2,530,000
Third Preference Stock 4 per cent	7,168,055
Ordinary or Common Stock..	23,955,436
	£37,073,491

The Government is to acquire the said first, second and third Preference Stocks and the ordinary or common stock amounting to a total face value of £37,073,491 in the manner and on the terms below mentioned.

The voting rights now vested in or exercisable by the holders of the 4 per cent guaranteed stock amounting to £12,500,000, and by the holders of the following debenture stocks, viz.:

Five per cent (5%) Grand Trunk debenture stock .. ..£	4,270,375
Five per cent (5%) Great Western debenture stock	2,723,080
Four per cent (4%) Grand Trunk debenture stock	24,624,455
Four per cent (4%) Northern debenture stock	308,215
	£31,926,125

are to cease.

As part of the consideration for such acquisition and cessation of voting rights the Government will agree to guarantee the payment of—

(a) Dividends payable half yearly, at four per cent per annum, upon the said 4 per cent guaranteed stock;

(b) The interest upon the debenture stocks as and when payable, in accordance with the terms thereof;

These guarantees to take effect upon the date of the appointment of the Committee of Management below mentioned.

The value (if any) to the holders of the first, second and third preference stock, and the ordinary or common stock shall be determined by a Board of Arbitrators consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the Grand Trunk, one by the Government, and the two so appointed to select a third, or failing agreement the third to be selected from among the judges of the Superior courts in Canada by Sir Louis Davies, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, and Sir Walter Cassels, judge of the Exchequer court of Canada, acting together.

Should any vacancy occur in the Board of Arbitrators, the arbitrators to fill the vacancy shall be appointed in the same way as the

arbitrator whose seat has become vacant has been appointed.

Should either Sir Louis Davies or Sir Walter Cassels die or otherwise be unable to act, the other may act alone.

The Board of Arbitrators to have full power and authority in respect of the control of the arbitration and the proceedings thereof.

The award to be made by the arbitrators or a majority of them within nine months from the appointment of the arbitrators, or within such further time as the Governor in Council may approve. The unanimous award of the arbitrators shall be final, but should the award not be unanimous, an appeal therefrom shall lie to the Supreme Court of Canada and or to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council if leave be granted by said committee upon any question of law if notice of appeal is given by either party within thirty days of the making of the award.

The Government shall cause the Grand Trunk to create and issue non-voting four per cent capital stock—herein called new guaranteed stock. The amount thereof shall be the amount of the value of the acquired stocks determined as above provided, less such deductions therefrom as are to be made under the terms of this letter. The Government shall guarantee to the holders of the new guaranteed stock that there shall be paid a dividend thereon at the rate of four per cent per annum, payable half-yearly, from the date of the appointment of the managing committee hereinafter mentioned.

The new guaranteed stock shall be distributed among the holders of the preference and common stocks in proportions which shall be determined by the arbitrators.

An agreement (hereinafter called the "Arbitration Agreement") to be executed between the parties, embodying the terms herein set forth and such other terms as may be considered necessary to carry the arbitration agreement into effect.

After the ratification by the shareholders of the Grand Trunk of the Arbitration Agreement, the Grand Trunk shall cause a Committee of Management of the Grand Trunk system to be formed, consisting of five persons, two to be appointed by the Grand Trunk, two by the Government, and the fifth by the four so appointed. The functions of the Managing Committee shall be to insure the operation of the Grand Trunk system (in so far as it is possible to do so) in harmony with the Canadian National railways, the two systems being treated, in the public interest, as nearly as possible as one system. No contract or agreement shall be made by the Grand Trunk, or any company comprised in the Grand Trunk system and controlled by the Grand Trunk, other than such as are necessary for the usual and ordinary business of the system except with the concurrence of the Managing Committee and the approval of the Governor in Council. The Managing Committee may, with the consent of the Governor in Council, borrow from the Government on Grand Trunk notes or other obligations or securities approved of by the Governor in Council for the carrying on of the operations or improvements of the Grand Trunk system. Upon the acquired stocks of the Grand Trunk being vested in the Government the Managing Committee shall be discharged.

The books, minutes, reports, documents and other records, and all the railways and properties of the companies comprised in the Grand Trunk system shall at all times be accessible and open to inspection, and examination by any person or persons named by the Minister of Railways and Canals of Canada, or by the Board of Arbitrators; and all proper aid and assistance shall, on request, be rendered to such person or persons by the officers and employees of the Grand Trunk and its allied companies, including the making and giving of extracts, copies and statements.

Legislation by the Parliament of Canada shall be promoted by the Government to authorize the making and carrying out of the necessary agreement embodying the arrangement resulting from these proposals and to render the same valid and effectual.

Upon the value of the acquired stocks being finally determined under the provisions of the Act, the new guaranteed stock shall be created and the dividends thereon guaranteed by the Government and such new guaranteed stock shall be issued to the holders of the acquired stocks in accordance with the Act,—and thereupon such acquired stocks shall be transferred to or vested in the Government.

Should any shares or part of the acquired stocks not be transferred to the Government the Governor in Council may declare such shares or part to be the property of the Minister of Finance in trust for His Majesty and the same shall thereupon become the property of His Majesty and the amount of new guaranteed stock to which the holders of such shares or part would be entitled shall be issued or delivered to such holders or their representatives upon delivery up of the shares of the acquired stock.

The new guaranteed stock shall be deemed and issued as fully paid and free from calls and other liability.

Upon the acquired stocks being vested in the Government or its nominees the offices of the directors or any of them of the Grand Trunk system shall at such date or dates as the Governor in Council may name become vacant and the Governor in Council may appoint others in lieu thereof.

Should the Government, within three months after the making of the award, claim that there existed any liabilities of the Grand Trunk or of any company comprised in the Grand Trunk system which were not disclosed to the Board of Arbitrators prior to the making of their award, the Government may within such period of three months, apply to the Board of Arbitrators to amend their award, and the board may thereupon decide whether such liabilities existed and were disclosed to them, whether the amount of their award would or would not have been affected thereby, and the amount of the deduction, if any, to be made in respect thereof; and may amend their award accordingly.

After the execution of the arbitration agreement and until the acquired stocks are vested in the Government the Grand Trunk shall refrain, without the approval of the Governor in Council from varying by by-law, agreement, or in any other manner whatsoever, the rights or liabilities appertaining in the capital stocks or securites of the Grand Trunk or of any company comprised in the Grand Trunk system, and from increasing, without such approval, except in so far as is necessary in the usual and ordinary conduct of the business of the system, or as may be concurred in by the managing committee, the obligations or liabili-

ties of the Grand Trunk or of any company comprised in the Grand Trunk system. The Grand Trunk shall also refrain, without such approval, from declaring any dividends on any of the capital stocks.

It must be understood that the new guaranteed stock, and the present guaranteed stock may be called in by the Government or the company at par, at any time after thirty years from the date of appointment of the Managing Committee on six months' notice by advertisement to the holders thereof.

The Grand Trunk Superannuation Fund shall continue in existence and shall continue to be administered as at present and in accordance with the rules and regulations governing the same. The rules and regulations of the Grand Trunk pension system shall continue to be applicable to employees of the Grand Trunk system until a general pension scheme applicable to all employees of Canadian Government-owned or controlled railways shall be adopted and become effective. The rules and regulations of the Grand Trunk Insurance and Provident Society shall continue to be applicable unless and until the Government shall adopt and make effective a general insurance scheme applicable to all employees of Canadian Government-owned or controlled railways. In no case shall any acquired rights or vested interests in either the pension system or the Insurance and Provident Society be affected.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd) Arthur Meighen.

To that letter I received to-day the following reply from Sir Alfred Smithers:

October 10, 1919.

Dear Mr. Meighen,—

I have taken communication of your letter of the 9th instant, relative to the proposed acquisition by the Government of Canada of the control of the Grand Trunk Railway system, which correctly embodies our understanding on the subject.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) Alfred W. Smithers.

It will be observed that there is a change in the form of the subject matter to be submitted to the board of arbitrators as set out in the letter of October 9, which embodies the final understanding, from that set out in the letter of the 11th of July, 1918. In the first letter the intention was that should the company agree to arbitration, the subject matter of the arbitration should be the rental value of all the property of the Grand Trunk system for a period of 999 years. The reason for the change is that a close examination of existing conditions of the Grand Trunk system, as a system, and of the various relationships between the component parts of the system, made it an impractical matter for the Grand Trunk to lease the system. In this connection I need only refer the House to the position in which the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company now is, namely, in the hands of a receiver.

That fact alone will appeal at once to hon. gentlemen as an impediment. A still larger one, however, is the condition in which the American roads now are—the main roads, if not all, in the United States belonging to the system being actually operated not by the Grand Trunk but by the Government of the United States. I need go no farther to illustrate the infeasibility of a lease of the system. Consequently, what was sought to be obtained was some other method by which, in substance, the very same question could be submitted to arbitration and the result that was sought before obtained in a better way. The method devised, therefore, was to submit to arbitration the four stocks—the three preference stocks and the common stock—and to pay the award, whatever it might be, if any, by the issue of a new non-voting stock bearing interest at four per cent perpetually and made redeemable at the option of the Government after thirty years at par. So that hon. members will see that while there is a change in the matter or the form of the subject-matter of submission, there is no variation in any material way from the original offer as to arbitration. In effect the result would be practically—indeed, identically—the same. Other respects in which there may be said to be variations are wholly minor or immaterial. There is no respect, I believe, in which there is change to the disadvantage of the country. There is an omission—I should put it this way: The original letter of 11th July, 1918, contained a proposal, an offer to the company, that in the event of arbitration being accepted, we would agree that conditions arising out of the war should be eliminated from the consideration of the Board or Arbitration. As the war was over it was felt by the Government that that condition was not now a desirable or, indeed, a possible one. The company have agreed that that condition be eliminated.

Possibly I should refer to one fact more; there is in what I am to refer to no variation at all, but an explanation may make it clearer.

It will be noted that in the letter of 11th July, 1918, one of the elements of the proposal was that the Government should consider the guaranteed stock which bears interest at four per cent perpetually and which stands next to the debenture stock or bonds, as an obligation just in the same way as the debenture stock or bonds are an obligation. That is carried forward, in fact, that is part of the present proposals, accepted unquali-

fiedly by the Grand Trunk Railway Company. It is part of the proposals because the Government undertakes to pay the interest on these guaranteed stocks in the same way as the interest on the debenture stock or bonds.

In no substantial respect at all therefore does the present agreement, if you may call it such in its embryonic state, differ from the alternative proposal as to arbitration contained in the letter written on behalf of the Government to the Grand Trunk Railway Company on July 11, 1918. Nor indeed, for that matter except so far as it is more detailed and more complete does it differ essentially from the original offer of arbitration made to the company as far back as February, 1918. Consequently, the result of negotiations may be summed up in a word: that the offer of arbitration that the Government thought was a fair and honourable offer has been accepted by the company, and subject to the assent of the shareholders on the one hand and Parliament on the other, that course will be implemented in law.

I have only one word to add. Hon. members will have noted that though the negotiations are of long standing—though, indeed the very proposals now accepted were in substance and in every material respect made known to the House and the country more than a year ago—nevertheless there has been nothing in the way of concrete result, nothing in the way of consensus ad idem, as we call it, until this very day. The time since Sir Alfred Smithers has arrived, has been partly taken up in reaching a substantial agreement and partly in an examination of details, many of which were important and all of which—for they evolved from time to time often unexpectedly—required the utmost care. Until an agreement was arrived at on each of these details of principle it would have been unfair to intimate that a final adjustment and arrangement was even possible. Consequently it was not competent for the Government to say that it was in a position to announce legislation this session until this very day. Had this legislation not finally been found necessary it was hoped that we might have reached an early termination of the session. Now that it has, the desire of the Government is that the fullest, the lengthiest, if necessary, consideration be given in this very important matter by Parliament. Intimations—or, rather, unauthorized statements—have gone out, (whether called for or not) that there was an inclination to hurry the matter through, or, as was expressed in one place, to "railroad" it through. Nothing is further from the intention of the Administration. This is one of the most important transactions that this country has ever had to consider, and now that it is before Parliament it is hoped that the most careful and most attentive consideration will be given to it and that every detail will be examined and discussed. All papers that we have or that we can secure will be laid before Parliament, and our only appeal is that there be no haste but that the deliberation be careful, thorough and exacting.

It was announced this afternoon that I would submit the contemplated Bill for publication in Hansard. I now do so:

BILL.

An Act respecting the acquisition by His Majesty of the Grand Trunk Railway system.

Whereas the present capital stock of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, consists of the following:

Four per cent (4%) guaranteed stock	£12,500,000
First preference five per cent (5%) stock	3,420,000
Second preference five per cent (5%) stock	2,530,000
Third preference four per cent (4%) stock	7,168,055
Common stock	23,955,437
	£49,573,492

And Whereas the present outstanding debenture stocks of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada consisting of—

Five per cent (5%) Grand Trunk debenture stock	£ 4,270,375
Five per cent (5%) Great Western debenture stock	2,723,080
Four per cent (4%) Grand Trunk debenture stock	24,624,455
Four per cent (4%) Northern debenture stock	308,215
	£31,926,125

(hereinafter called the "present debenture stocks"), are entitled to certain voting powers at meetings of shareholders of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada;

And Whereas it is expedient that His Majesty should acquire the whole of the capital stock of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada except the four per cent (4%) guaranteed stock above referred to;

Therefore, His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as "The Grand Trunk Railway Acquisition Act, 1919."

2. Subject to the provisions of this Act, His Majesty the King, represented by the Minister of Railways and Canals of Canada, acting under the authority of the Governor in Council (hereinafter called the "Government") may enter into an agreement (hereinafter called the "said agreement") with the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada (hereinafter called the "Grand Trunk") and with such other companies and interests as the Government may think necessary for the acquisition by the Government of the entire capital stock of the Grand Trunk, except the four per cent (4%)

guaranteed stock of the Grand Trunk, amounting to £12,500,000 the latter being hereinafter called the "present guaranteed stock."

3. The said agreement shall contain provisions for the defining of the companies, properties and interests, comprised in the Grand Trunk system, and, including the terms and provisions hereinafter set forth, may contain such other terms and conditions as the parties may agree upon.

4. As part of the consideration for such acquisition, the Government may agree to guarantee the payment of:

(a) Dividends payable half-yearly, at four per cent per annum, upon the present guaranteed stock;

(b) The interest upon the present debenture stocks as and when payable, in accordance with the terms thereof.

These guarantees to take effect upon the date of the appointment of the Committee of Management hereinafter mentioned.

(c) Dividends payable half-yearly at four per cent per annum, from the date of the appointment of the Managing Committee hereinafter provided for, upon an issue which is hereby authorized, by the Grand Trunk under the terms of the said agreement of non-voting capital stock (hereinafter called the "new guaranteed stock") not exceeding the amount determined by the Board of Arbitrators, as hereinafter set forth.

Provided that concurrently with such guarantee of dividends and interest upon the present guaranteed stock and the present debenture stocks, respectively, the voting powers at meetings of shareholders of the Grand Trunk now vested in or exerciseable by the holders of the said stocks respectively shall cease and determine absolutely.

5. The present guaranteed stock and the new guaranteed stock or any part thereof may be called in or redeemed by the Government, at any time after thirty years from the date of the appointment of the said Committee of Management, on six months' notice, by advertisement, to the holders thereof.

6. The value, if any, of the first, second and third preference stocks and the common or ordinary stock of the Grand Trunk now issued and outstanding to the face values above mentioned (hereinafter together called the "preference and common stock") shall be determined by a board of three arbitrators, one to be appointed by the Government, one by the Grand Trunk, and the third by the two so appointed, or, failing agreement, by judges to be designated in the said agreement. New guaranteed stock, to an amount not exceeding the value, if any, so determined, carrying a dividend as hereinbefore authorized, shall be distributed among the holders of the preference and common stock, upon the transfer to or vesting in the Government of such stock, in proportions which shall be determined by the arbitrators.

7. As soon as said agreement has been ratified by a majority of the holders of the stocks enumerated in the preamble to this Act present in person or by proxy and voting at a special general meeting of such stockholders duly called for the purpose of considering such agreement;

(a) A Committee of Management shall be formed consisting of five persons, two to be appointed by the Grand Trunk, two by the Government, and the fifth by the four so appointed, to insure the operation of the Grand Trunk System (in so far as it is possible so to do) in harmony with the Canadian National Railways, the two systems being treated in the public interest as nearly as possible as one system. The committee shall continue to act until the preference and common stocks are transferred to or vested in the Government, when it shall be discharged.

(b) The books, minutes, reports, documents, and other records, and all the railways and properties of the companies comprised in the Grand Trunk system shall at all times be accessible and open to inspection and examination by any person or persons named by the Minister of Railways and Canals of Canada, or by the Board of Arbitrators; and all proper aid and assistance shall, on request, be rendered to such person or persons by the Committee of Management, and by the officers and employees of the Grand Trunk and its allied companies, including the making and giving of extract copies and statements.

8. The Government may lend to the said Committee of Management, upon the notes or other obligations of the Grand Trunk, such sums as the Government may from time to time deem necessary for the carrying on of the operation of improvement of the Grand Trunk System.

9. The said agreement shall provide, among other necessary and usual provisions for:—

(a) The appointment of the arbitrators, the control of the arbitration proceedings, the administration of oaths, the procuring and admission of evidence, and the making of the award;

(b) The transfer to or vesting in the Government or its nominees of the preference and common stocks upon the issue of new guaranteed stock in exchange therefor;

(c) The resignation or vacating the offices of the Board of Directors of the Grand Trunk and each Company comprised in the Grand Trunk System upon the preference and common stocks being transferred to or vested in the Government;

(d) The entrusting to the said Committee of Management by the Minister of Railways and Canals as Receiver of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway System, on terms to be approved by the Governor in Council, of the exercise of such of his powers as receiver as the Governor in Council may deem requisite in order that the operation and management of the said Grand Trunk Pacific Railway System may be conducted in harmony with the operation of other railways and properties under the control of the said Committee;

(e) The continuation and administration of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada Superannuation and Provident Fund Association, the Grand Trunk Pension Fund, and the Grand Trunk Railway Insurance and Provident Society, in accordance with the terms to be set forth in said agreement.

10. The Government and the Grand Trunk, and each company comprised in the Grand Trunk System, and all persons interested therein, are hereby respectively authorized and empowered to enter into the said agreement upon and subject to the terms herein set forth, and to do and perform all such acts and things as may be deemed necessary to observe, perform and comply fully with the terms and conditions of said agreement.

11. Any orders of the Governor in Council which the Government may deem requisite to vest in the Government any of the preference or common stocks not transferred to the Government or its nominees under the terms of this Act, or requisite to vacate any office of director, or otherwise to carry into effect the terms and

provisions of the said agreement may be made and passed with the effect specified in any such Order in Council.

12. Upon the transfer to or vesting in the Government of the preference and common stock as herein provided for, the Government may, by Order in Council, provide for the discharge of the receivership of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway System and the termination and withdrawal of the proceedings in the Exchequer Court of Canada relating thereto.

CIVIL SERVICE ACT, 1918—AMENDMENT.

The House again in committee on Bill No. 18, to amend The Civil Service Act, 1918—Hon. A. K. Maclean—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 11—acts and powers with respect to appointment of certain employees and inconsistent provisions of any Act repealed.

The CHAIRMAN: There is no change in this clause.

Mr. McKENZIE: The minister who has charge of the Bill told us this afternoon, in reply to the hon. member for Ottawa (Mr. Fripp) that nothing could be conceived that would be more destructive of the efficiency of the Civil Service than the allowing of temporary employees to become permanent without examination. I am not saying whether that is a sound doctrine to promulgate or not; but I wish to bring to the notice of the minister that he will have to settle some radical account with his neighbour, the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell). Last session we had before Parliament a Bill to create a permanent Purchasing Commission. There is at present a temporary Purchasing Commission; at least I presume it is still in existence; but we were told last June or July by the President of the Council that its term of existence was about to expire and that it was necessary to formulate a new organization. I asked the President of the Council at that time as to the number of temporary civil servants employed in connection with the Purchasing Commission, and my recollection is that he told me that they had between two and three hundred. I asked the President of the Council what was to become of them—were they to become permanent servants at once if the Bill creating the commission went through. His answer to me was that they would become permanent civil servants when the commission became permanent. That is an entire violation of the principle laid down by the minister (Mr. A. K. Maclean) this afternoon. Temporary civil servants who are in the employ of the Purchasing Commission are on no higher plane than temporary civil servants in the Militia Department, or the Public Works, or any other department; and if the principle enunciated by the minister this afternoon is good, that is, that it is and would be destructive and disruptive of the Civil Service simply by a stroke of the pen to convert temporary civil servants into permanent civil servants without their going through the process of examination, what has he to say as to the policy of the Government as no doubt agreed upon in connection with the Bill, which received entire support from the Government and some substantial support from friends of the Government in the House? The principle established there and announced to us was that something was going to be done entirely contrary to the views of the minister in charge of this measure. I hope the minister spoke with authority this afternoon, and that a proper system is to be established in connection with the Civil Service and that the same test by examination will be required of everyone who enters the Civil Service under the provisions of the Civil Service Act. I cannot understand that it will be fair, by reason of some emergency, such as war emergencies, that a large number of men and women should come into the service, and then without any examination at all be legislated into positions of permanency. That would be getting over the terms of the Act in a way which is not at all desirable.

I am not going into the details of the classification. I rather follow the advice of the minister and steer clear of it, because he says it is absolutely hopeless. He tells us that he made a few dashes at it himself and backed away from it in utter hopelessness, leaving it entirely as it is and trusting to Providence and to time to find an understandable solution of it. Nevertheless, we are paying sixty or seventy thousand dollars for this book, and the minister will have to excuse us if we ask him a few questions as to what we are getting for that expenditure. The hon. member for Antigonish and Guysborough (Mr. Sinclair) asked the minister some questions as to the very familiar and old-fashioned subject of an able seaman, and the definition given in the classification is not very satisfactory. I trust, however, that other definitions are better. Perhaps the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. P. McGibbon) has summed up the whole business as well as anybody who has been dealing with this Bill, and I almost agree with that hon. member. He says that this Bill and the commission constitute the crowning act of incompetency and insufficiency of this

Government. I could hardly believe my ears when I heard that from my good friend from Muskoka. While I do not doubt that this is one of the crowning acts of incompetency, I will not go so far as to say that this is the crowning one. I think the hon. member for Muskoka would have to give some time and consideration to the question of which is the crowning act. He would find, I am sure, that he is surrounded with a great cloud of witnesses, a great cloud of actions vying strongly the one with the other as to which is the crowning act of incompetency. While I agree with him that there is not a great deal of competency shown in connection with this Bill, perhaps, after all, it is not the crowning act of incompetency. That is the only particular in which I do not agree with the brilliant young member for Muskoka. I am glad that he has the independence, clear-headedness and good judgment to express his views in connection with this matter, good party man as he is. I am sure that it is only when the evidence was overwhelming and when conditions were such that he could not do anything else that he would give voice to this opinion in respect to a Government that he would very much like to see doing better.

I am not going to criticize the classification very much further. The only thing to say is that we hope that as matters go along, as the commissioners will be experimenting with this measure and getting used to it from time to time, it may come a little closer towards perfection.

I have only one thing to say to the commission, if they will take my advice, and that is that they should take this work in hand themselves and keep absolutely clear of calling in other people to pass judgment upon the class of men they should bring into the service. If they will do that, they will find as they go along that they will gain in experience, strength, confidence, and courage, and will have the reward and satisfaction of the public having confidence in them; but so long as they continue to switch off the difficult part of their work to somebody else, calling in to do their work new boards and raw recruits, they will not inspire the people with the confidence which otherwise should repose in the Civil Service Commission.

Section agreed to.

On section 12—commencement of Act:

Mr. MANION: The few remarks I have to make do not bear particularly on this clause, but then I do not think any of the remarks made here this afternoon bore particularly on the clause under discussion. I am in agreement with my hon. friend (Mr. McKenzie), if I drew my conclusions correctly from the latter part of his remarks —and if I did not he will correct me. I understood him to criticise the details of the Bill but to agree with the principle, and if I was correct in drawing that conclusion I entirely agree with the view expressed by my hon. friend. The details I took exception to when the Bill was introduced in the House; I think very many of the details can stand correction. But I believe that the Appeal Board which will act in conjunction with the Civil Service Commission between now and the first of April next will correct many inequalities in the classification. I do not see how anybody can legitimately take the ground that the principle of this Bill is not correct. Nobody can defend the patronage system, the appointing of civil servants entirely on the recommendation of ministers of the Crown and members of a political party. So long as I can remember the whole people of this country have been arguing against patronage, and different Governments have promised to eliminate it. I believe that this is a very good attempt to eliminate patronage. The principle is correct, if the details are incorrect, it is not the fault of the principle but the fault of the executive, and while executives may change or expire, principles live. Therefore I think the principle should be carried out, even if the execution of the details may be imperfect in some cases. We can all hope that ultimately the details will be worked out correctly.

I rose particularly to say something to the Government and the minister in charge of the Bill in regard to a soldier being appointed to the Civil Service Commission. Unfortunately, the Committee appointed to consider the Bill, of which I was a member, did not see their way clear to bring in a recommendation that the Civil Service Commission be enlarged by the inclusion in its membership of a returned soldier. The main reason, I think, why returned soldiers are particularly entitled to representation on that commission is this: We will say the number of returned soldiers is 400,000; it is more than that. Multiply that by five, the usual method of computation to take in families, and we get these 400,000 men representing 2,000,000 people in this country. Thus a distinct class of 400,000 men to which the Civil Service Act has given a preference represents two million people or twenty-five per cent of the population of this

country. On those grounds I think it is a most legitimate request on the part of the Great War Veterans' Associations of the different parts of this Dominion, and particularly of the Dominion War Veterans' Association that they should be represented on the commission. Just as I left the Chamber this evening I had this question brought to my attention, and a number of resolutions passed by the Dominion War Veterans' Association with headquarters at Ottawa were handed to me. One of them is to the effect that two returned soldiers be appointed as Civil Service Commissioners, and that any vacancies on the Civil Service Commission within the next five years be filled by returned soldiers. I am not arguing for two returned soldiers on the commission, but I think it is a legitimate request that one should be appointed, and if I interpreted correctly the remarks of the Prime Minister last year when I brought this matter up in the House, and of the minister who was piloting the Bill through the House on a late occasion, they rather leaned towards granting the request of the Great War Veterans' Association by appointing a returned soldier to the commission. I should be very pleased if I could extract from the minister this evening some sort of assurance that a returned soldier will be appointed to the Commission at the proper time.

Mr. FRIPP: My attention has been called to section 12, which fixes the time at which this Act is to come into operation. I would draw the attention of the committee to the fact that the original Bill dealing with this matter, Bill No. 136, introduced last session, antedated the time at which the Bill was to come into operation to April 1, 1919. In April, 1919, the President of the Privy Council stated in the House that the new classification when put into effect would apply to the current fiscal year, commencing April 1, 1919. This promise was repeated by him in answer to a question 9 p.m. by the hon. member (Mr. Andrews) in May, 1919. It seems to me that in justice to those members of the Service who are to be benefited by the classification, and who have been relying upon the promise made last session, and who have not received a bonus supplementing their salary, this Act should come into operation commencing April 1, 1919.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Even had my hon. friend not raised this point it was my intention at some stage of the discussion in committee to make a statement in reference to the matter. I want to put the facts before the Committee, and to state my own view and just what the position of the Government is at the moment.

It is true that when this Bill was before the House last year it contained a provision that it should become effective as from April 1, 1919. I myself stated that several times in the House. However, when that observation was made by me I did believe that the Bill would be passed and classification become effective by the later part of June or early in July, or, say, within the first three months of the present fiscal year. At that time we had established a bonus for the first three months of this fiscal year, so as to cover approximately the period from April 1, 1919, until the time when the new classification should come into effect. The Government felt that, with the classification in effect, it would be enabled to adjust the bonus on a more proper and scientific basis, because there would be a readjustment of the salaries of all those in the Service. However, the Bill did not pass and classification was not adopted. In view of this fact the Government were obliged to establish a bonus for the Service covering the whole fiscal year from April 1, 1919, to March 31, 1920, and about July 15 an Order in Council was passed creating a bonus for the Service which would be effective until the end of the present fiscal year.

While I had intimate knowledge of the bonus and the steps that were being taken to set it up, yet I had left Ottawa just before the Order in Council was passed making the bonus effective. I understood that having enacted these bonus regulations to which I have referred, it could not be expected by the service that the classification when adopted would become effective as at April last. Now it transpires that under this section which we have changed, it cannot become effective until April next. The effect of the classification will be to give very formidable increases to some members of the Civil Service. In the meanwhile they have got a very substantial bonus, and I am not quite satisfied myself that they are entitled to both—without, at least, some consideration. But on conferring with some of my colleagues I discovered that there might be some doubt about it, and at least one or two of my colleagues feel that the matter should not be definitely disposed of and the definite statement made that the classification should not relate back. Accordingly I wish to say that the matter will have the attention of the Government. In any event

if it turns out that the classification should relate back to April by virtue of any statement of the Government, the service will not suffer because it can not become effective until the first of April next, and in the meantime legislation may be passed to make it effective. I wanted the opportunity of making this statement and to assure the service that it will not be prejudiced by reason of the lack of the clause which my hon. friend indicates.

My hon. friend from Fort William (Mr. Manion) suggests that the Commission be extended. He has been very consistent about this and has never neglected an opportunity of pressing this view upon the Government. When the Act of 1918 was in progress through the House many hon. gentlemen expressed the view that there should be a soldier upon the Civil Service Commission. There was then, rightly or wrongly, an impression among the returned men that the Order in Council giving the soldier preferential treatment was not being justly carried out; or, they at least claimed that it was not. Whatever objections could have been made in 1918 as to the action of the Civil Service Commission in this regard have since passed away. I do not think that the returned man can fairly complain that to-day the clause of the Civil Service Act of 1918 requiring preferential treatment to him is not being carried out. If there was any reasonable, well founded complaint in this regard, the demand for the appointment of a returned soldier upon the Commission might have some merits. There are requests from other classes for representation on the Commission which would involve an increase in the number. I understand the labour unions claim that they should be represented upon it; the Civil Service also made a similar claim as well as the women of the Civil Service. After all, this is a business question and it resolves itself into this: Is it necessary to increase the number of the commission to administer the provisions of the Civil Service Act? Personally, I do not think it is. However, if it should be the judgment or wish of Parliament to increase the number of the commission, I would gracefully bow to its opinion. While I suppose my hon. friend has no amendment drafted at the moment, I would suggest to him that he allow the Bill to proceed and on the third reading, if he has a clause drafted and it meets with the support of the House, no further opposition to it will be made by me. There is, of course, the further objection that a money vote would involve a resolution. I did not think of that.

Mr. COWAN: Was the bonus which was adopted in lieu of the classification paid to all the parties who will be affected by the classification?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: No, not at all.

Mr. COWAN: Then some are going to suffer as a result of that. What are you going to do for these parties?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: The only members of the service who are not in receipt of a bonus are those enjoying an income of over $3,000.

Mr. COWAN: It applies to everybody except that class?

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Yes.

Mr. FRIPP: Those receiving salaries in excess of $1,800 do not get it.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: Those receiving salaries in excess of $1,800 who are unmarried and without dependents.

Mr. MANION: The minister mentioned the possibility of my moving an amendment to this Bill on the third reading. I may not be in the House when the third reading takes place—these things go through very quickly some times—and I would like to find out if it would be in order to move an amendment now. As the minister mentioned, it would be a money vote. I would like to have the view of the Chairman if it would be in order at the present moment to move an amendment recommending that a returned soldier be appointed on this commission. If I am in order I would like to move it now, because I may not be here on the third reading.

The CHAIRMAN: I regret to say that the hon. member would not be in order in moving an amendment which would increase the expense in regard to this Bill. That amendment would have to be preceded by a resolution, it would first have to be adopted by the comittee of the whole House and it could only be proposed by a member of the Government, and if recommended by His Excellency the Governor General.

Mr. MANION: Under these circumstances of course I cannot move any amendment.

Mr. STEELE: As an amendment which calls for an increase of expenditure under this Bill is precluded I thought that possibly an amendment which would reduce

the expenditure under this Bill might be in order. I drafted the amendment which I had proposed moving but as I have to leave the House in a very few minutes, instead of formally moving it at the present time I propose to bring before the House the matter I intend to deal with. It relates to dismissals from the Civil Service. We have given a good deal of thought to the mode of entry into the service. The method of entry as prescribed by this classification, by the Bill and by the practice of the Civil Service Commission, is to me, very satisfactory indeed.

I do not think the system of entry to the Civil Service was ever anything like so satisfactory as it is at present. Never was the guarantee that only those would be admitted who were fitted for the work and who were entitled to be admitted carried out to the same extent as it is now. I wish to say, after a good deal of consideration of the classification and of the work of the experts that Parliament has in its hands, that it has been splendidly done and if adopted, as I have no doubt it will be, and put into operation, it will do a very great deal indeed to raise the standard of the Civil Service. Now, while that is a very important point in connection with the service, there are other important matters. One is the supervision of the employees while they are in the service. I have thought that our present system is very defective: the organization in many of the departments is not such as to secure from the staff the best services possible, and it is very frequently such as no business man would allow in his private business. I have thought that instead of the deputies being held entirely responsible for the working of the staff, it would be an economy if we had another officer whose duty it would be to supervise the working staff. We know that a deputy minister may be an excellent officer so far as carrying on the work and so far as initiating and assisting in carrying out policies is concerned, but he may be totally lacking in executive ability and in those qualities which a man who is placed over a staff of five or six hundred employees requires in order to get the best work out of them. If we had another officer whose duty it was to get the maximum amount of work from the staffs under his control, I believe it would result in greater economy in our Civil Service. But while that may or may not be the case, we must not forget that while we are guarding the door which provides entry to the Civil Service, we must not close the door which provides for exit from it. It is unreasonable to expect that every civil servant who is, or who has been, appointed is going to prove himself absolutely efficient; and when a man proves that he is incapable or inefficient it is only just to the country that means should be provided for relieving him from any further duties, and that those means should be put into operation. Section 28 of the Civil Service Act of 1918 reads as follows:

> Subject to the provisions of section three of this Act, nothing herein contained shall impair the power of the Governor in Council to remove or dismiss any deputy head, officer, clerk or employee, but no such deputy head, officer, clerk, or employee, whose appointment is of a permanent nature, shall be removed from office except by authority of the Governor in Council.

Now, that provides for the form of dismissal of civil servants in a sort of negative way. What we require, I think, is a positive method of having our civil servants dismissed; and while I would not urge that the matter be taken out of the hands of the Governor in Council entirely, I do think that the officer who is directly responsible for the work of the civil servants, and who knows what work is being done in his department, should have power to dismiss an incapable or inefficient servant if he sees fit. In the report of the Special Committee which was appointed last session to inquire into the working of the Civil Service, there was this clause, and it was framed after a good deal of investigation and consideration:

> That the method of dismissal provided by section 28 of the Act is too formal and difficult of accomplishment to meet with the results which no doubt were contemplated when the section was adopted, and in consequence the efficiency of the service is impaired.

We found, on investigation, that dismissals were practically never made; that even when recommendations in some cases had been made for the dismissal of civil servants, they were not acted upon. I am not surprised at that. I do not know why the Governor in Council should be spending their time in deciding whether John Jones, who has been lazy, incapable, inefficient and neglectful of his duty should be allowed to remain in the service of Canada or not. Then the Civil Service Federation—and I wish to show from this that the Civil Service themselves are asking that a better method of dismissal be adopted—at their annual convention last March passed the following resolution:

> That we call upon the Civil Service Commission, or any other body competent in the premises, to institute at once a thorough inquiry into the Civil Service with a view to im-

mediate action to do away with any reason for complaint of abuse by: 1st. Superannuation on a fair basis of those no longer able to perform official duties. 2nd. Transferring to suitable positions those who should be transferred in the interests of efficiency; and 3rd. Discharging forthwith from the service those who will not or cannot give service equivalent to the salaries they demand.

The Civil Service themselves recommend that this should be done. Many of them realize that one of the burdens pressing upon them is carrying the load of the inefficient and incapable servant. He is not doing his work, but is drawing his pay, and is thus an obstacle to other servants being paid what, perhaps, they should receive. In addition to that—I am very briefly referring to these matters—in the report of transmission which accompanies the classification of the Civil Service made by the experts who have had this matter in charge, reference is made on the question and at page 52 these statements are made:

The process of removal may be considered as the reverse of the process of appointment, and the same principles apply. To reiterate the statement so often made in this report, the problem is to man the organization with employees who have the ability to do the work of the positions they are to occupy and who will actually apply such ability in an efficient manner. The removal of an employee is therefore called for when it develops that he lacks (1) the ability to fill his place, or (2) the will to render the standard of service demanded.

Removal on the grounds of unfitness during the probation period is usually nothing more or less than a rectification of a mistake made at the time of the selection of the employee. Such removals should be easy.

A removal made after the probationary period has been successfully completed will ordinarily be based on grounds of inefficiency rather than unfitness—on lack of effort rather than lack of skill. A removal under these circumstances is one of the forms of punishment to avoid which an employee is impelled to apply himself to his duties.

It is commonly looked upon as the only really effective weapon at the disposal of the managing officer for the enforcement of disciplinary regulations—that is, the regulations that prescribe the time and place at which, and the manner in which, the employee is to perform his duty. To propose to limit in any way the department head in the exercise of the discharging power may appear to be a radical suggestion. Any sound employment policy under centralized control is, however, based on the theory that the skill and effort of employees are the assets with which the service does business and belong to the service. With this idea in mind it does not appear unreasonable that the service, through its employment authorities, should demand some evidence that these assets are not being needlessly squandered through the indiscriminate discharge of employees whose selection and training have cost the public much.

And they conclude this paragraph by saying:

While it is to be considered a breach of duty for the department head to discharge an employee for any reason except unfitness, inefficiency, or insubordination, it should be looked upon as just as grave a breach for him to fail to remove an employee who is manifestly unfit and inefficient.

Now, I cannot understand that any business man would dispute that argument. I cannot understand any business man who would be willing to engage his employees with his hands so tied that he would not be permitted to dismiss one of them when he saw that that employee was not giving satisfactory service. And yet that is practically the condition in our Civil Service. As I said, I do not intend moving a formal amendment, but I would urge on the minister having this matter in charge to see if some scheme cannot be evolved and incorporated in the Bill which will make dismissals from the service easier. There are inefficients in the service. Why not let us get rid of these inefficients and relieve the service of the inefficiency which is produced by them? I do hope that something will be done along these lines, so that at this time when we are doing so much in order to raise the standard of the Civil Service we will not omit this most necessary procedure.

Mr. MOWAT: The matter raised by the hon. and gallant member for Fort William (Mr. Manion) is left in a somewhat unsatisfactory state. My hon. friend made a very good attempt to get before the House the object of his desire, but he is met with a very formidable obstruction in the British North America Act, which prevents a private member moving any motion involving expenditure. But it seems to me that, in view of the statement of the minister, that while he does not himself approve of the matter, yet he would not object to having the sense of the House taken on it, he might bring in a resolution pro forma, so to speak, in order to allow that matter to be decided upon the third reading of this Bill. Otherwise hon. members will not be able to give that expression of opinion which the minister said he was willing to take.

Mr. HOCKEN: I want to acknowledge the courtesy of the chairman of the commission in providing me with a somewhat comprehensive statement showing why there is a difference in the salaries of the supervisors at the Printing Bureau. This statement on the face of it is intended to prove that a supervisor of compositors should get $200 a year more than a supervisor of pressmen. I find that the Civil Service Commission, in its wisdom and in its extravagance, ap-

pointed two bodies of experts. One body of experts went through the Bureau to determine whether it was efficiently managed; another body of experts were put in to find out what salaries should be paid. The second body of experts, being theorists entirely, and having none of the quality that the member for South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) spoke of as practical experience, do not even seem to think it necessary to examine the expert report made by three of the best qualified commercial printers in the Dominion of Canada with respect to the efficiency of the Bureau but they apparently find that the supervising compositor has eight departments—one of those departments being a place where they stack type that is not in use. However, this is what the practical experts who examined the Bureau said, and I put their report in a phrase: "This composition department is 57 per cent efficient, and the press department is 98 per cent efficient." The proposition of these theoretical experts is that the man who is running an absolutely inefficient department should get $200 more than the man who is running an efficient department. I submit that no person can have any respect for a classification which is prepared on such a basis.

The report of the three commercial gentlemen, Mr. Slack, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Tarte, is to the effect that $165,000 a year is being wasted in the composition department, and they propose that the cost of that department be reduced $165,000 a year. They report that the press department is operating under ideal conditions. And yet these so-called American experts want to give the supervisor of the inefficient department more money than the supervisor of the ideally conducted department. Upon my word, I do not think anything more than that is necessary to convince any man that Parliament should give more consideration to this classification than it has yet received. I know it is idle for me to protest, that this is all cut and dried and is going through, but at the same time I want to express my opinion. This classification will increase the salary of the inefficient man over that of the most efficient man.

Mr. COWAN: Is that inefficiency due to the man or is it due to the inefficiency that politics forced on the man? That is the point with me. If it is the fault of politics you cannot blame him.

Mr. HOCKEN: I do not know whether it is the fault of politics or of the man. But I submit that a department running at

$165,000 a year more than it should be run for ought to have its staff reduced by 165 people, which will then bring it down to a staff very little larger than that engaged in the press department, which is being run under ideal conditions. As I say, I know it is perfectly futile for me or anybody else to oppose this Bill.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Go ahead.

Mr. HOCKEN: The only reason I have been able to discover why the supervising compositor gets more than the supervisor of pressmen is because he is a personal friend of the secretary of the commission, and the secretary runs the commission with an iron hand. Whatever he says goes. If his friends want increases they get them. When they want to get in the Service they get in. It has been said in the corridors of this House and elsewhere that there is a back door to Mr. Foran's office, and if you go there and give him the high sign you can go through. He handles the commission and does what he likes. I am not attempting to go into details, but they can be given, especially by the member who declared, not on the floor of the House but in this building, that he had knowledge of the back door methods adopted to get employment in the Civil Service. The whole thing is a fraud on the people. The people have been kicking about the way appointments have been made. Appointments made on the recommendation of members of this House are a great deal better than are those that are being made now. What the people did complain about was the handing out of contracts and the purchasing of supplies on a patronage basis, and that is something that really might be corrected. But this whole proposition is a fraudulent deception of the people, and they will discover it some day when the Service is staffed with high school boys and girls and completely run down. It is running down every day of the week. If you speak to men who have been in the Service for fifteen or twenty years, they will tell you that the Service is not as good now as before the commission took it over. The class of employees now being engaged may be able to pass examinations, but they cannot do the work, they have not got the necessary stability, and a good many of them have not got character. In a word, the commission is filling up the service with a lot of inefficient juveniles. And that is what they call Civil Service reform! If that is the kind of thing that is being done, then I think the people will be sadly dis-

appointed in the results of the work of this subterfuge masquerading under the name of Civil Service reform.

Mr. A. K. MACLEAN: I cannot escape the impression that my hon. friend's views respecting classification are largely formed by reason of the fact that he seems to be very much prejudiced against the secretary of the commission.

I offered to bring the secretary of the commission and my hon. friend together; if I could have arranged that I have no doubt that I would have satisfied my hon. friend. The secretary of the commission is a very capable public officer, interested only in performing his public duties. My hon. friend makes this mistake in judging of the classification: He thinks it is the personnel of the service which is being classified and the compensation of which has been fixed. But it is not the individual who has been classified; it is the position. Now, the experts go to the Printing Bureau and they find that salaries there are arranged on a wrong basis—and I have no doubt that they were able to find that. At any rate, they come across a position there filled by a man known as "Supervisor of Composition." It does not matter whether that man was efficient or inefficient; he had certain duties to perform. He had under him 378 men and the weekly payroll was $9,119.80. Another person was filling a position known as "Supervisor of Press Work;" he had under him 116 men, and the weekly payroll was $2,330. The Civil Service Commission very reasonably assumed that the responsibilities and duties of the man having under him 378 men were greater than the responsibilities and duties of the man who had under him only 116 men; and there was the further consideration of the difference between a weekly payroll of $9,000 and a weekly payroll of $2,300. Surely these are factors in determining the compensation to be paid to a man having supervisory duties.

My hon. friend refers to the report of the committee of printers. I, too, might take a strong attitude and say that the judgment of these gentlemen would not influence me in respect to the classification, as indeed it would not, I care not who the men are. If the duties pertaining to the position of Supervisor of Composition are inefficiently and extravagantly carried out, that should be corrected. If he has fifty per cent more men under him than he should have, that fifty per cent should be removed; and when that is done and the duties and responsibilities pertaining to that office changed, the Civil Service Commission can establish new compensation rates. The Civil Service Commission always have in mind the duties and responsibilities attaching to a given office and the ability and talent necessary to the proper discharge of those duties. It may not be a perfect system of fixing compensation, but it cannot be any worse than the system which prevails to-day; it must be better. The classification raises the compensation of those in the Civil Service who are receiving a fairly low rate of pay; it does not change very much the salary range among those who are getting from $2,000 up to $3,500, because in many instances men were given increases annually, not by virtue of the duties they were performing but simply in order to give them increases. That is the difficulty in the Civil Service at the present time, men are not paid according to the responsibilities and duties attaching to their work. This is at least an honest effort to put the system on a proper basis. If it is not perfect now, I hope that it will approximate that condition at some time in the near future.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 9.42 p.m., until Tuesday, October 14.

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Abbreviations.—1r., 2r., 3r. = first, second, or third reading. Amdt. = Amendment. Com. = Committee. Con. = Consideration. Div. = Division. M. = Motion. Ques. = Question. Ref. = Reference. Rep. = Report. Res. = Resolution. Sec. = Section.

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