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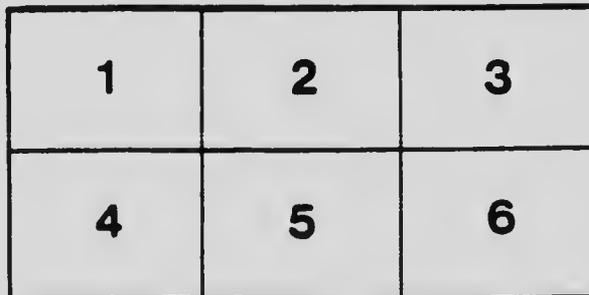
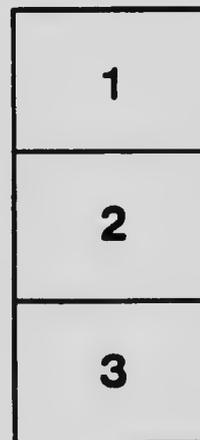
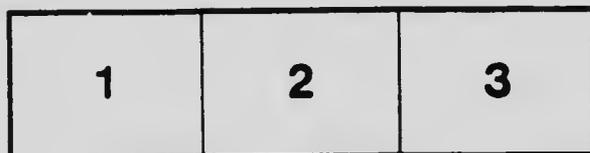
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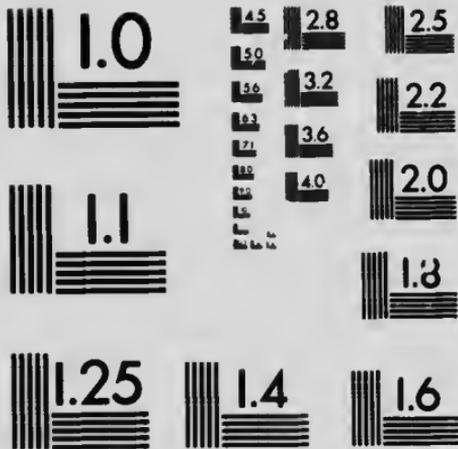
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ADDRESS

—DELIVERED BY—

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. A. C. MACHIN, M.P., KENORA

—IN THE—

Ontario Legislature, Tuesday, March 4, 1919, during the debate
on the Address in Reply to the Speech
from the Throne.

Mr. Speaker:

The last time I had the opportunity of speaking in this House was at the session of 1915. I had the privilege of attending the session of 1917 for an hour or so, and in order to make my position absolutely clear and to give a proper interpretation of what I am about to say it will be necessary for me, for a few moments, to refer to that occasion in order that I may not be misunderstood. I am sure the House will bear with me in my endeavour to avoid being misunderstood.

In the session of 1916, during the few hours I was here—I had left my battalion (the 94th), which I was recruiting, drilling and organizing at Port Arthur, to come down to the session because I had learned that the Government at that time had the intention of bringing in some very drastic legislation with reference to the liquor traffic. A good deal of the speech I am about to make to-night I would have made in 1916, but, Sir, I only had a few hours, and a new arrangement, as I understand it, a new system of speaking, had come into vogue, by which the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition start to speak at the beginning of the debate instead of, as formerly, at the closing. So it happened that when, on the afternoon I was here, I endeavoured to give voice to what I had already said in caucus, and which I had informed the Prime Minister I proposed to repeat in this House, I unfortunately was not able to catch your eye, Mr. Speaker, and gave way to the Prime Minister, who took the Floor. I had to leave that night for Port Arthur to rejoin my unit, but before doing so, during the evening, I asked the Prime Minister to meet me, and he very kindly did. I told him the legislation then proposed, which has since become law, was to my mind a breach of faith with the people who elected me, and while I was perfectly prepared, as a wartime measure, to see some method of suspension, I was not prepared, in British fairness, to go back on the promises made with a legitimate trade, and wipe them out with a stroke of the pen unless, and, Mr. Speaker, I repeat it here to-night, unless the people of this province desire to see confiscation without compensation. I am not here to-night to defend, nor have I the slightest interest in the liquor traffic, as it was nor as it is, but I have still left in me some sense of common, ordinary justice and fair play, and I say to the Government, to the members of the Legislature, and to the people of the Province that the Conservative party having been elected in 1914 on a definite platform, should at least have compensated the people that they have put out of business. This House will remember that up till the passing of the Ontario Temperance Act, the liquor traffic in this Province was a legitimate trade. They had been encouraged by the

Government to feel that, although restrictions were coming along, as long as they obeyed the law of the land their vested rights would be protected, and honourable gentlemen will remember that for several years prior to the outbreak of the war the Ontario License Commission had insisted on—and very properly so—a very high standard of hotel being kept by those who held licenses, with the result that many of these people were forced to spend whatever profits they might have made, and even go into debt, in order to comply with the requirements of the law and the orders of the License Commission. Therefore, I say, that had I had the opportunity in 1916 to have voiced what I have just said, I would have done so. I do not want the House to misunderstand me or to think that it is my intention that the people of the liquor trade should be handed out large sums of money, but I do think that, in ordinary decency, when you confiscate or expropriate or whatever you like to call it, at least when you take people's property away from them and their means of existence, which was a legal business, surely this great Province of Ontario is big enough and British enough to pay for it. I have in mind the fact that for years the liquor traffic of the Province had under government control become a monopoly, which was one of the reasons, I think, for the extraordinary antagonism to the Liquor License Act as it stood.

I desire in passing to refer to the remark made by my honourable friend, the member for Northumberland, this afternoon. I wish I had had the common sense to have voted with the Opposition on the policy of abolishing the bar as outlined by the recent leader of the Opposition, Mr. Rowell. To my mind, it was the sound and proper thing to do. The people of the Province have absolutely no use for the open bar, but I still think the people of the Province have some idea of their rights as British subjects and citizens of this country. Some honourable gentleman speaking here this afternoon said that the great reason for the passing of the Ontario Temperance Act legislation, now on the statute book, was the monster petition presented to the Prime Minister and the Government in the year 1916. I frankly repeat to-night what I said in caucus in 1916, that it rankled deeply in my heart that, when the Prime Minister received that great delegation, he and his Government thought it represented the whole of the people of Ontario, so much so that, if I remember rightly, someone in the delegation actually cross-examined the various ministers as to their individual attitudes on the particular subject. I frankly say to this House, I am only here for a short time and when I have finished my speech to-night I have to return to duty in Ottawa, and the fact that my seat may be vacant for the greater part of the session does not mean that I have run away from what I shall have said to-night. It merely means that I am still on duty and have to return, having obtained sufficient leave to come down here and, on the first opportunity I have had, state my mind on this subject as a public man and as a citizen of Ontario. The subject matter of the speech which I shall make is one on which I have thought a great deal and on which I still think I am right.

My position in this war has been very small, but I have had the privilege of serving some six months at the front, and on my leave to Canada, in 1917. I was retained here on duty, but during the period I spent in France amid the horrors of war and human suffering and misery and war's levelling effects, I felt that if I survived and returned I could never again view affairs through the same coloured glasses as I did in 1914—before the war. I feel, Sir, that most of us are changed—that our mental attitudes are quite different from the mental attitudes we held prior to taking whatever small part each one of us has in that great struggle. Someone has said to-day, in speaking of the liquor traffic, and of the fact that amendments to the O.T.A. are mentioned in the Speech from the Throne that they would like to have a notion of what the Government's intentions are in that matter. I too, Sir, should like to know, but like many hundreds of thousands of people throughout the Province, I, in company with them, must await the time until the Government, in its wisdom, or otherwise, decides to bring down whatever measure they think will meet the will of the people. As I have already stated, the great issue in the 1914 election was the abolition of the bar or otherwise. At that time we had in the Province, as leader of the Conservative party, a man of marvellous personality and tried faith, a man whose vision was clear and who had in the greatest degree a fund of common horse

sense; and it was under the leadership of that man, the great Sir James Whitney, that this Party was returned in 1914 with the greatest majority they ever had. Now, while the issue was ostensibly abolition of the bar, I can go further and say that while that had something to do with the Whitney Government's return, possibly more was the marvellous personality and splendid integrity, with sound judgment, of Sir James Whitney, and to the desire of the people of this Province, who knew a tried and trusted leader, to remain under his guiding hand rather than trust an unknown man. The people at that time felt that under the Whitney Government the evils of intemperance were reduced to a minimum, and that his government was properly, decently and honestly enforcing the law. Be that as it may, Sir James did not survive to meet the new House and his untimely death, at a period when Ontario required his great mind and guiding hand more, possibly, than at any other time, was a profound sorrow to us. In his place the Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines succeeded as Prime Minister. What took place in the session of 1916 I do not know. What has taken place since I have very little information about, beyond the fact that the O.T.A. was placed on the statute book in 1916, the people of the Province then being willing to allow the liberty of the subject to be interfered with to any extent if any politician, or anyone else, stated it was necessary in order to help win the war. But I still think that our friends the Prohibitionists took a most unfair advantage of the situation in 1916 by inflaming the minds of the people, already overwrought by the horrors of war, on the subject of prohibition, and compelling this government into effecting the drastic legislation, which I will not discuss. But, Mr. Speaker, let me say here and now that if an unfair advantage was thus taken, that I, Sir, am horrified at the savagery, brutality and offensiveness with which this government and its officers have persecuted the people of this Province for breaches of the O.T.A. To my mind it speaks marvels for the self-control of the British subjects of this province who have almost uncomplainingly submitted to this state of affairs in the way they have. One would think that the greatest crime to be perpetrated in the province was that of illegally having liquor in one's possession. By reference to section 370 of the Criminal Code, you will find that if a person breaks into and robs your chicken house, provided he does not steal in value more than \$20.00, he can only be punished by a fine of \$20.00 plus the cost of what he has taken; but if you carry a flask of whiskey in your pocket you can be searched and the flask taken away from you and you can be fined \$200 as a minimum to \$1,000 as a maximum and costs, and a term of imprisonment of three months in jail. The penalties provided in the O.T.A. and the method by which the provisions of that Act have been enforced point, to my mind, to the most fanatical persecution the Province has ever suffered from. It has gone so far that to-day the housewife—ordinarily a law-abiding citizen—cannot purchase the ordinary essences used in domestic cooking except in very small quantities and under the most stringent regulations. And so this fanatical paternalism oppresses the Province, taking away the liberty of the subject and reducing men and women to the status of children, incapable of ordering their own lives. Under what circumstances can the Government justify the prevalent habit of interfering with the travelling public, by having special police, spotters and people of that sort stopping passengers, searching their grips and luggage for liquor? Just listen to this cutting from the Montreal Star of the 24th of February and imagine anything like this taking place in the great Province of Ontario:

"If you are a whiskey detective, show your credentials"—and immediately all eyes in the car of a recent Montreal-Toronto train were turned towards the spot where the conductor and apparently a passenger were having a little discussion.

One passenger had pounced upon another as soon as the train crossed into Ontario, and having searched his pockets proceeded to go through his grip, mumbling to the astonished passenger and those about him, "I'm a whiskey detective"—what an honourable calling. It seems he found what he wanted in the grip and informed 'the wicked man' that he would detain with him at Brockville. Then, having so informed him, the detective con-

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blamed his search work. He espied two foreigners who didn't quite appreciate his right to go through their travelling bags and pockets and were willing to make the proper sort of objection.

At this point the conductor took a hand in the proceedings. "What authority have you got to disturb the passengers on my train as you are doing," he shot at the disturber of the peace, and added, "If you are a whiskey detective, show your credentials." The person addressed swelled with importance, was not to be hoodwinked was not to be bluffed. "Where are your credentials?" The self-styled whiskey detective then pulled from his pocket a scrap of paper with no printing on it, or nothing of an official nature about it save the word "Inspector" following the name of the signature—a scrap of paper. I thought we had finished in the Province of Ontario dealing with scraps of paper. It proclaimed in a few words to the world that so and so was a whiskey detective and in the Province of Ontario had the right, without a warrant, to search even the mind of anyone he wished to. Still the stubborn conductor was not satisfied and he made no bones about it, saying so. He forbade any further disturbance of passengers and told "Mr. Man" to leave the foreigners alone.

At Brockville the conductor saw him leaving the train with the grip and coat which supposedly belonged to the first passenger accosted, and who had long since made his get-away. "Where are you going with those?" asked the 'Con.' "To the police station at Brockville." "No, you are not, they are not yours," he was informed.

The conductor now took charge of the whiskey detective, coat, bag and all, and placed all three in the station agent's hands, called up the chief of police, and an escort was sent up to the station for the travelling "Tec." It is said that he spent a little while in the jail until word could be got from Ottawa as to his standing. And it turned out that he was a sure-enough whiskey detective operating in the Province of Ontario.

Do you wonder I say it is a marvel to my mind that the free British subjects of the Province of Ontario put up with that sort of thing? I have sometimes hung my head in shame to think, as I read the accounts in the daily press, of the glee with which our friends, the Prohibitionists, manifest over the hauling to court and fining of the numerous members of the medical profession who have suffered, because they dared to use their own judgment, under this most unjust Act. When I recall the fact that of all the learned professions there is none more noble, self-sacrificing, or more desired in times of sickness or disease than that of the medical profession, I wonder under what set of circumstances this Government could have penalized this noble profession as has been done in this Province. The great number of medical men who have been fined surely precludes one thinking or saying that these men are all rascals, or that they are anything but worthy members of the great profession to which they belong. Surely the infringement of this harsh law by these men may in most cases be to their credit rather than their condemnation, since to me the majority of them seem to be men of character and courage, who in the exercise of the professional skill to which they have been trained, refused to bow to the dictates of wild fanaticism such as is expressed in the carrying out of this unjust act. Let us picture for a moment the home of any one of us here in this House to-day. The moment that sickness or accident comes, what do we do? We call for a doctor. Why? Because we hope to get from him, who is skilled in his profession, relief for the sufferer. Under such circumstances, how glad we are to see the medical man. Take again the druggists. The result of the Ontario Temperance Act has been, in many instances, an attempt to turn the drug stores into blind pigs. I have spoken to several druggists who have plainly told me that the handling of liquor in their stores, as they would have to by reason of the necessity for securing business, not necessarily the selling of liquor, but the ordinary druggist trade, is entirely distasteful to them, because they fear that they, through a simple error of judgment, may lose their reputations in their communities, and be held up and fined. Is there any member of this House who has not had some personal experience of the great shadow which has overcast the world during the past four years, who has not some knowledge of the personal sacrifices made either in his own family or of that of dear friends or acquaintances?

Is there a home in this whole province which has not been in distress or sorrow during the troubled years of war now so happily ended? Is there a member in this House who has not, at some time during those four years, heard it said by the supposed leaders of the people that our share in this war was not only because of the outraged Belgium and the fact that we were an integral part of the British Empire, but that, so far as Canada is concerned, and so far as Ontario is concerned, the last man and the last dollar was needed in the cause of democracy to fight military autocracy, so that we might be free instead of becoming slaves? If that is true and democracy and the right to live as free men has been accomplished and won by the gallantry of our army and its allies in France and Flanders, what use was the sacrifice there made if we are coming back to Ontario to find our freedom taken away from us here? As I said before, the mental attitudes of the most of us have changed, and I, for one, say that never again will I heed the politician's cry or harken to the crack of the party whip where I consider in my own mind that I am going against the wishes of the people who sent me here to represent them. And so I say to every honorable gentleman in this House, remember what I have just said: When the legislation that is promised in the Speech from the Throne is brought down, in memory of the gallant dead who assured your freedom forever, assert your rights as men and vote according to your consciences. There are some who are equally as strong on the other side as I am on the side I have spoken of. All honour to them, but do not wobble in between. Take your stand fair and square as men, not as mice; and do your duty the way your constituents would have you. I do not want to give pain, but I am here to-night to speak my mind if it cost me my political life, and I intend to do it. I believe the Province of Ontario is only looking for someone to speak out, and although I do not pretend to be of any importance, politically or otherwise, I do think that I am as fit as anyone else to give expression to these thoughts which are mine and those of many thousands of men and women in this province. On this subject we must face all issues fairly and squarely. Then, Sir, let me say, in my opinion, a wave of fanatical puritanism is sweeping over our Province, fostered and fanned by men and women who no doubt mean well: men and women of the narrowest vision and most intolerant attitude who, by banding together and by continuously shrieking in season and out of season, have convinced this Government, or at least the Prime Minister, that they form a great majority of the people of the Province. I have already stated that I challenge that and doubt it so much that to-day I am staking my political life on it; and if I am wrong, I am willing to pay the price. But I cannot think, Sir, that the people of this great Province—which politicians in this House and outside continue to refer to as the banner Province of the Dominion—I cannot think that these people have become so besotted with drink that it is necessary to save them from themselves.

One danger which we run, and which is rampant under this legislation and is fostered by it, is that as a people it is making us hypocritical and insincere to a degree almost unsurpassed in the history of the human race. I am aware that this form of hysteria is prevalent in this Province. I am aware that there is a reflex action from the terrible tension to which our people were keyed up during the four awful years of war just past. But I am aware also that this great Province is inhabited by a majority of sane common-sensed people who, unorganized and unshrieking, have said nothing all the time the Ontario Temperance Act has been the law of the Province, but have suffered in silence, thinking that the time had not come, on account of the fact that everyone had stated that this was a war measure, to assert their rights as free men and inform the Government that they did not purpose to have taken from them so lightly the greatest gift that has been handed down to them by their gallant forefathers as their birthright—liberty of the subject. It is these people, the sane, common-sense people of Ontario, who have given so freely of their blood and treasure in this war, who will hand down to succeeding generations the cherished possession of which I have just spoken. I am sure that when the time comes for a verdict on this subject the "great silent vote," as it is sometimes called, will be prepared to fight against encroachment on their rights and liberties.

a minority of the people who seek by coercion to force the majority to adopt their own narrow viewpoint.

Perhaps it would be just as well for me to say here that, having changed my ideas and adopted an entirely different mental attitude, that does not mean that my speech is to be taken as an endorsement of the old Ontario Liquor License Act. That is not my point, as I shall presently make clear. I have always objected to the monopoly created under the old law and to the lack of Government control in seeing that the proper standard of wines and liquors that were allowed to be sold to the people of the Province in the past, and before I get through with what I intend to say, I will give to this Government, for their consideration, the thoughts which I have along this particular subject which, if adopted, will, in this regard, preserve the liberty of the subject. I do not say it is the end of all things but it is something I have worked out myself and for lack of anything better offer it for consideration. Others have doubtless worked out more or less the same thing. The suggestion I am about to make to the Government may not please the prohibitionist, but it will please the man who like myself, claims the right to say what we shall eat and drink and smoke, and the time we shall go to bed, and the time we shall get up.

Ever since 1908, when I first came into the House—at the same time as the Prime Minister—I have listened during all my attendances in the House to many debates upon the liquor question, and as a result I learned that it was a well established rule of the Conservative party that the least unit or organization which should govern on this subject was the municipality. It was thought, and I was brought up on it, that the municipality should be the governing unit. I would suggest, therefore, Sir, that when the Government brings down its proposed amendments to the Ontario Temperance Act—and let me say we are all temperance men and when I speak of temperance I am not speaking of prohibition—provision should be made so that every municipality should say by a plebiscite whether they wish to have the Government open and run a liquor shop in that municipality. The majority would rule, and supposing the plebiscite went against the request of the petitioners, that would end the matter for two or three years or whatever time the Government in its wisdom thought proper. On the other hand, if it carried, a certificate under the seal of the corporation to the Provincial Secretary would be sufficient notice of the fact, and thereupon, within 60 days, there should be opened in that municipality a Government liquor shop for the sale of liquors in sealed packages. The shop should be owned and controlled by the Government and the employees should be civil servants paid by direct salary and subject to the usual rules and penalties, etc. Everyone within that municipality who was a bona-fide resident and a householder, more or less on the lines of the Ontario Temperance Act at the present time, who complied with that status, would have a right to go to the vendor or agent and buy a license from him, and on the production of that license the Government agent would sell to him, for cash, whatever he reasonably required, whether stout or porter, beer or Scotch, light wine or champagne, or anything required. I do not say that every little shop should carry a tremendous stock, but central stocks for the forwarding to smaller places should be arranged and orders taken for such goods as cannot be supplied locally and such goods then to be properly forwarded. No man would be allowed to purchase outside of his own municipality. He could only purchase within his own municipality and the goods so purchased would be sent to his house by the Government agent and signed for at his house by a grown-up person. Penalties, not the ones under the Ontario Temperance Act, but decent penalties, should be provided for breaches of the law and regulations, such as the forfeiture or the suspension of a man's license, fines, etc., and the usual precautions taken to see that the shops are properly run. Then, Sir, I would have the liquor sold by the Government at ten per cent. over cost, and after deducting the cost of operating the shops, I would earmark one-half of the profits to be returned by the Provincial Treasurer to the municipality, earmarked possibly for education, and the other half would go into the Consolidated Revenue Fund of this Province towards something long overdue—that is, the establishment of a pension fund for the civil servants of the Province.

Any municipality having Government shops would continue same in-

definitely until a Plebiscite has been taken against it, until the people of that community expressed their wish to the contrary. Something along that particular line would, to my mind, meet the situation. It would give control to the Government absolutely and it would ensure that the people of the Province, if they wanted liquor, could go and get it and have it in the proper place to have it, that is, in their homes. If a man wants to have liquor to drink, the proper place to do it is in his home. One other word: By that, of course, the travelling public would be deprived of anything to drink unless they had friends in the particular town who were good enough to ask them up and give them a drink. But I could not come from Kenora to Toronto and buy anything here. I want it for my home if I want it at all. I certainly want the right to have it and I do not want anyone to tell me I shall not have it. I realize that this is only a suggestion.

There may be other plans far better of which I know nothing, which others think might meet the requirements—that is, to preserve the rights of the British subject. If they do, then I am prepared to support them; otherwise, frankly, I am not. I do not altogether like my proposal because I cannot see how adequate care can be taken of the working man. Now we must feel, as thinking men, that attention has to be paid to the demands of the working organizations when you consider that on the fifth of last month a delegation of labour representatives, headed by Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, waited upon the Dominion Government and presented a petition representing the views of some 1,500 out of 1,900 labour organizations, asking for a stronger beer. It would be untrue, unjust and a vilification to say that the men who presented these petitions do not mean exactly what they say, or to insinuate for an instant that these labour organizations were the innocent tools and victims of the brewing interests. So I say to the Government that it is absolutely essential that, if you do not want unrest in this Province, due care and consideration be given to the just demands of the labour organizations of the Province.

Recently, Sir, an editorial published in a United States paper was brought to my attention in which the Editor speaks of a new word just coined and which he prophesied would at a very near date become a standard word in our language. It is unnecessary for me to give the full circumstances here, but the word is so apt that perhaps I may be permitted to use it, and in doing so I do not do it with any malice, but to my mind it so fits our circumstances that I thought I would take the chance of using it. The word so coined was that of "sin-hound." You are aware, Mr. Speaker, that in various parts of our Dominion, packs of hounds are kept for various phases of sport, deer hounds, fox hounds and other hounds, so that the meaning of this word so aptly coined must be obvious because a sin-hound is one used to chase sinners. He differs from other species of hounds in that he is only two-legged, but nevertheless his activity and his keenness are as great as his four-footed prototype. In the article, it is pointed out that the word denotes a rich Pharisee who pursues sinners for the mere pleasure of seeing them run just as the other hound does. It says that many of them are rich and that they amuse themselves chasing sinners as others chase jack rabbits or wolves, that they busy themselves forming societies to chase sinners, that they have become so powerful that they force newspapers and Legislatures to obey their wishes. Isn't that true? It is further pointed out that some of these organizations have become so powerful that they force the sinners themselves to contribute to the funds of these organizations. The editor mentions the various sin-hound societies and states that they have trained experts in the sport in receipt usually of large incomes provided by rich men and by contributions forced from the sinners themselves. Sunday baseball players are chased, that is in the United States, of course. We have the Lord's Day Alliance, etc., here. The patrons of the movie shows are chased, and so are the beer drinkers. Sinners of all varieties are chased, mainly for the pleasure of seeing how fast they can run and how much noise they make in clattering over the bridges. A moment's reflection, Sir, will, I think, cause you to agree with me, that we in Ontario are plentifully supplied with these societies.

The suggestions I have made to the Government are given as a method whereby the rights of the subject will be respected and as

the same time the evils of abuse of liquor by those who do not know how to use it will be reduced to a minimum. That reminds me that the subject itself is as old as history. The controversy has been going on since the days of Noah and will go on until the end of all time. Probably the best speech ever delivered by a member of any Legislature in our own country was the historic speech delivered by the Hon. Joseph Howe in the Nova Scotia Legislature in the year 1855. I propose to read that speech because I have no doubt Honourable gentlemen in this House have forgotten it and I desire to refresh their minds. Between 1850 and 1855 the Maine Liquor Law was discussed in the British Provinces. Though in all of them it was advocated by able men and supported by numerous signed petitions, it ultimately failed or was defeated in them all. It was adopted in New Brunswick, but after a year's experience of its effects it was on an appeal to the people condemned with singular unanimity and immediately repealed. It was discussed with a good deal of ability in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia during the session of 1854 and 1855 and at one time a small majority decided in its favour. The bill was subsequently postponed and abandoned.

This is the Honourable Mr. Howe's speech delivered almost 54 years ago to the day. It was delivered on February 21, 1855:

JOSEPH HOWE.—“MAINE LIQUOR LAW.”

After much reflection upon the subject, I have not been able to bring my mind to assume the responsibility of voting for this bill. I would gladly have done so, because a very large and highly respectable body of my constituents were in favour of it. I had not expressed my sentiments last winter, because, during that session, I had occupied much time with other topics, and because this had been debated at great length and with marked ability by gentlemen on both sides. I would gladly now refrain, but during the eighteen years I have sat in this Assembly I have never shrunk from an expression of my opinions upon any public question. It is due to the country at large, to my constituents, to the men who sit around me, that I should, even at the risk of offending those whom I most respect, give my reasons with my vote. I fully admit the truthfulness of the harrowing pictures of physical suffering and moral degradation drawn by the honourable and learned member for Annapolis. I admit in all their extent the evils of intemperance. I admire the self-devotion and earnestness with which large bodies of men have endeavoured to eradicate these evils, I approve of the efforts made by the temperance societies and wish them success, so long as they seek to reform by persuasion, by argument and by example. When they attempt impossibilities, when they seek to coerce the people into temperance, I conscientiously believe that they will fail; I believe that all the good they have done will be perilled by a resort to harshness and coercion.

The Deity has not prohibited the use of wine. On the contrary, He has given the grape to man with innumerable other bounties. Our Saviour has not prohibited the use of wine. He sat with those who drank it, and by a miracle replenished their cups at the marriage feast. The apostles have not forbidden the use of wine. Its use was denounced in the Koran by the pagan Mahomet, but was not, so far as I can perceive, in the Bible. What, then, the Almighty has not done or attempted, what he could have done with so much ease, yet has refrained from doing, I think it not wise for man to attempt.

The evils flowing from the excessive use of wine I greatly deplore, as I do the evils from over-indulgence of any other passion or propensity. But who can argue from excess of any kind that the rational enjoyment of God's gifts is therefore sinful? Who will venture to argue that because mischief is done by many of God's gifts, they should, on that account, be circumscribed or prohibited by human laws? The atmosphere that fans the cheek of beauty, that invigorates the frame, that flatters the leaf upon

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the tree, that dimples the surface of the lake, that gives variety and majesty to the ocean, when accumulated in masses lashes itself into the tempest and strews the shore with wrecks of human life and property. The learned member standing amidst the wrecks of navies and the whitening bones of human victims might eloquently describe the scene; but would he, if he could, attempt to restrain the eccentricities of nature, or to forbid to man, by human laws, the benefits of navigation? How beautiful is water! (The temperance man's own element) Yet how dangerous. The rain which fertilizes the fields, sweeps away with its excess, bridges, mills and human habitations. If not drained off, it sours the land and breeds pestilence in cities. The fire that warms our hearts, that clears our woodlands, that smelts our metals, that drives our steamers and locomotives, is not less dangerous. Would he deny to man the use of these elements because the casualties by fire and flood are most disastrous? Would he forbid their use, because people are burned in cities, drowned in the rivers, because a boiler bursts at sea, or an engine sometimes runs off the track, or kills hundreds by the violence of a collision? William the Conqueror, it is true, once denied to the people of England fire and light after the curfew tolled; but the abhorrence in which the act was held would not encourage anybody to follow his example.

Woman is God's best gift to man. The fascination which she spreads around her—how difficult to resist; the passions she inspires—how intimately interwoven with all that arouses to exertion and rewards us for our toils! Yet, when even love is indulged in to excess, when reason is overpowered, when passion hurries on to folly—how numerous the victims, how blasting the effects! Yet who would, reasoning from the perils of indulgence and the dangers of society, deny to man the companionship which alone makes existence tolerable? The learned member for Annapolis might draw from the sinks of vice or even from the agony of a single victim, some harrowing pictures; but would he, on that account, imitate the Turks and lock up all the women? The victims of indulgence in opium I have never seen, but even spirituous liquors do not produce the extent of physical suffering and moral dislocation that result from the abuse of this drug. But would the learned member deny to society the use of that which allays the delirium of fever—which soothes the infant upon the mother's bosom and saves more lives than it ever destroys? Take gunpowder, which blasts our rocks, loosens our plaster, defends our country, kills our game. Mark the mischiefs and miseries it produces when its mysterious power is abused. But who would argue that, because boys blow themselves up and tyrants use gunpowder for unworthy purposes, its use should be forbidden? Would the learned gentleman, even with the battlefields of Balaciava or Inkerman before him, attempt to restrain by human laws, the manufacture and sale of gunpowder? Who denies that law is the safeguard of our lives and property; that courts are indispensable institutions; that lawyers are the fearless advocates of the innocent and oppressed? But has not even law been abused? How many pettifoggers defile the courts, ensnare the ignorant, waste men's estates and embitter their lives? Waiter Scott's Peebles and Planestanes, and Dickens' pictures of the Court of Chancery are familiar to us all. These are but sketches illustrative of the evils inseparable from the dispensation of equity and law by the most perfect tribunals of civilized countries. How are these evils to be mitigated or removed? I would say by discussion, by exposure, by example, by honest and successful attempts to separate the securities and legitimate practice of law from its abuse. The learned advocate of this bill, to be consistent, should close the courts, imprison the lawyers, and forbid the manufacture of law or its importation from foreign countries. Woman, from her first appearance on the scene of life, has brought sorrow and suffering with her. In her train came rivalries and jealousies, and war and strife. Let the learned member go into his own country where the pretty faces peeping through the apple-blossoms are lovely to behold. Even there, are there no broken hearts, no pale faces, no blighted lives, no damaged reputations? No girls with Burns' pretty excuse upon their lips?

"A dear-loved lad, convenience snug,
A treacherous inclination?"
No youths pleading, in the intonation of passionate repentance, that even
"The light that led astray
Was light from Heaven?"

Yet would the learned gentleman, in view of all these evils, point to the pretty girls and say, "Touch not, taste not, handle not?" Would he, for fear of mischief, coop them up like cows in a Belgian barn?

The world has come down to the present period from the most remote antiquity with the wine-cup in its hand. David, the man after God's own heart, drank wine. Solomon, the wisest of monarchs and of human beings, drank wine. Our Saviour not only drank it, but commanded Christians to drink it "in remembrance of Him." In strong contrast with our Divine Redeemer's life and practice, we hear of the Scribes and Pharisees who drank it not—who reviled our Saviour as a "wine-bibber," and the companion of publicans and sinners, "who would have voted for the Maine Liquor Law as unanimously as they cried "Crucify Him!"

Such people have existed in all ages of the world. The desire of human beings to dictate to each other what they should eat and drink and wear has been evinced in different countries at different periods. The zealots in the State of Maine are mere plagiarists after all. Sumptuary laws, tried in many countries and at different periods of the world's history, are now universally condemned by the good sense of mankind. Laws restraining drunkenness are nearly as old as drinking. It is curious to see what strange experiments have been tried at times. Zaelucus of Locris, 450 before the Christian era, ordained "that no woman should go attended with more than one maid unless she was drunk; and that she should not wear gold or embroidered apparel unless she intended to act unchasteiy." This sage law-giver punished adultery with the loss of both eyes. His own son broke the law, and the old gentleman, unwilling to deprive his son of both eyes, compromised the matter by putting out one of his own.

As early as 747, laws were passed in England restraining drunkenness in the clergy: and Constantine, King of the Scots (who was a sort of Neal Dow in his day) punished it with death.

His laws passed away as this law will pass, and a good deal of whiskey has been drunk in Scotland since. In England, in 995, an effort was made to restrain drinking by law, but it failed. Taverns were only introduced in the thirteenth century. In the reign of Edward III. there were only three allowed in all London; now there are thousands. Edward IV. tried to restrain them; forty were then allowed in London, eight in York, and but four in Oxford. They were not licensed till 1752. The history of wine is curious; its invention is attributed to Noah, who certainly had seen enough of the evils of water. The Chinese made wine from rice 2000 years before the birth of Christ; and although it must be allowed that they have tea enough, they make and drink it yet. Wine was but little known in England till the Roman conquest. We are told that it impairs our strength; yet the people who drank it conquered those who did not. It was only sold by the apothecaries (as is now proposed again) in the thirteenth century. In 1427, Henry VI., a sensible king, tried to restrain its adulteration, and we read "that 150 butts and pipes were condemned and emptied into the gutters of London, for being adulterated."

The Stoics denied themselves the use of wine, but their sect soon died out. The Puritans tried the experiment of coercing people into temperance and virtue, but they signally failed. I invite the honourable and learned member for Annapolis to review this period of English history. I refer to the time his followers dispersed; when Cromwell reigned at Whitehall; when his major-generals held military command of all the counties; when the maypoies were struck down, the theatres closed, the taverns shut up; when mirth was restrained, and temperance enforced by the sword. Now what was the effect of all this? No sooner was the Protector in his coffin than the people of England, by a common impulse, threw off a system which they regarded as oppressive. So distasteful had these restraints become that the people restored the Stuarts, forgot their civil wars and sacrifices, and reopened their theatres and taverns; and so disgusted were they with Puritan domination that liberty was forgotten in the general joy which the

restoration of personal freedom occasioned. The wine-cup went round, and from that day to this no attempt has been made to re-establish Cromwell's system. Now, I fear that the friends of temperance are about to sacrifice all the good they have done, as the Puritans sacrificed all the reforms that they had established, by carrying restraints too far. This law may be partially enforced for two or three years, but it will coerce people into resistance and occasion a revulsion of feeling to be followed by universal license.

So far as my reading extends, I may assert that every king, every statesman, every warrior who has illustrated the page of history, drank wine. The apostles whose flights of inspiration still astonish us, we have every reason to believe drank it. Cicero and Demosthenes and all the orators of antiquity and of modern times, indulged in the juice of the grape. Who can say how much of the energy which gave them such power of language was drawn from its inspiration? Have these men been eclipsed by the Dows and Kellogs of the platform? What orators has the State of Maine sent forth comparable with the Pitts, Burkes, Grattans, Foxes and Sheridans of the British Islands, every one of whom drank wine? Let the learned gentleman glance at the noble structures—the architectural wonders that embellish Europe. Who reared them? Men of gigantic intellects whose common beverage was wine. Let his eye range through the noble galleries where the sculptors have left their statues; where the painters have hung in rich profusion the noblest works of art. Wine, we are told, clouds the faculties and deadens the imagination. Yet it was drunk by those benefactors of their race; and we cannot, with their masterpieces before us, believe the assertion till their works have been eclipsed by artists trained up under this rigorous legislation. Has Maine turned out yet a statue that anybody would look at, a picture that anybody would buy? Look at the deliverers of mankind, the heroic defenders of nations. Was Washington a member of the temperance society? Did not Wallace "drink the red wine through the helmet barred?" Who will undertake to say that Bruce, on the morning on which he won the battle of Bannockburn; that Tell, on that day when he shot the apple off his son's head, had not tasted a glass of whiskey or a stoop of wine?

If, then, Sir, all that is valuable in the past—if heroism and architecture and oratory, sculpture and painting—if all that has bulwarked freedom and embellished life—has come down to us with the juice of the grape: if no age or nation has been long without it, I think it behoves the advocates of this bill to show us some country where their system has been tried, some race of men who drank nothing but cold water.

I turn to the learned member's own profession. I ask him to show me two such lawyers, two judges so imminent, as Lords Eldon and Stowell; the one the wonder of the Admiralty as the other was of the Equity Court. Yet it is on record that at the very time when these men were oppressed with herculean labours—when day after day they were delivering judgments so masterly and profound that they defy all criticism—each of these great jurists drank his five bottles of port a day. I certainly would not advise the learned member for Annapolis to try in this country an experiment so hazardous. In the climate of England this might be done, but not in the dry atmosphere of Nova Scotia. I have sometimes seen him, however, when a few glasses would have done him good. Indeed, I often fancy that both in the Senate and at the Bar, his wit is not so poignant or his logic so acute as in the olden times when he used to take his glass of wine.

My honourable colleague and friend from Cumberland, whose sincerity in this cause I entirely respect, quoted to us last winter the passage from Scripture: "If eating meat causes my brother to offend, then will I eat no more." But would my honourable friend shut up all the butcher shops and forbid by law the sale of meat, for fear somebody would eat too much? Again, he told us, "we have tried moral suasion, and have failed." If so, who is to blame? I resist this bill because it is a violation of the voluntary principle, because it is defended by the old arguments by which fanatics and persecutors in all ages have sought to propogate religious opinions. Hoping to save men's souls (more precious than their bodies), Catholics

have burnt Protestants, and Protestants, Catholics. The right of private judgment was denied. The right of one human being to coerce others into belief, as it is now sought to coerce them into temperance, has been tried a thousand times and has failed—as this attempt will fail.

That, Mr. Speaker, is the end of the noble speech of the Hon. Joseph Howe, and the sound reasons advanced in that speech are as cogent to-day as they were when it was delivered, and the majority of the people of the Province will see the common sense foundation of it. You cannot coerce people for any length of time. Human nature is the same to-day as it was in days gone by. The human passions are the same whether they concern strong drink, lust of women, greed of gold, love of power, or the simple sport of chasing sinners. Nothing is changed in this regard, although much is accomplished now, as of old, under the cloak of religion. The Pharisee of to-day differs little from the Pharisee of old, except that perhaps to-day he is more numerous, better educated and has more diverse ways of practicing his art. Sir, I belong to the class of the poor sinner mentioned in the Bible. In the midst of the hurry and bustle of this life I sometimes ask God to forgive me my sins, which are many and grievous, but I have never yet had the temerity to thank him for not being as other men are. To-day the great sins of this world, this country and this Province are intolerance and selfishness. We have got away from the two great sayings, "He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone," and "Do unto others as you would be done by." Sir, if we kept those two sayings always in front of us and lived up to them, this world would be a different place within a short while and the people would be more happy in their lives. Be tolerant towards every one. Do not construe every action in the worst light, construe it in the best. Practice unselfishness to the limit, and do not blow about it or put it in the newspapers. We want more of Christ's attitude toward mankind practiced and less of the Pharisee.

To-day, while the whole civilized world is slowly awakening and trying to recover from the horrors and mental agonies of the past four years, the one great aim of our people must be tolerance. I have been guilty of intolerance myself—stung out of my normal attitude of "live and let live" by years of intolerance in others. I regret momentarily losing my self-control. The intolerant attitude of many on the very subject I am at present discussing—no doubt actuated by what seems to them the highest ideals—has reached a stage in our national life which the more broad-minded of us—or let us say the less unenlightened—find, to put it mildly, irritating in the extreme. Just as the more tolerant—or less unenlightened—of us were prepared and did make all the sacrifices of personal liberty demanded of us at a time of national crisis, where the reason (real or imaginary) given for such restraint was the winning of the war, so now I call upon the people of whose actions I complain to exercise in their turn a little restraint, a little tolerance for the rights of others, and not seek to coerce us by a law of their own—to them, enlightened, to us narrow—views.

To show that I am not speaking without reason let me quote an example. Let me remind you of a case which arose recently in this great city of Toronto when a leader of prohibition, who desires to control me and refuses me the right of having something I desire, would not himself be controlled. You will remember that some fourteen or fifteen months before the closing of the war, a wretched book was published in England by a man named Arthur Mee, supposed to be filled with all kinds of scurrilous attacks on our soldiers about wine, women and song, both in England and France. The book was promptly banned by the British Government and promptly banned in Canada by the Federal Government; and following that, how did this particular individual act? He had made up his mind that that book had to be published and he thought it was quite right. What had the Government to do with it? What does he do? When it is prohibited he writes an adaptation of it and published it himself. How is that for the minority going against the majority? I do not like to make reflections upon people, but what are we to believe? Look at the terrible fiasco out in British Columbia, where the man who was the great leader in the cause of

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prohibition in British Columbia, who, when prohibition was finally passed, was appointed to control the remaining stocks of liquor. What about this gentleman? Well, we find him a fugitive from justice. I have forgotten how many carloads of liquor he brought in and sold. Another instance that I may mention is the case of a recent Secretary to the Dominion Alliance at Montreal. I learn from the papers that his resignation has recently been accepted and he has left for fresh fields and pastures new. This, I understand, has been the result of exposures as to his personal conduct in Montreal.

There is another peculiar condition which I cannot understand. I have tried to figure it out in some manner how it is that there are only seven liquor shops in the Province of Ontario—two in Toronto, one in Ottawa, one in London, one in Hamilton, one in Kingston and one in Sarnia. What I am getting at is this: In dealing with the matter, why have Toronto or Sarnia or Hamilton liquor shops and Fort William or Port Arthur or Kenora or North Bay none? There should be one where the people ask for it, or don't have any at all.

Another point that occurs to me in passing is the extraordinary amount of revenue the Government are making out of this law. If the Ontario Temperance Act was meant as a revenue producer it is certainly fulfilling its function. I think the Government must be thoroughly aware, from the result of some of the recent bye-elections, that the people have said they do not intend to be treated in the manner in which they have been treated. Can you wonder that I view with alarm the general spread of hypocrisy among us—can you wonder that I say we are endangering our national character by allowing such fanaticism and hypocrisy to exist among us? Probably in the natural order of things it is our turn in Canada to be afflicted with it. Macauley, in writing of Puritanism, says that from the time of the Reformation to the Restoration of Charles II. almost every writer in England of that day took some opportunity of assailing—as he puts it—"the straight-haired, snuffling, whining saints, who christened their children out of the book Nehemiah, who groaned in spirit at the sight of Jack-in-the-green, who thought it impious to taste plum pudding on Christmas Day." In another passage this delightful author writes as follows: "The Puritan antipathy to the sport of bear-baiting had nothing in common with the feeling which has in our own time induced the Legislature to interfere for the purpose of protecting the beasts against the wanton cruelty of men. The Puritans hated bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators."

Lord Beaconsfield, himself a Jew, once described a family of the highest rank and strictest principles as "puritanical, severe and formal in their manners—their only relaxation the Bible Society or a meeting for the Conversion of Jews." Does not this sound familiar to us, Mr. Speaker? Can we not see the end if this state of things is allowed to go on unchecked in the Province of Ontario? I find that within the last year, at a Church meeting held in Montreal, one zealous member proposed that we should all be compelled by law to attend church on Sunday. I admit that the resolution was lost, as even this worthy's confreres thought it was a bit too drastic. During the war there have been cases here and there where societies and prominent individuals have objected to sending cigarettes to our soldiers at the front. Am I going too far when I say that tobacco will be the next thing to be attacked by the sin-bounds? Why not chewing gum, picture shows, high heels for women's shoes, theatres, dances, ice-cream, candies, face powder, rouge, etc.? I have heard it said that chewing gum develops unnatural muscles in the face; that some picture shows are harmful on account of the ideas they put into the heads of the young and the old; that high heels promote curvature of the spine and hinder the natural functions of women, and so forth. The vegetarians would have us eschew meat and feed on vegetables and nuts, and so it goes on until soon we shall be denied the right to order our own lives. Already we see the evil effects of this legislation in the terrible poison that is being used in the place of properly made and matured liquor. Already we see the increase in the drug habit and the use of opium. Human nature requires diversion, pleasure and happiness. The normal human being hates coldness and austerity.

I draw the attention of the Government to the increase in the drug and opium habit, not only in our own Province but throughout Canada. Do they not realize that there are a certain number of human beings who, when deprived of one article, will seek another? And so I think that the increased use of drugs in this Province may be truthfully attributed to the lack of opportunity for people to obtain whatever alcoholic beverages they require. No one will say that drugs and opium are more conducive to sobriety and to the general morals of the people than spirituous liquors. If the Government does not care to put it on any other ground let me suggest that they make a choice of the lesser of two evils. If my facts are challenged, let them find out from their police department the amount of the traffic in these drugs. I fancy there must be some trace of it in that efficient and well organized force. Let them find out what permits have been issued for the importation into Canada of these drugs.

Those who desire to reform human nature must follow more closely the method of Christ. I have already quoted you an example. Let me give it again: Take the incident at the well where the poor prostitute gave Him a drink of water. He did not fear contamination and draw His garments about Him and run and look for a Roman soldier to come and arrest the poor thing, with the idea of having her sent to the contemporary Mercer or Burwash Farm, but with eyes filled with love He made her "go and sin no more." And oh, the answer he gave the godly Puritans of those days who murmured at his daring to converse with a poor sinner, and to accept a drink of water from her hands. How true it was then, has been ever since, and is now—and I humbly repeat those words for the benefit of the Pharisees and sin-hounds of to-day—"He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone." Humility, human sympathy, kindness and love, the love as shown to a sinful world by a Divine Master, will do much to bring us erring and sinful people back to the straight and narrow path; but hypocrisy, coercion, austerity and brutal laws never will.

I have more to say, but like my friend from Simcoe, who said he would wait for another time to indulge his thoughts more fully, I will leave this particular subject and pass on to others.

It gave me delight to see that the Government proposed to bring down a bill to allow women to sit in this legislature. I cannot understand why, when the franchise was given to them, this was not given also; but it is better late than never. I say this, that the women of Canada, the women of England, have earned absolutely by their marvellous devotion (applause), by their loving sacrifices, the right to full equality with men, because God knows they are equal. I am glad to think that the Province of Ontario is doing this and I hope that soon a member—possibly the member for Kenora—will wear petticoats. (Laughter).

There is another thing I want to congratulate the Government upon and that is its housing Bill. I am delighted with that. But I looked very carefully through the Speech to see something which we shall all be busy at next session if it is not done at this—I looked in vain for some word in the Speech, some message to the toiler or labourer that he was going to get his eight hours every five days a week and his four hours on Saturday; a message that we were going to have in the Province of Ontario, established by this Government, forty-four working hours a week. Surely the Government are aware that it is one of the subjects for discussion at the Peace Conference and that probably before this time next year it will be a universal law. You are helping the working man to get a house. Why not lighten his load by making a forty-four hour week of work absolutely obligatory? Let Ontario lead for once, that we may have a forty-four hour week so that the toilers may have the same rights to enjoy leisure, the same rights to enjoy their families and their homes and be happy in them, so that the day would be divided as I feel God intended it to be—eight hours work, eight hours play and eight hours of sleep. Give the working man what he is entitled to because if you don't he will take it.

Another thing I would like this Government to bring down, though it hasn't been mentioned in the Speech: I would like to see the Province of Ontario the first province of the Dominion of Canada to have a minimum wage. I want to see, and I ask the Government now, in this session, to

bring in a law absolutely prohibiting child labour. It is coming. If the reports from the Paris Conference are correct the age will be fixed at sixteen, which will be the youngest age at which a child may be allowed to go to work. If the manufacturers and others tell you that the industries of the country will fail unless men toil longer hours and undeveloped children be allowed to work, my answer is—let them fail, because any industry that requires the last ounce of strength from a man in order to make it pay, has, not, to my mind, the right to succeed. Let us clear this Province up if we are going to advance in social reform and be fair to the workers and toilers who, by their strength and muscle, have been helping some people to amass large fortunes. Let the people be properly protected by the Legislature, so that they can have a decent share of the joys of life, an ordinary decent share of this world's goods, including a decent home, a decent wage, properly clothed and fed children, with eight hours a day to enjoy God's sunshine, and then indeed the Government need have no fear of its future. You are building houses for these men: give them the time to enjoy them.

There are other subjects, but as the hour is late I do not propose to go much further. There is one other thing. In speaking on the liquor question just now, I mentioned the civil servants. I have mentioned it before in this House. I think the administration of the Province is the greatest commercial business in the Province of Ontario and as such it should be organized so that it would be the ambition and desire of every boy and girl leaving school to enter the civil service of the Province of Ontario. In order to do that, you have got to make it strictly non-partisan, so that the civil servant who comes in here knows that by doing his or her duty fairly and squarely he or she is there for life, subject to good conduct and efficiency, and that when the time comes for him or her, in the natural order of things, in sickness or old age, to retire, he or she can be certain of a fair competence for the rest of his or her life, in return for the service given the Province.

Mr. Carter: "Why not for all the people—why only the civil servants?"

Col. Machin: "I am speaking to the Government as a business concern. Manufacturers have prepared means of insuring as against accidents, old age, etc. So I say to this Government that it should place its civil servants on a proper footing and wipe out a lot of them by pension. There are cases within my own knowledge where there are two salaries provided for one office, simply because there are no means of taking care of an old man who has worn himself out in the service of his country.

There is one other matter I desire to refer to. I am very sorry the Prime Minister had to go. I thoroughly appreciate the fact that he was here this evening. I hope that he and each member of the Government will realize that in my remarks there was nothing personal. Among them are men with whom I am intimately acquainted and for whom I have strong regard. I speak to-night in no sense in a personal way; but because I believe absolutely what I have said, just as some of the honourable gentlemen who have sat here this evening have entirely opposite views from myself and express them equally as warmly as I have done. I have no intention to hurt or offend anyone; but I do want the right to have that privilege born with me, the free right of every free-born British subject.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me say this: That the aim of our government, the aim of every government, whether it be this or municipal governments, must be to see that the people are made happy and contented, that there is ample time for work, play and rest, and that the German word "Verboten" (forbidden) does not enter into our national life and meet us at every turn. (Loud and continued applause).

