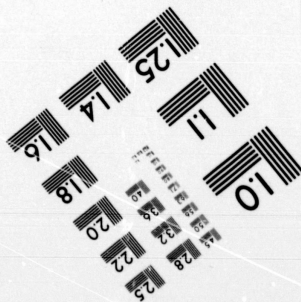
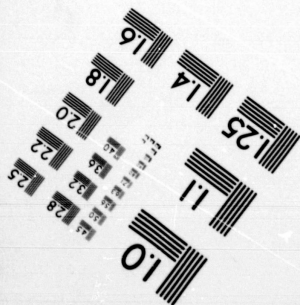
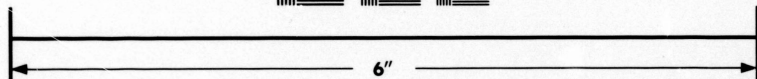
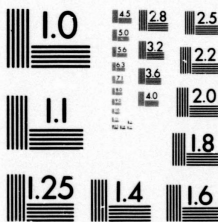


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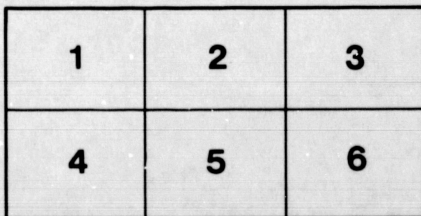
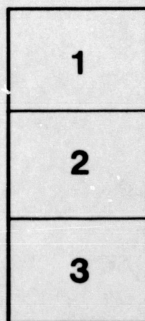
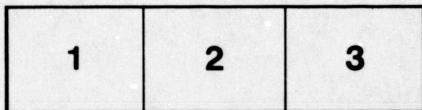
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SPEECH

OF

MR. JOHN CHARLTON, M.P.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

MAY 2nd, 1894

Lord's Day Observance

THE SABBATH FOR MAN

THE TOILER'S RIGHT TO SUNDAY REST

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SPEECH

OF

MR. JOHN CHARLTON, M.P.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

MAY 2nd, 1894

LORD'S DAY OBSERVANCE

THE SABBATH FOR MAN—THE TOILER'S RIGHT
TO SUNDAY REST

Mr. CHARLTON moved second reading of Bill (No. 2) to secure the better observance of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday. He said: I feel quite well aware than in approaching the discussion of this question, I am not entering upon a subject likely to be of very great interest to the House. I regret that this should be the case, but I think I may assume that it is. I have, however, to ask that my fellow-members will consider this question without any party bias whatever, because it is in no sense a party question. It has nothing whatever to do with party politics, and should be considered entirely uninfluenced by such considerations at all. I hope, also, that the consideration of the question will be approached by hon. members without their being influenced by personal considerations—by what the mover of the Bill may have said in the House upon various public questions, which possibly may have created some little feeling against himself in the contests that have taken place here. I should deprecate any such feeling existing towards me of a character calculated to prejudice any chance this Bill otherwise might have. I remember, some years ago, when I was promoting a Bill in this House, I approached the gentleman who was then the first Canadian of his day, and the leader of this House, and I asked him to be so kind as to allow no consideration connected with my having been in opposition to him to influence his opinions or decision with regard to

that Bill, and that hon. gentleman said to me that he would be sorry to have me or any other gentleman entertain so poor an opinion of his disinterestedness and his character, as a man, to suppose that he would allow the fact that the mover or promoter of a Bill had been opposed to him politically, to have any influence whatever with him. I may say that the Bill succeeded. The hon. gentleman who led the Government never interposed an objection, prompted by the consideration that I was a political opponent, and through his kindness the Bill received in this House consideration on its merits. I ask the same treatment from my hon. friend opposite. I present this Bill upon its merits. I ask that it may be considered on its merits, and that my own position in the House or in the public may not, in any sense or degree, prejudice its chances of success.

Many attacks have been made, I am sorry to say, in connection with the Bill, upon the character of its promoter as a crank, a fanatic, a saintly man, a Puritan, a self-righteous man, and so on. I am sorry to say that we all deserve to confess our sins, and look to a higher source for forgiveness. Our highest aspirations often savour somewhat of earthly things:

We hope, we resolve, we aspire, we pray,
And we think we mount the air on wings,
Beyond the recall of sensual things,
While our feet still cling to the heavy clay.

I wish to claim, in connection with this matter, no merit further than that of seeking to serve my fellow-countrymen and of being governed by what I believe to be good intentions. I do not present the Bill because I think it reflects the opinions of one section more than another, but because its provisions will benefit the whole country. I believe it to be a public measure, conceived in the highest interests of the people. I believe that, if passed, it will reflect credit on the House and be a blessing to the people. This is not a popularity yielding measure certainly; but it will be a beneficent measure, in my humble opinion, if it passes.

This Bill, Mr. Speaker, is based, of course, upon religious considerations. The sabbath was set apart in the first place to commemorate the creation of the world; it was set apart by the Creator and hallowed by him. The only institutions that were transmitted to posterity from the possessions of man's first estate of innocence were the sabbath and marriage, and when the time came to inaugurate a greater event than the creation of the world, when the time came to redeem man, the hallowed day was changed from the seventh day of the week to the first and re-established as a memorial of redemption. And thus it stands to-day recognized by nearly all Christian churches—recognized by the Catholic church, recognized by almost every Protestant church—as the day set apart by Divinity to celebrate that great event, the greatest of all events in human history.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I propose to present this Bill not from the religious standpoint except incidentally. I propose to present this Bill and urge its claim upon the members of this House from a civil standpoint. I propose to present it as a civil measure; as a measure designed to secure for the people of this country their civil rights, and their religious rights as well, under the law. The aim of the Bill is not to prescribe religious observances; it will not interfere with the belief or religious observance of the Mahomedan or the Jew, the Pagan or the infidel. It will prescribe to no man what his religious belief or his religious conduct or his religious observances shall be. It is designed to secure to all men certain civil rights; it is designed to secure to the labourer the right of rest on the first day of the week; it is designed to secure the right to the Christian labourer to enjoy religious observances or ordinances upon the first day of the week—and, unfortunately in many cases, unless the law steps in and protects him in that right, it is impossible for him to exercise it. The foundation for action in this Bill is, first, that the Bill is in the interest of human liberty, and second, that it is in harmony with divine law.

Now, while we may not be called upon to legislate with regard to religion and morality, while we may not make a man's religion or a man's standard in morals something that will determine whether he shall

be a member of this House or a member of any other body or not; religion and morality, nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, have very much to do with the interests of the state. George Washington, in his farewell address to the American people, used this remarkable language:

Of all the dispositions and habits that lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who would labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness.

Now, the state, while it is not called upon to dictate what a man's religion shall be or what a man's religious observances shall be, ought not to sanction that which promotes irreligion and vice. No Christian state would be justified in doing that. The state is not justified in sanctioning and promoting obscene plays, the introduction of obscene literature, gambling or vice of any kind. It is the proper function of the state to prohibit all those usages and practices; it is the proper function of the state to refrain from that which promotes irreligion and vice; and no civilized state, whether there be there a connection between church and state or not, would be performing its duty if it permitted any usage which promoted irreligion or which created or increased vice.

All human law rests upon the Decalogue: Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour; thou shalt not commit adultery—these are the foundations of civil law. And the Decalogue, Mr. Speaker, is not of partial obligation—it is a symmetrical whole; and the state cannot observe part of the Decalogue and disregard part of the Decalogue. If it gives heed to the sixth or the seventh or the eighth commandment, it must give heed also to the fourth, which is part of the symmetrical whole. Now, although there is no union of church and state in this country, there is, nevertheless, some intimate connection between the civil institutions of the country and religious obligations. No state can be entirely divorced in its laws and usages and constitutions from this obligation. St. Paul said with regard to the empire of Rome, "There is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God." "By me kings reign and princes decree justice," said Solomon, in referring to Jehovah. Men cannot sever the connection that exists between religious obligation and civil institutions, whether there is a union of church and state or not. Christianity has stamped its distinctive features upon the civilization of this century, upon its political institutions, upon its social institutions, upon its religious institutions—the teaching of the great prophet of Nazareth leavens all phases and all functions of society; and the contrast that exists between the civilization of the nineteenth century and the civilization of Rome under Nero and Caligula is entirely due to the operation and influence and the formative

power of Christianity brought to bear upon the society of our age. So, Sir, we are bound, in the consideration of this question, to give the requirements of the higher the divine law due consideration. We are bound to permit these requirements to have their due weight and to determine what bearing they have upon our civilization and to what extent we are meeting these requirements. As I have said, the state cannot dictate the creed, the mode of worship or the religious observances of the people. But just as truly the state should not promote infidelity, the state should not dishonour God's law. It is just as absolutely debarred if governed by correct principles from doing the one thing as it is from doing the other, if it properly discharges its duty. The state should protect the rights of conscience. The state should protect every citizen within its bounds in the exercise of religious liberty; and I hold that the state may properly provide such laws as public necessity and the public good require.

I lay this foundation, because every principle in this Bill is involved in it. I proceed next to the consideration of the question, Have we any precedents for the legislation that is proposed in this Bill? Is this some new scheme hitherto untried? Is it a new theory that is propounded here for the first time? Is there any precedent for the action proposed in this Bill? I answer, Yes, not only one precedent, but multitudes of precedents. A law of this kind was first put upon the Statute-book in England in the reign of Edgar, in the year 958. Between that year and 1854, there were thirty laws placed upon the Statute-book of Great Britain with regard to sabbath observance, more or less stringent in their character, but all conceding the principle that the state could properly legislate with regard to Lord's Day observance. Shortly before Queen Victoria's inauguration, a Royal Commission was appointed to examine into the question of Sunday observance in England, to traverse the whole field of investigation, and report as to the character of such laws, to report as to the character of Sunday observance, to report as to whether additional legislation was necessary, to report whether legislation of this kind was justifiable. This commission was struck in the year 1832; it was a special commission, consisting of twenty-nine members, among whom were Sir Andrew Agnew, Sir Robert Peel, Sir Robert Inglis, Lord Viscount Morpeth, Lord Viscount Sandon and Sir Thomas Baring. Many celebrated men were members of this commission. The evidence taken before this commission fills some 200 pages. They proceeded to summon witnesses, medical men, employers of labour, manufacturers, merchants, all classes of business men in England. They made an exhaustive examination of all the questions bearing on this matter, and I shall make two or three ex-

tracts as indicating the character of their report. In their report, paragraph 23, the following language occurs:—

In recommending a general revision and amendment of the laws for the observance of the sabbath it should be observed that Sunday labour is generally looked upon as a degradation, and it appears in evidence that in each trade, in proportion to its disregard for the Lord's Day, is the immorality of those engaged in it.

Now, that statement, if you will pause a moment to consider it, is pregnant with suggestive truths—that labour done on that day is looked upon as a degradation, and that Sunday labour promotes immorality; paragraph 24 declares:

The workmen are aware, and the masters in many trades admit the fact, that were Sunday labour to cease, it would occasion no diminution of the weekly wages.

I shall read one more extract from the report of the commission, and one extract from the evidence given before that commission. At paragraph 29 of the report, I read:

The express commandment of the Almighty affords the plain and undoubted rule for man's obedience in this as in all other things; and the only question therefore, is, in what particular cases should the sanctions and penalties of human laws be added to further and enforce this obedience to the divine commandment; a question which should be approached with much seriousness of mind, when the obligations of legislators to promote, by all suitable means, the glory of God, and the happiness of those committed to their charge, is duly weighed.

These extracts correctly indicate the character of the report made upon this question by this commission in the year 1832; and I would just produce one item of evidence given before the commission by John Richard Farre, M.D.:

The researches in physiology by the analogy of the working of Providence in nature, will establish the truth of revelation, and consequently show that the divine commandment is not to be considered as an arbitrary enactment, but as an appointment necessary to man. This is the position in which I would place it, as contradistinguished from precept and legislation; I would point out the sabbatical rest as necessary to man, and that the great enemies of the sabbath, and consequently the enemies of man, are all laborious exercises of the body or mind and dissipation, which force the circulation on that day in which it should repose; whilst relaxation from the ordinary cares of life, the enjoyment of this repose in the bosom of one's family, with the religious studies and duties which the day enjoins, not one of which, if rightly exercised, tends to abridge life, constitute the beneficial and appropriate service of the day. The student of nature, in becoming the student of Christ, will find in the principles of this doctrine and law, and in the practical application of them, the only and perfect science which proloags the present, and perfects the future life.

So much for the report of this commission, and the character of the evidence given before them, which led to their recommendation that the Sunday observance laws of England should be made more stringent.

If we turn from Great Britain to the various colonies, we will find that scarcely one English colony is without some kind of an enactment with regard to the Lord's Day observance. I believe there are only two of the forty-four American states that have not upon their Statute-books laws of a similar character. Precedents are abundant, and I think, Mr. Speaker, we may fairly come to the conclusion that the laws were warranted by divine authority and by human need. If human need had not required the placing of such laws upon the Statute-book, surely we would not find thirty statutes in Great Britain, we would not have over forty American states with laws of that kind, we would not have every English colony, with perhaps one or two exceptions, with laws of that kind; and the universality of those laws, and the length of time during which they have been in force, and the result of those laws in all these cases, render the conclusion inevitable that the laws were warranted and that they were justified by experience.

If we look at the character and progress of states and nations that have enacted and lived under these laws, one of the most powerful arguments bearing upon their propriety and necessity, is furnished. Take the Anglo-Saxon race itself, a sabbath observing race from the commencement, with 6,000,000 people in 1700, with twenty and a half millions in 1800; the English language the fifth among the languages of Europe in the year 1800, spoken in that year by twenty and a half millions of people, spoken to-day by one hundred and fifteen millions; risen from the rank of the fifth language in Europe in 1800 to the first language in Europe in 1890; spoken by sixty millions more people than the French language; spoken by thirty-six millions more people than the German language. Surely there is some cause for the wonderful progress of this race. Its institutions must have been of a good character, its laws must have been well adapted to secure national growth and prosperity. In my belief nothing marks the contrast between Anglo-Saxon states and continental states more pointedly than the laws of the Anglo-Saxon states with relation to sabbath observance, to obedience to divine law, and to rendering obedience and homage to the will of Him who rules nations, by whose edict nations prosper or nations are brought low.

The Scotch people are prominent above all other people for their observance of the Lord's Day. I do not suppose that there is a race on the face of the earth whose progress has been more remarkable, whose influence is more widely extended, that has made a better figure in science and literature and material

advancement than the Scotch people, who inhabit a little country, with a limited population, but the leaven of whose influence has reached the ends of the earth; it is felt in this Dominion, in the United States, in every British colony, and in proportion to their number their influence is vastly greater than the influence of any other race on the face of this globe. It is not because of the superiority of the race or of any natural advantage, but it is in consequence of the stability of character, firmness and persistency in adhering to their rules in regard to religious matters and sabbath observance, a characteristic which they have displayed during the last two hundred or three hundred years. We may safely follow those precedents and examples because the whole course of experience with respect to them points in one direction and in one direction only, and proves that this experiment has been pre-eminently a success.

I shall proceed in a few moments to the citation of authorities on this question, which I trust will have some weight and influence with almost all members of this House, and especially with those hon. members who come from the province of Quebec. Before doing so, however, I may be permitted to say, or rather it may be necessary to say a few words with respect to the change of the Sabbath from the seventh day of the week to the first day of the week. I judge this is necessary from the fact that last year one of the leading newspapers of this city contained an editorial, in which it combatted the position that the law with respect to sabbath rest had any application now, or if it had any application it referred to Saturday and not to the first day of the week, and an hon. friend, who sits behind me, took the same ground, that we were arguing for the enactment of a law requiring the observance of a day for the observance of which there was no sanction or requirement in the divine law. I do not think it is necessary to enter into an extended disquisition on this point. Suffice it to say that the Catholic Church has accepted the first day of the week as the Lord's Day, and the Protestants have accepted it, with one or two trifling exceptions, and the change of the day is held to rest upon the example of the early Apostolic Church. Recently a manual of worship of the early Christian Church was found in one of the Greek convents of Constantinople. That manual gave the order of worship among the early Christians and dealt with all the religious observances, and it required explicit observance of what is termed the Lord's Day of the Lord as a day of rest and religious observance, when the people should be gathered together for the purpose of breaking bread. If we establish the fact that the early Christian Church adopted that day, and if we refer to the further fact that the institutions of the Christian Church were

fixed, not by chance, but by the direction of the Third Person in the Godhead, the Holy Spirit (the apostles were commanded to tarry at Jerusalem for that spirit till it came, and it was poured out upon them at Pentecost), if we consider that influence directed the apostles in laying the foundation of Christian institutions, we have the fact that the selection of the first day of the week was by virtue of the influence and direction of the Holy Spirit, and that the Catholic Church and all other churches that recognize that day are following the example of the Apostolic Church, and that the Apostolic Church was governed in its decision by the influence of that power that our Saviour promised to send to direct them and instruct them and bring to mind and remembrance all things he had said unto them. Let these remarks suffice for this branch of the question.

With respect to the propriety of the choice of this day from a civil standpoint, of course, for obvious reasons it is necessary to have a uniform day. One body might observe Saturday, another Friday and another the first day of the week, and the result would be great confusion in civil employment. The lawyer at the bar might observe one day and the judge on the bench another; the clerk in the store might observe one day and the customer another; the locomotive engineer might wish to lay off on Saturday and the fireman on Sunday, and this would produce great confusion. So the necessity of enacting one day as the legal day of rest and thus following the example of the Christian Church, is apparent, and that should be the day of the week as laid down by the Christian Church.

I wish, having shown that there are many precedents for a law of this kind—precedents in British legislation, precedents in colonial legislation, precedents in American legislation, and I will show later that there have been precedents in recent days in European legislation—to refer to some of the authorities for the observance of this day, and I take into account the fact that I have many friends in the province of Quebec who are somewhat sceptical as to the propriety of legislating for the observance of this day, not that they do not recognize the day, not that their church does not recognize the day, but they have some doubt as to the propriety of this House of Commons interfering in this matter. I desire to refer to certain Catholic authorities for the purpose not only of strengthening my position, but of influencing the convictions of my fellow members who are Catholics. I take the liberty of reading what the Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. said about this matter of Sunday observance in one of his deliverances to the church of which he is the head. His Holiness said:

The observance of the sacred day which was willed expressly by God from the first origin of man, is imperatively demanded by the absolute

and essential dependence of the creature upon the Creator. And this law, mark it well, my beloved, which at one and the same time so admirably provides for the honour of God, the spiritual needs and dignity of the man, and the temporal well-being of human life. This law, we say, touches not only individuals, but also people and nations, which owe to Divine Providence the enjoyment of every benefit and advantage which is derived from civil society. And it is precisely to this fatal tendency, which to-day prevails to desire to lead mankind far away from God, and to order the affairs of kingdoms and nations as if God did not exist, that to-day is to be attributed this contempt and neglect of the day of the Lord. They say, it is true that they intend in this way to promote industry more actively, and to procure for the people an increase of prosperity and riches. Foolish and lying words! They mean, on the contrary, to take away from the people the comforts, the consolations and the benefits of religion; they wish to weaken in them the sentiment of faith and love for heavenly blessings; and they invoke upon the nations the most tremendous scourges of God, the just avenger of His outraged honour.

These are the words of the head of the Catholic Church. These are weighty words, these are words of wisdom, these are words that every man, whether Catholic or Protestant, in this Dominion may well heed, these are words directly warranting the action proposed on this occasion, to ask by legislative enactment to some extent the honouring of this day for which His Holiness speaks. I have here expressions on the same line from His Eminence Cardinal Taschereau, from His Grace Archbishop Fabre, from His Eminence Cardinal McCloskey, from Cardinal Gibbons, from Archbishop Ireland, from Archbishop Riordan, from Archbishop Goss, from Bishop Keene, of Richmond, Va., from the Bishop of Buffalo. All these Catholic prelates take exactly the same position (some of them in a more pronounced way) that is taken by the head of their church. As to the Protestant clergy, it is unnecessary to quote from them; it is only necessary to say that all are in favour of legislation that will secure a better observance of this day for the public benefit and for the civil government of man. As for jurists, I might quote the language of Lord Mansfield, the language of Sir Matthew Hale, the language of Blackstone, the language of Justice Field, the language of Judge Thurman, and I will quote an extract from Judge Kelly of Minneapolis, which is so pertinent to the case and is so recent that I will place it upon record now. Judge Kelly says:

The Puritan taught and enforced a strict, very strict observance of the sabbath-day. And he made that day the corner-stone of his political fabric. I am not a Puritan, nor a descendant of the Puritan. I am a Southern born and Southern reared. By blood, I am Irish, and by faith, Catholic. All the traditions of my life have been adverse to the Puritan and his teaching. But for all that, I thank God that the Pilgrim Fathers left Leyden

and landed at Plymouth, and that the impress of their presence and labours here have been left in the character of every American state. If, perhaps, they were in their ideas about the sabbath too severe, that very fact has made the impress more lasting.

This is the language of a judge in one of the western states, and an Irish Catholic. Then with regard to statesmen, I might quote the words of Disraeli, the words of Gladstone, the words of Argyle, the words of Bright, the words of Shaftesbury, the words of Washington, the words of Lincoln, of Garfield, of Harrison, of our own statesmen of Ontario. Mowat—I am afraid I could not quote the words of some gentlemen who are interrupting me on the other side of the House. As to labour organizations, I might quote the words of Henry George, of T. V. Powderly, of P. M. Arthur, of the American Federation of Labour. There is not a labour organization, I believe, upon this continent that has not placed upon record its desire for Sunday rest through resolutions passed by the order, and through the language of its recognized head. As to religious organizations I will quote from one only; I will quote the following from the circular of the Third Catholic Plenary Council, assembled at Baltimore:

And the consequences of this desecration are as manifest as the desecration itself. The Lord's Day is the poor man's day of rest; it has been taken from him,—and the labouring classes are a seething volcano of social discontent. The Lord's Day is the home day, drawing closer the sweet domestic ties, by giving the toiler a day with wife and children; but it has been turned into a day of labour,—and home ties are fast losing their sweetness and their hold. The Lord's Day is the church day, strengthening and consecrating the bond of brotherhood among all men, by their kneeling together around the altars of the one Father in heaven; but men are drawn away from this blessed communion of saints,—and as a natural consequence they are lured into the counterfeit communion of socialism, and other wild and destructive systems. The Lord's Day is God's day, rendering ever nearer and more intimate the union between the creature and his Creator, and thus ennobling human life in all its relations; and where this bond is weakened, an effort is made to cut man loose from God entirely, and to leave him, according to the expression of St. Paul, "without God in this world." (Eph. ii. 12.) The profanation of the Lord's Day, whatever be its pretext, is a defrauding both of God and his creatures, and retribution is not slow.

The case could not have been put in better form than in this circular of the third Catholic Plenary Council of Baltimore. Now, Mr. Speaker, there has been manifested a growing discontent among the labourers of Europe and the labourers of America because of the exactions of capital, and because of the gradual loss of their privileges as regards the day of rest. These labourers have felt instinctively that the demands of corporations and employers that compel them to labour

seven days out of seven, was trampling upon their just rights. Whether they had religious scruples or not, whether they believed in God or not, whether they believed that the Lord's Day was of divine origin or not; these men have instinctively felt that as a civil right they were entitled to one day's rest out of the seven; and this agitation has begun to produce fruit. There was formed in Geneva in 1861, the Sabbath Observance Federation. The operations of this federation at first attracted little attention and produced little results, but at the time of the holding of the World's Fair at Paris in 1889, attention seems to have been called to this question by the example of the United States and of Great Britain with regard to their exhibits. These exhibits at the Paris exhibition, as well as the exhibits of all the British colonies, were closed on Sunday, and this was an object lesson which seems to have produced a powerful effect on public sentiment in Paris, to the extent, at least, of drawing attention to this question. In connection with this fair, an International Congress of Weekly Rest was held at Paris under the authorization of the French Government from 24th September to 27th September, 1889. This national congress made recommendations with regard to Sunday rest by passing resolutions advising legislation with reference to this matter, and recommending the securing of Sunday rest to the labourer, by legislative enactment. This international congress was followed by the International Labour Congress which was convened by Emperor William II., of Germany, at Berlin, in March, 1890, less than a year after the congress at Paris. The International Labour Congress which sat from 15th March to 30th March, also passed resolutions in favour of Sunday rest. Here then we have the resolutions of the International Congress of Weekly Rest at Paris in 1889, the resolution of the International Labour Congress, convened by the Emperor of Germany, at Berlin, 1890; and following these recommendations came fruits.

Germany passed a law in 1891, and again in July, 1892, and in that law, the prosecuting of certain employments was prohibited on the Lord's Day, and clerks in all callings were only employed five hours on the Lord's Day, while work in mines, manufactories, workshops, tile shops, dockyards, and building yards was prohibited. Austria passed laws of a similar character in 1884 and in 1885. Hungary passed a law of a similar character in 1891, and the association of newspaper editors and printers has maintained a severe struggle to bring to an end the printing of newspapers on Sunday, with good prospect of success. Belgium passed a law in 1885, and the law was further amended in 1889. By this law letter delivery was curtailed more than one-half; fifteen hundred freight trains were discontinued on Sunday, the freight depots were closed, postmen are free every Sunday, and the service

performed by special persons, and various other provisions were made for securing Sunday rest for employees, and so the principle of recognizing man's right to Sunday rest was recognized in Belgium. Denmark passed a law in 1891 which released 100,000 Sunday slaves from their labour on that day. Spain, the last country we would almost dream of in connection with Sunday rest-reform passed a law in February, 1892, and under the provisions of that law, Sunday rest was made obligatory in every government establishment in Spain, and Sunday labour in all factories was prohibited for persons under eighteen years of age. France passed a law on the 16th of February, 1892, and again on the 2nd of November, 1892, and by these laws contractors were prohibited from compelling labour upon Sunday, women and children were secured their Sunday's rest, and this provision of the law, curiously enough,—I wish to call the attention of my hon. friends to this fact—guaranteed women and children one day's rest a week—not the sabbath nor the Lord's Day, but simply one day's rest a week. The legislators did not dare to use the expression Sunday rest, as they were afraid to seem to make concessions to the Catholic party, who were demanding this legislation, but they gave a law guaranteeing one day's rest a week; and this indicates pretty clearly what the Catholic sentiment of France is with regard to the matter. The fact being that the Catholics have become ardent friends of the labour Sunday rest movement. Through the influence of this movement the government has closed its freight depots on the railways after 10 a.m. Sunday, postal deliverers have been reduced one-half. Sunday fairs in many instances have been deferred till Monday, and in the French army Sunday is kept strictly as a day of rest. Holland passed a law in 1889 dealing with the Sunday rest question. Sunday work for women and children in factories is forbidden. A large proportion of Sunday freight trains have been discontinued. Postmen and telegraph employees are free on Sunday. Railway employees have more or less Sunday rest. Elections have been discontinued on Sunday. The civic guard does not drill that day, and no Sunday papers are issued. Italy is moving in the direction of a Sunday law, under the advice of the Pope, and the influence of the Congress of Workingmen's Societies, and other leagues and organizations. A law is in course of preparation in Russia itself for securing a cessation of labour on the Lord's Day. Norway has a law in the same direction. Sweden has a similar law. In Switzerland almost every canton has a Lord's Day law and prohibition of Sunday newspapers. Now, here are the fruits of this agitation in these continental countries where a few years ago there was scarcely a whisper of legislation with regard to Sunday observance. We have now such laws

in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Holland, Russia, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland; and surely Canada can never claim to be the moral leaders of this continent or a moral leader in any sense, if we lag behind in this matter, and refuse to place a law of the same character upon our Statute-book. This movement for sabbath reform is a movement, I repeat, specially in the interest of labour, and it is an interest in regard to which labour is beginning to awake. The labourers of all countries are realizing that they are being made slaves to the exactions of corporations and capitalists, and that unless the legislatures step in and secure to them the rights they desire to maintain, they will continue to be slaves to Sunday labour.

Last fall there was held at Chicago the most remarkable of all the Sunday rest conventions or congress as yet held in the world—the International Congress on Sunday Rest, which met on the 27th of September, and remained in session three days. This congress was attended by leading statesmen, public men, journalists, jurists—

An hon. MEMBER. And priests.

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes; priest and preachers; and Archbishop Ireland was one of the most active among them. Leading men were there from all sections of the civilized globe, and the expression of opinion with regard to this matter was of the most unmistakable character. The arguments placed before the public through the medium of that International Sunday Rest Congress are unanswerable, and to my mind among the best papers presented to that congress were those of Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland. That international congress has given to this movement in the United States an impetus that will be sure to tell in the near future.

It is conceded on all hands that the rights of labour cannot be secured without the intervention of law; it is conceded that the law must step in, or the labourer is powerless; it has been shown that the advocacy of Sunday labour comes not from the men who perform the labour, but from the men who pocket the dividends, and who profit by trampling on the rights of the individual. It has been shown furthermore that the labourer is not a free agent in this matter. He reaches home Saturday night too tired to continue to work, and too poor to quit; and he is compelled to work. With him it is not a free choice, but a choice between breaking his conscientious scruples and starvation for himself and his family; and unless the law protects him in the right he desires to enjoy, he is powerless and at the mercy of those corporations who wish to coin money out of his life-blood, his sufferings and his loss, and by the deprivation of himself and his family of every religious privilege and every natural right.

Now, Sir, we have in all parts of the world at the present time labour

troubles and unrest; we have to-day 200,000 miners on strike in the United States; we have an army of disaffected men marching on to Washington; we have bomb-throwing in almost every capital of Europe; we have society trembling on the verge of great social upheavals; and we are all standing in dread of the changes that may speedily come. What is the matter? Has all this trouble and unrest come because we have been dealing with the disaffected classes on the basis of Christian privileges and Christian usage? Is it because we have paid heed to the injunctions of the Teacher of Nazareth, and have found that these injunctions have proved insufficient? No, Sir; it is because we have disregarded those injunctions; it is because modern society disregards the principles of Christianity and the commands of its Founder; and the remedy for all these difficulties lies in the application of Christian principles, which will make better masters and better men. Unless these principles are applied, these social upheavals will continue; and the first step to take in applying them is to recognize God's law, that the sabbath-day is to be remembered and kept holy, and the labourer is to be secured in the possession of his right to enjoy that day as a day of rest.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I come to the point where I propose to inquire, do these Sunday laws that are proposed violate any of the true principles of human liberty? It is claimed that they do. It is claimed that it is an unjust interference with a man's natural right to say that he shall not be permitted to labour, that he shall not be permitted to employ labour, that he shall not be permitted to do just as he pleases with regard to such things. If a Sunday observance law is an infringement of any just and true principle of human liberty, then, of course, we cannot pass that law; and the question is, is it? With regard to this matter I wish to refer to just three authorities; though I might refer to hundreds. I wish first to refer to Blackstone, who we all know is a very eminent English jurist, whose opinion on a legal or any other question should command respect. With regard to the Sunday rest he says:

It is of admirable service to a state, considered merely as a civil institution.

Mr. Justice Field, of the United States Supreme Court, one of the foremost jurists of this continent, in giving a decision in California some years ago, when he was chief justice of that state, said:

The legislature had the right to make laws for the preservation of health and the promotion of good morals, and so to require periodical cessation from labour, if of opinion that it would tend to both.

Archbishop Ireland said in my hearing last September, at Chicago, with reference to this matter:

I know well we cannot ask the interference of the civil law for mere religion's sake. This considera-

tion is often urged against enactments of Sunday laws. But Sunday is more than a religious day. Sunday is the safety of society, the safety of the nation. Sunday is the inheritance of those who are disinherited from the wealth of the world. Sunday is the day needed by the masses of our people. On this ground I appeal to our lawmakers to aid us in preserving us it from desecration.

Noble words these, carrying conviction to every man who is open to conviction—words pronounced by one of the highest ecclesiastical authorities on this continent, and one of the foremost and purest men in the world. We have, in these declarations by jurists and ecclesiastics, the foundation laid for the vindication and proof of the assertion that Sunday laws do not violate the principles of human liberty. In conclusion, in urging this branch of the subject, I may say that it is proper for this Legislature, or for any Legislature, to impose any degree of restraint necessary for the general welfare. All laws impose restraints. Laws against theft impose restraint; laws against murder impose restraint; laws against any crime impose restraint. Any restraint it is necessary to impose for the purpose of securing the public weal is a restraint which the law-maker has a right to impose, and if it can be shown that this restraint with regard to Sabbath observance is a salutary one, calculated to benefit society, this Legislature has the right to impose it.

I propose to inquire briefly into the question: In what respect does a Sunday rest law promote the public interest? And in what respect is it necessary in the public interest? I answer that it is necessary in many respects. It is necessary, first, as a sanitary regulation. We have the power to make quarantine regulations. We appoint health officers who impose restraints, who interfere with individual liberties, and they have the right to do so in the public interest. We have the right, as a sanitary regulation, to abate a nuisance of any kind, detrimental and prejudicial to health. We have the right to regulate the hours of labour. We can pass a 10 or an 8 or a 12-hour law; we can regulate the hours of labour upon the grounds of a sanitary regulation. We can inspect food; we can prohibit the use of certain articles of food. We can exercise the most arbitrary powers in connection with food inspection, as a sanitary regulation. We can order the destruction of infected clothing and diseased cattle. We can do anything that the public good and safety require. And I say that the Sabbath observance law, as a sanitary regulation, is in the public interest. With regard to its bearing on the question, as a sanitary regulation, let us see what the outcome of the deliberations of the Royal Commission, appointed in 1832, was:

This commission took the testimony of medical men as to the utility of Sunday rest in repairing the waste of physical energy. The impression produced by this testimony was profound. All

concurrent in the opinion, fortified by experiment and experience, that the respite from toil one day in every seven was essential to man and beast as a condition of the highest development. Other inquiries as to economics and the interests of manufacturers, operatives and of the people in general, led to the same conclusions. And for sixty years the laws unchanged, have continued to bless a great people.

So I come to the conclusion that this law, as a sanitary regulation, is justified upon the ground of public necessity.

In the next place, I come to the conclusion that this Sunday observance law does not violate the principles of human liberty, but, on the contrary, is necessary in the public interest, because it has a tendency to promote good morals and social purity. Now, what rests upon the morals of the individual? If there be no private virtue, how can you expect public virtue? If there be no public virtue how can you expect stability in our institutions? Is the state not interested in securing a condition of things that will promote private virtue? Will the state permit the unrestrained introduction of obscene literature? Will it permit the placing before the public of obscene plays? Do we establish reformatories and houses of correction? What is our justification for our expenditure on these? It is our wish to promote public virtue. We wish to reclaim those who have fallen; we wish to promote the interests of the state, because there can be no public virtue without private virtue, no stability of human institutions without private virtue, and consequently a law which above all others will promote good morals and social purity is a law which should pass. Permit me in this connection to make two quotations from papers contained in the compilation of proceedings of the International Sunday Rest Congress at Chicago. "The Sunday Problem; its Present Day Aspects." Prevention is always better than cure. A policy that will promote social virtue and purity is a policy of prevention, the prevention of evils that result from vicious courses. And in connection with this matter, one of the most eminent doctors of law, Dr. Butler, in his address at Chicago, said:

The practical solution of these questions has been reached by dealing with the Day of Rest as an accepted and essential part of the established order of Christian civilization, demanded by the physical, moral, and social needs of men, and requiring the exercise of the power of the state to protect its citizens in its enjoyment, and to compel its observance so far as may be necessary to that end, wholly aside from any attempt to enforce its religious observance.

Cardinal Gibbons, in the same connection, said:

How many social blessings are obtained by the due observance of the Lord's Day? The institution of the Christian sabbath has contributed

more to the peace and good order of nations than could be accomplished by standing armies and the best organized police force. The officers of the law are a terror, indeed, to evil-doers, whom they arrest for overt acts; while the ministers of religion, by the lessons they inculcate, prevent crime by appealing to the conscience, and promote peace in the kingdom of the soul.

A third reason for the enactment of such a law is that it gives higher education, and in that sense supplements the efforts made in our public schools. The public take an interest in educational matters. It is felt to be a part of the duty of the Legislature of a state to see that the children under its care do not grow up in ignorance, and provisions are made for their education. These provisions are, in the main, for secular education. Now, a man may be a very highly educated man, and his education may only increase his powers for evil. The Sunday observance law steps in and offers to supply the deficiency of secular education by giving to the child the opportunity for that higher education which is given in the church and in the Sunday-school, and by the religious instruction, which will not be given if the Lord's Day is not observed, and will not be given thoroughly unless the state throws its influence on the side of right and upon the side of the observance of the Lord's Day. Now, intelligence is a good thing, and the fear of God is just as good a thing, and if the public school gives education in the line of intelligence and the higher education of which I speak is given in the church and Sunday-school the state is doing its full duty, and only its full duty, if it permits this higher education to supplement the education given in the common schools.

In the fourth place an additional reason for enacting such a law as this is the fact that the law is calculated to secure the rights of conscience and religious liberty. Now, we profess in this country to have religious liberty; we profess to regard the rights of conscience. It would be considered an outrageous thing if any law was placed upon the Statute-book which interfered with the free exercise by any citizen of his rights of conscience and religious liberty. There is no member of this House but would raise his voice against such an outrageous enactment. But, Sir, there are scores of thousands of men in this Dominion, there are more than a million of men on this continent who cannot exercise their rights of conscience, whose religious liberty is denied them, who are obliged to work on the Lord's Day, and have no remedy, and can have no remedy until the law steps in and protects them. And the object of this law is to give these men the rights of conscience and religious liberty—not to say to them that they must go to church, not to say to them that their religious observances must be according to this rule or according to that; but to say to them: You may go to church,

and the state will protect you in your right to go to church, the state will see to it that you shall go to church if you want to, and no human power shall prevent it. That is the object of this law—not to force religious observances upon the people, but to permit religious observances; not to interfere with religious liberty and the rights of conscience, but to secure a religious liberty and the rights of conscience; and, without this law, these rights cannot be secured; without this law there must be thousands of men in this Dominion who cannot and will not exercise these rights which we here hold they have a right to exercise, and in the exercise of which the law should protect them. At the Sunday Rest Congress there was a gentleman of the name of Beach who was sent to the congress by the Pennsylvania Railway to read a paper. He went on, Sir, in a very plausible way to state that the roads were quite in favour of diminishing Sunday labour as far as it was possible, but there were seasons of the year when there was great pressure on the roads, and there was such a thing as emergency freight. Here would be a steamer at New York going to sail on Tuesday, and some shipper away back in the western states had some freight he wanted to send by her, and, in order to get it there in time, they would have to send it over the road on Sunday, and, consequently, it was necessary to do a very large amount of Sunday work. When I followed I showed that there was certain emergency work upon a farm: Here was a farmer with grain standing in the field, when it looked as if it might rain on Monday, and he felt the pressure of an emergency to put it in the barn the day before. But it was not held that he had the right to do so, and no Christian society would bear him out in the assertion that he had the right to do so. I was followed by Mr. L. S. Coffin, a member of the Iowa Railway Commissioners Board, who was at Chicago as the representative of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the Order of Railway Conductors and the Order of Railway Telegraphers, numbering in the aggregate 110,000 men. Mr. Coffin differed from Mr. Beach, and showed most conclusively that the statements made by that gentleman with regard to the railway companies would not hold water. He said there was no such thing as emergency freight, no such thing as perishable freight since the introduction of the refrigerator car system; delay only involved the use of a little more ice. He showed that stock in the cars was all the better for the rest on Sunday. If the railway was pressed with work in the fall it was a confession that there was a dearth of motive power, and, instead of violating God's command and compelling their men to work on the Lord's Day, they had only to add one-sixth to their working force and one-sixth to their rolling stock to overcome the difficulty. He said that it was the cupidity of the rail-

way stockholders and of the management that disregarded the rights of labour and failed to provide sufficient working force and rolling stock which deprived labour of its right to Sunday rest.

The next reason, Mr. Speaker, why a Sunday observance law is in the public interest, and a law that we ought to pass, and a law that every civilized state ought to pass, is that it secures good homes. Daniel Webster once truly said that the good home was the bulwark of the state. Now, a good home that graduates an honest, industrious, virtuous, God-fearing son as a voter, lies at the foundation of the state's prosperity and permanence. The bad home that graduates the vicious man who has no regard for God and no regard for morality, and no regard for principle, is doing its utmost to sap the foundation of the state. And, if a Sunday observance law is calculated to secure good homes, and it is generally proved that its practical operation is to promote that end, we need no other reason than that fact as a justification for the passing of such a law. Now, the state ought not to be indifferent to evil influences. I wish to read a short extract, which shows about how this compelling of men to work on the Sabbath is looked upon by the labourer himself. This Mr. Coffin, to whom I have alluded, in speaking of this matter of men being compelled to work in the railway yards and on the train without being secured their Sunday rest, spoke of a man in the city of Keokuk, in the state of Iowa, and he gave the language of that man when he was conversing with him and asking how often he had been in church during the last five years. The man said:

For five years I have lived at Keokuk; for five years I have been every Sunday in the yards, making up trains and getting in cars, and for these five years I have not been inside of a church on Sunday. My wife, thinking that if I had to work it was her duty to stay at home and get me a good dinner, for those five years has not been inside of a church on Sunday. My children do not go to Sunday school. And when I have been in the yard with those cars I have thought it over, and have come to this conclusion: It is the almighty dollar that everybody is after and they don't care a — for us.

Now, that was this man's process of reasoning. The lack of a law securing to that man his Sunday's rest had kept him out of church, had kept his children out of church and Sunday-school, had kept his wife out of church for five years, and in consequence of this failure to protect them, they were existing and the children were growing up in a condition of semi-heathenism. What kind of a Christian nation is it that turns a deaf ear to the cry of scores of thousands of people who ask simply that there shall be a law passed that will secure to them a right which God has given, which the state can give, and the exercise of which the state is bound to secure them if it discharges its duty to its citizens?

In the sixth place, Mr. Speaker, this law is quite consistent with the principles of human liberty and demanded by human necessity and the necessities of society, because it promotes temperance and obedience to the law, because its direct tendency is to diminish crime. Now, we all deplore the evil of intemperance, we discuss the possibility of putting an end to it. We discuss prohibition, we discuss high license, we discuss one remedy and another, but the best remedy, and you and I both know it, Mr. Speaker, is to reach the individual man, to reach his convictions, to reach his conscience; and to do that we must adopt the approved channel and methods, and a Sunday observance law is right in the direction of reaching that man and bringing him under the influences that will produce the desired effect. Now, we provide jails for criminals. Would it not be a great deal better to keep the man out of jail? Certainly it would. We have institutions for the administration of justice, we pay an enormous sum for the administration of justice. Would it not be a great deal better to have less justice to administer? Certainly it would. We punish crime—not from any feeling of revenge, but we punish crime as an example to deter others from committing it. Would it not be well to adopt some more effectual method to keep men from committing crime? We are a terror to evil-doers, and we should be a praise to those that do well, and we should attempt to do well ourselves; but we cannot attempt it in a better way than to obey the commands that a higher power has placed upon us, and to move in the direction of the institutions that He has laid down for our guidance and government. Now, no cause that would check these evils should be disregarded, and why should we overlook that cause which promises to be more effectual than other influences? The enactment of a law which will bring people under religious influences, which will give them Sunday observance and Sunday rest, will, so far as the state is able to produce that result, make these men and women, and boys and girls, better individuals, and better members of society. I hold that this law is of a character calculated to promote temperance, to promote obedience to law, to diminish crime, and no other reason than that is necessary to justify the passage of such a law.

In the last place, this law is justified upon the grounds of public necessity and public welfare, because it is a law that promotes the welfare and prosperity of the state. We meet here and we discuss the tariff—discuss it at great length, greater length than necessary, sometimes; we discuss law, we charter companies, we discuss policies. What do we do all this for? Why, the professed reason is that we wish to promote the public good, to increase the prosperity of the state. That is the excuse of holding these sessions. If we did not do that, or attempt to do it, we would not be discharging our public duty.

Now, if this law will promote the welfare and prosperity of the state, it is a wise, just and beneficent law, a law justified upon the ground of public necessity, a law that needs no other reason to justify its passage. Now, who says this law will not promote prosperity? Who says this law will not make better individuals of the people of the country? Who says it will not promote material prosperity, and place it upon a higher moral plane, and in every way act to strengthen the nation and make it more powerful and prosperous? Nobody can say so. We waste time here on a thousand schemes, and the whole of them combined are not as well calculated to secure the result we are talking about as this single law. Now, Sir, if all these things are so, if these seven reasons, any one of which would warrant the passage of this law, are reasons that can be defended, are reasons that can be proved to be well founded, then, why not be guilty of recognizing God? Why not promote, by legislation, morality, promote thrift, promote cleanliness, promote public health, promote self-respect, promote individual and national prosperity, and promote respect to human right? We can promote all these things by this law, we can promote all these things more effectually by this law than by any other law. We can promote all these things more effectually by this law than by all other laws.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. CHARLTON. Those hon. gentlemen say, "Hear, hear," perhaps in a tone of irony. I tell you, Mr. Speaker, that if any man believes there is a God—and I am not talking to those who do not—if any man believes there is an overruling Providence, if any man believes that it is a divine command to remember the sabbath day and keep it holy, if any man believes in respect for, and obedience to, God's law, and in laying the foundation of our public institutions and public education in that law—if any man believes this, he cannot but believe that this law is the best calculated of all laws to secure the prosperity and welfare of the state. If he does not believe this, all these arguments are thrown away on him, as a matter of course.

Now I come to the provisions of this Bill. It is not a drastic Bill, it is not a puritanical Bill; it is a Bill that fails to meet the expectations of the greater portion of the Christian people of this country. The word "religion" is not in the preamble of this Bill, the word "religion" is not in the body of it. It makes no provision whatever for religious observance; it does not profess to interfere with the right of any citizen of Canada with regard to religious observance. One of the aims of this Bill is to secure religious rights. Another aim, and the chief aim, is to secure civil rights, to check the influences that are at work now, and that threaten our national welfare. For that purpose, this Bill pro-

poses three or four simple things. It proposes, in the first place—and perhaps some of my hon. friends will be shocked at a proposal so puritanical and absurd—it proposes to put an end to the publication of Sunday newspapers in this Dominion. The provision is this :

Whoever shall, on the Lord's Day, either as proprietor, publisher, or manager, engage in the printing, publication or delivery of a newspaper, journal or periodical, and whoever shall, on the Lord's Day, engage in the sale, distribution or circulation of any newspaper, journal or periodical, shall be deemed to be guilty of an indictable offence.

Now, I pointed out a short time ago that Sunday newspapers are not published in Great Britain, they are not published in Switzerland, they are not published in Holland. An effort has been made, and the effort will probably prove successful, to secure a law in Hungary by which their publication will be prohibited there. One of the American journalists, Mr. Bennett, of the New York 'Herald' I believe, spent a great sum in finding out that the British people would not tolerate a Sunday newspaper. The Sunday newspaper is an institution of modern date. I can well remember when the first Sunday newspaper was published in the United States. There are nearly 700 daily newspapers published on Sunday in the United States at present. One of the greatest American editors, Horace Greeley, denounced the Sunday newspaper as a social demon ; and so it is. Its influence upon the religious and moral life of the United States is most disastrous. It tends to sap every good influence that exists in the country ; it banishes the Bible, it banishes religious reading matter ; it banishes all solid literature from the family. It begets a lower tone of sentiment. Triviality, superficiality, and immorality are the characteristics of the Sunday newspaper. A man who reads the Sunday newspaper is a superficial and trivial being, to the limit of the Sunday paper's influence upon him. The Sunday newspaper is the sworn enemy of the sabbath, the avowed enemy of the sabbath. It makes no concealment of its desire to break down the Bible. It defies and opposes the sabbath at every step of its career. A newspaper in a city may not have the voluntary choice whether it will issue a Sunday edition or not. If a newspaper is issued on Sunday, another newspaper is compelled to follow suit or fall behind in the race of competition, and upon hundreds of publishers the necessity of publishing a Sunday edition is forced by the fact that other newspapers publish Sunday editions. Under the old American sabbath which prevailed at the time of the Centennial Exhibition, that Exposition was not open on the Lord's Day; at the time of the Paris Exhibition the exhibits of the United States were not open, nor were they at the Vienna Exhibi-

tion; but we notice the influence of the Sunday newspaper in the intervening years by the fierce indignation displayed against the principle of Sunday closing at the Chicago Exhibition. We notice that every Sunday newspaper in the United States derided and belittled that sentiment of the thirty or forty millions of people who petitioned against the opening of the Exhibition on the Lord's Day, and we know the influence of the Sunday newspaper in the United States has been most disastrous, most debasing, most demoralizing, and its existence in that country is a great evil. The Sunday newspaper is the anti-christ of America ; itself a violation of divine law, it is the enemy of all divine law ; and unless it is put down the Christian religion will be put down ; within its theatre of operations it is a question between Christian institutions and this engine of the devil. We propose to prohibit the publication of Sunday newspapers. We propose to follow the example of the mother land, an example of many hundred years, which has carried her over all her difficulties.

I wish now to refer to one or two authorities, contained in the International Sunday Rest Congress papers, with respect to the publication of Sunday newspapers in the United States. My first authority is J. W. A. Stewart, D.D., and my second is His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons. Dr. Stewart says :

In the name of all that is sacred, let six days suffice to ding it continually in my ears that I belong to sense and to time ; let there be one day on which the "still small voice" may be heard, which whispers that I belong to eternity and to God. The spiritual man does not stop to ask whether the Sunday newspaper is a sin ; he instinctively says it is an impertinence. After he has given six days of thought and time to temporal things, it comes and does its best to drown that voice which tells him of his higher destiny ; it comes to pre-empt his thoughts and his hours, and to drive away prayer and the Bible and holy meditation. I say to the spiritual man it is an impertinence.

Cardinal Gibbons says :

A close observer cannot fail to note the dangerous inroads that have been made on the Lord's Day in our country within the last quarter of a century. If those encroachments are not checked in time, the day may come when the religious quiet, now happily reigning in our well-ordered cities, will be changed into noise and turbulence ; when the sound of the church bell will be drowned by the echo of the hammer and the dray ; when the Bible and the prayer-book will be supplanted by the newspaper and the magazine ; when the votaries of the theatre and the drinking saloons will outnumber worshippers, and salutary thoughts of God, of eternity, and of the soul will be checked by the cares of business and by the pleasure and dissipation of the world.

I repeat that we do not want this American institution in Canada. We do not want that condition of things which has dragged the United States down from the position of

a nation which was once known for its regard for the sabbath to a nation which permitted its great Columbian Exposition to be opened on the Lord's Day, and is rapidly declining from the proud position it once occupied as a Christian, sabbath-keeping nation. I repeat that we will act wisely if we follow the example of the mother land and prohibit the publication of the Sunday newspaper, and by prohibition of its publication save the country from the attendant horde of evils that have attended its introduction in the United States.

It is said by some that we have not the power to deal with this question, that we have not the power to deal with this question of overwhelming importance which threatens the religious and moral life of the nation. I do not believe it. I believe, as the Parliament of this Dominion, we have power to make a criminal offence of any act calculated to injure this country. We have the right to make a criminal offence of theft, arson, murder and assault, and we have the right to make criminal a thing which is infinitely worse than all those acts in individual instances. I affirm that it is worse than any single case of murder—the consequences of publishing Sunday newspapers are worse than those following a single case of murder, arson or theft. I tell this House that the consequences of the introduction of the system, looking at the experience of the United States and judging, not by theorizing, but by the actual results following this great outrage on God's law, are of a character so grave and serious that the Government are warranted in dealing with this question. We have power over the introduction of obscene literature, we have power in the matter of copyright, we control the transmission of printed matter through the mails; and is it to be said that the central power of this country, possessing power over copyright, over the mails, over the importation of impure literature, is incapable of stretching forth its hand and dealing with the greatest danger which threatens the people of this country? Why should we go for national rather than local control? Because we want to make Canada the moral leader of this continent. We want to set an example to the neighbouring nation and we desire to place ourselves right where that country is wrong. Let Canada take this course, let Canada grapple with this evil and take heed of the results which have followed it in the neighbouring nation, and, forewarned, let Canada place herself in a position where she will be forearmed.

The second provision of the Bill is with respect to the closing of canals from six o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock on Sunday. A great many people think this is a surrender of principle, and that the canals should close during the twenty-four hours. However, the provision will be one that will prevent the quiet and sanctity of

the sabbath being interfered with so far as worship is concerned, and is one that should be adopted, as this country does not want to place itself in the position of committing breaches of a divine law.

Section 3 of the Bill is with respect to railway traffic. This Bill has been submitted to all the railway men of this country. In 1890 letters were received from Mr. Van Horne and Sir Joseph, then Mr. Hickson, with respect to this Bill, and the manager of the Grand Trunk made certain suggestions which are embodied in it. I assume, and I have a perfect right to assume, that the Bill is satisfactory to the railway managers, because no protest has been received from any of them since 1890, and the Bill has been submitted every year since that time. The provisions with respect to railway traffic, I am sorry to say, are perhaps not of a very important nature. The question was surrounded by difficulties. It was found practically impossible to deal with the question of through trains without inflicting serious consequences upon the railways. Their business connections with the American roads render it necessary for them to conform in this matter to American usage to some extent; at least, it is held that that is the case, and I presume it is correct.

An hon. MEMBER. You are making a compromise.

Mr. CHARLTON. My hon. friend says: it is a compromise of the principle. This is an attempt to secure all that is practicable in the line of the principle. We might easily fail in asking more than we can get. All great reforms are secured step by step and item by item, and if the choice is placed before us either of securing something that is tangible and something that will lead to the securing of something more, I hold that it is prudent and proper that we should take a practical course and not stand on a theory that will wreck our attempts to do anything in the matter. Now, Mr. Speaker, this provision with regard to railway traffic goes as far as it is possible to go at the moment, by positive legislation, and it places before the United States and upon the United States, the responsibility of continuing the evil of through freight traffic, by offering to them reciprocity in legislation upon this matter and declaring our readiness to abate this part of the evil if the United States will render it practical to do so by concurrent action. This is the provision:

At such time as the laws of the United States shall make corresponding provision, no through freight in transit from one point on the frontier of the United States to some other point on the said frontier, shall be allowed to pass over Canadian roads on the Lord's Day, except live stock and perishable goods.

As soon as the United States will make corresponding regulations we place before them

this proposition. We greatly strengthen the hands of that element in the United States that are agitating for railway reform. We go as far as we can go, without inflicting ruinous consequences upon our own roads, and we take a step which, in my opinion, will speedily secure for us the realization of what we desire by the adoption, on the part of the United States Government of that proffer which we make, to act in co-operation with them for the purpose of putting an end to freight traffic on the Lord's Day as far as it is possible to do so. The Bill, so far as it stands now, deals with local traffic. It prohibits local freight traffic, it prohibits local passenger trains, it leaves other trains with their necessary connection as it was thought necessary to do so. I may say with reference to the provision of this section, that this Bill was submitted to a special committee three years ago. Upon that special committee were representatives of all the railway interests in this country, and these points were thoroughly discussed. The difficulties that stood in the way of this arrangement were all raised and met, and the provisions of the Bill were necessarily made to meet the objections of those men, or the report of the measure could not have been secured. I repeat that the Bill, so far as it refers to railway traffic, makes the best provision that under the circumstances it was possible to secure.

The last provision of the Bill is with regard to excursion trains, and it prohibits excursions by train, partly by train and partly by steamboat, on the Lord's Day. This provision was introduced into the House several years ago, but the Bill failed to pass. A member of this House at that time, the Hon. Mr. Bowell, sent the Bill to a friend of his, Mr. Wood, in the Ontario Legislature, and Mr. Wood introduced in that Legislature that same Bill, and it was passed and is now the law of Ontario. This section provides:

Excursions upon the Lord's Day by steamboats plying for hire, or by railway, or in part by steamboat and in part by railway, and having for their only or principal object the carriage of passengers for amusement or pleasure and to go and return the same day by the same steamboat or railway or any others owned by the same person or company, shall not be deemed a lawful conveying of passengers within the meaning of this Act; and the owner, superintendent or person by virtue of whose authority and direction such excursion is permitted or ordered on the Lord's Day shall be deemed to be guilty of an indictable offence; provided that nothing in this section shall be deemed to prohibit the ordinary carriage of passengers authorized by provincial statute.

That is the provision with regard to Sunday excursion trains, and that is, as I have said, now the law of Ontario. There is, I believe, some pressure on the part of the public to induce railway managers to relax the policy they have hitherto pursued in regard to Sunday excursion trains. The great

railway managers of this continent are opposed to Sunday excursions, and they are desirous, I believe, so far as it is practicable in that respect, to give their employees Sunday rest, and the primary objection to the Sunday excursion train is found in the fact that one class of employees are robbed of their Sunday's rest in order that another class of employees may have a day of frolic. This is very happily set forth by Archbishop Ireland in his address at the International Sunday Rest Congress at Chicago, where he says:

The opponents of the Sunday strive to have us believe that the violation of Sunday rest is more or less in the interests of labour. When the question was agitated whether or not the Exposition should be kept open on Sunday, the chief reason put forward was the interest of labour. It turned out afterwards that sixteen thousand men were to be employed seven days in the week, so that other labourers could visit it on Sunday. Labour is most concerned in the sacred observance of Sunday.

And labour is concerned in the prohibition of Sunday excursion trains. Labour is concerned in the prohibition of anything that may act as an entering wedge to deprive the labourer of his Sabbath rest. No labourer actuated by proper motives would desire to rob his fellow-labourer, the engineer, the fireman, the brakeman, the conductor of the excursion train, of his Sabbath rest, in order that he might have a frolic upon that day. And if Sunday rest is to be preserved, the principle must be respected by all labourers, and will be respected by all labourers. No labourer with a true sense of what is at stake, will require any other labourer to lose his Sunday rest, feeling that he himself may be the next to suffer. The opening of the British Museum on the Sabbath has been systematically opposed from the commencement by the labourers of London. They realize that the opening of that museum and the consequent requiring of those in charge to lose their Sunday's rest would be apt to react upon themselves, and with instinctive realization of what is at issue they have uniformly opposed the opening of that museum on Sunday. In the interest of labour, I repeat, Sunday excursions should be prohibited. Anything that involves Sunday labour should be prohibited, and the argument: that it is in the interest of labour that these violations of Sunday observance are made, is a fallacious argument in all cases.

With regard to Sunday excursions, Mr. Speaker, let us see if they are desirable in themselves apart entirely from the consideration of labour being required and men being robbed of their Sunday rest in order that an excursion may be obtained. I hold they are not. In the first place, Christian people necessarily avoid the Sunday excursion; in the second place, the worst class patronize them, so far as my observation goes, and they are too often a saturnalia

of drunkenness and vice. In the city of San Francisco, where there is no Sunday law, the police were obliged to suppress the Sunday excursion as a public nuisance. Sunday excursions would go to the suburbs of San Francisco, and a crowd of male and female hoodlums would terrorize the suburbs all day. Then the trains would get back at night filled with a drunken rabble, the lights were turned out, and the scenes became so scandalous that the police of the city suppressed a Sunday excursion train as they suppressed a brothel. The planters of Louisiana were obliged to petition the Legislature of that state to prohibit Sunday excursion trains, because they led to a sulphurous Monday and a blue Tuesday, and their employees worked only four days in the week. It is the uniform testimony of employers of labour, that the efficient labourer, the happy, clean, self-respecting labourer, is the man who stays at home on Sunday, goes to church and Sunday school, and comes up to his work on Monday morning fresh and alert and ready to grapple with his duties; while the man who goes on a Sunday excursion is demoralized and bedraggled, if not worse, on Monday morning, and is unfit to go to his work. Such a man has not had what the Lord intended to give him, he has not had his Sunday rest, with Christian worship, and enjoyment in the bosom of his family; but he has been spending the day in dissipation. He might better have been at work for two days than to spend one day in that kind of dissipation. Therefore, aside from the fact that the Sunday excursions inevitably deprive the labouring man of the rights that should be guaranteed to him by law, they are vice breeders and undesirable in many respects.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I repeat that the provisions of this Bill are moderate, that it is not in any sense a drastic measure, that it is not a puritanical measure, that it is not open to the objection that it forces upon any class of people in this country any religious observance or usage whatever. I repeat that the object of the Bill is to secure to the labourers of this country certain civil rights—the civil right to the rest day, the civil right to religious observance if they wish to participate in them, the civil right of conscience that will permit them to go to church if they want to, and if they do not, they may settle the matter with their spiritual advisers. The object of the law is to provide that no employer of labour shall make a slave of a man and prevent him going to church on Sunday if he wants to. It is not a religious enactment; it stands purely and squarely on the principle of civil rights, and the religious portion of the law is merely incidental. Of course, religious conviction is an important matter. It is important that we would realize that the provisions of this Bill will be blessed by the great Lawgiver who gave the day of rest for man's benefit. But the Bill deals with a civil question, and aims to secure for men a civil right. Now,

the state should be on the side of justice, good order and turth.

Petitions have been presented to this House deprecating the passage of legislation of a religious nature, assuming that a measure of this kind is a measure to secure some kind of religious usage, or some kind of law that will affect a man's religious standing. Those petitions do not meet the case: the Bill is not one of the character that they assume. It does not propose that the state shall legislate with regard to any religious observance. It does not propose that the state shall say that Armenians are right or that Calvinists are right, or that the doctrine of the Trinity is right, or that Unitarianism is right; it does not propose to say one word about religious observances or tenets or ordinances. The Bill plants itself squarely and unequivocally on the principle that the state does not dictate to men what their religion shall be, but guarantees to them the enjoyment of the privileges of the religion that they believe in, and that is all there is in the measure.

Now, I wish to call attention to the significant character of the opposition to this Bill, and to all Bills of a kindred character. Not that some good men do not oppose the Bill; not that some conscientious men, a great many of them, do not oppose it. But I affirm that you can find no bad, vicious element of society in favour of this Bill. The hoodlum, the Anarchist, the thief, the brothel-keeper, the brothel inmate, the saloon keeper, the drunkard—every vile, satanic element in society is opposed to this Bill; and I call upon the men who oppose this measure to take notice of the society and associations in which they are placed. The bearing of this question, not upon religious life primarily, but upon national life, is a matter of very great importance to us. The highest requirements of statesmanship are involved in the consideration of this Bill. The question is, will this Bill have a tendency to lay broader and more securely the foundations of the state that we are building on the northern part of this continent. The question is, will this Bill promote religious liberty? Will it promote public virtue? Will it have a tendency to promote good morals, and from a blessed combination of good influences clustering around the christian Sabbath to graduate good men and good citizens? Will this Bill promote temperance? Will it promote obedience to law? Will it promote respect for God's commandments? Will it have a tendency to secure to the inhabitants of this country that higher education which must go with secular education if we are to turn out men properly equipped for their duties as citizens? These are the questions involved in the consideration of this Bill—questions of statesmanship higher than the consideration of a tariff or the question of the establishment of an experimental farm, or the usual questions sur-

rounding any proposal as to a public measure. These are questions of the highest possible importance in their bearing upon the future of this nation, not only in this decade and the next decade, but in all succeeding decades as long as this nation shall have life. There are upon this continent to-day, seventy millions of English-speaking people. There will be upon this continent a hundred years from to-day, in all human probability, three hundred and seventy-five millions of English-speaking people. How are all these people to be educated? In what way are the foundations of the future to be laid? What is to be the character of the influence to be exerted by these English-speaking races upon the world? What kind of a nation are we to build here, with our vast natural resources and capability of supporting a hundred million people? Shall we stop to consider these questions? Shall we realize that upon us devolves the responsibility of building for the future? And shall we take into consideration this measure in the spirit in which we ought to consider it? Shall we consider that God has not laid upon us an unreasonable demand, and never did?

He never made upon any human being an unreasonable demand. He never required of man anything that was not in man's interest. He never required of man anything that man would suffer by performing, and he requires of us, as a Legislature, attention to this matter in the light of our responsibility to him, in the light of our responsibility to the people of this country. He requires our attention to this with a due sense of the importance of this question and the responsibility that rests upon us. The wisdom of the infinite is a safe guide, and we can not despise the means which He has appointed to secure national wealth and prosperity, without invoking upon our own heads the disasters that will be sure to follow the disregard of His commands. For that reason I press this Bill, believing it is in the highest interest of Canada, believing I am justified in urging its passage in the warmest manner. I present it to the kindly and judicious consideration of every member of this House—the leader of this House, and every one of his followers and the gentlemen who sit in Opposition—and I ask that it may receive that consideration which the importance of the questions demands.



